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The Moriscos: An Ottoman Fifth Column
in Sixteenth-Century Spain

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THE Christian conquest in 1492 of the last Muslim state on the Iberian Peninsula by no means ended the existence of Islam in Spain. For centuries the leaders of the reconquest, bowing to economic necessity and tradition, had allowed Muslims to retain their customs within newly reconquered territories. Now, with the absorption of Nasrid Granada, the new state, formed by the merger of Castile and Aragon, not only ruled most of the Iberian Peninsula but also controlled the destiny of a sizable Islamic community, one that would carry on the long Muslim resistance to the Christianization of Spain.

The fall of Granada at the end of the fifteenth century, moreover, did not rule out the possibility of another Muslim invasion of the peninsula.

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After all, rude warriors from Africa had twice stiffened the backbone of Iberian Muslims before the completion of the reconquest; hence proximity and tradition argued that another invasion from North Africa might again roll back the Christian conquests.¹ And, while the Islamic struggle went poorly in *al-Andalus*,² elsewhere Muslims recovered their strength. At the other end of the Mediterranean, Turks and Mongols had previously attacked the heartland of the Near East; yet, once the invasions ceased, the Asian conquerors who remained in Islamic territories formed the powerful Ottoman and Mamluk sultanates that drove crusader and nomad from old centers of civilization.³ Would not the same process take place in the western portions of the Islamic world? The Community of Believers in Spain must have met the *reconquista* with some degree of self-confidence derived not only from a religion that claimed to be the last and true message but also from a history that, despite the difficulties in *al-*

¹ The conquest of Toledo in 1085 compelled weak Muslim rulers to look for support from the powerful Almoravid state in North Africa. The Almoravids (1090-1145) and their successors, the Almohads (1145-1223), then entered Spain to rule Islamic territory and to continue the holy war against the infidel. Thus the Islamic reaction in the period of retreat included the decline of Muslim strength in Spain, the rise of Islamic power, based on religion, in North Africa, and the subsequent invasion of Spain from the south. This general design would almost repeat itself in the sixteenth century. (General references are in Charles-André Julien, *Histoire de l'Afrique du Nord* [2 vols., Paris, 1956], II, 76-131; and W. M. Watt, *A History of Islamic Spain* [Edinburgh, 1965], 91-111.)

² In Arabic sources the geographic sense of *al-Andalus* sometimes includes all of the Iberian Peninsula; it also has been used by Arab writers, however, to mean only the Muslim portion of Spain. In a North African context, the term was employed to describe Muslim immigrants from Spain. (Évariste Lévi-Provençal, "Al-Andalus," *Encyclopaedia of Islam* [hereafter cited as *EI*]² [new ed., 2 vols. to date, Leiden, 1954-], I, 486-503; J. D. Latham, "Andalus in North Africa," *ibid.*, Appendix I.) In Ottoman sources the term retained the narrower geographical sense (Muslim Spain), and, when in construct with the word "people," *Andalus ehli*, meant the Muslims in Spain both before and after the reconquest. The following citations are from the "Mühimme Defterleri" (Registers of Important Affairs), held in the Ottoman Archives in Istanbul. The importance of these materials for Mediterranean history is covered in Uriel Heyd, *Ottoman Documents on Palestine 1552-1615* (Oxford, Eng., 1960). Since there is no standard for citing these sources, my system is as follows: archival number of the register (MD 23), page number followed by the order number (139:284), and the date attached to the order in the register (28 B 981/1573). For the months I have used the archival system: *Muharrem*, M; *Safer*, S; *Rebiyülevvel*, RA; *Rebiyülahir*, R; *Cemaziyelevvel*, CA; *Cemaziyeleahir*, C; *Recep*, B; *Şaban*, Ş; *Ramazan*, N; *Şevval*, L; *Zilkade*, ZA; *Zilhicce*, Z. Where the date is important, I have given the Christian equivalent according to the tables in Faik Reşit Unat, *Hicrî Tarihleri Milâdî Tarihe Çevirme Kılavusu* [A Guide for Converting Muslim to Christian Dates] (Ankara, 1959). MD 15 27:234 (4 S 979/1571); MD 23 139:284 (28 B 981/1573); MD 23 121:244 (19 B 981). Besides the sources cited above, the Ottoman use of the term *Andalus* can be found in Gelibülîlî Mustafa 'Ali Çelebi, "Künh-ul-aḥbâr" [The Totality of Information], IV, fols. 241^b-42^a, Nur-i-Osmaniye Library, TY 3409; Mehmed b. Mehmed, *Nuḥbet-üt-tevâriḥ ve-ül-aḥbâr* [The Flower of Histories and Chronicles] (Istanbul, 1276/1859), 118; Mustafa Nuri Paşa, *Netâ'ic-ul-Vukû'ât* [The Consequences of Events] (4 vols., Istanbul, 1294-1327/1877-1909), I, 157; Ali Rıza Paşa, *Mir'at-ul-Cezâyir* [The Reflection of Algeria], tr. Ali Şevki (Istanbul, 1293/1876), 28 ff.

³ A general guide for the recovery of Egypt as a center of Muslim power is in M. M. Ziada, "The Mamluk Sultans to 1293," in *A History of the Crusades*, ed. K. M. Setton (5 vols. to date, Philadelphia, 1955-), II, 735-58. On the Ottoman side, Paul Wittek, *The Rise of the Ottoman Empire* (London, 1965), is an excellent introduction.

Andalus, had registered victory after victory in the holy war against the Christian.

Spain, however, had changed by the end of the fifteenth century, and the confrontation between the two civilizations was different. Mixed in with old political and religious antagonisms was a new awareness of Spanish uniqueness, an exclusiveness forged in centuries of warfare against the Muslims.⁴ During the last years of the *reconquista*, this compound of nationalism and religion led the rulers of Castile and Aragon to introduce policies reflecting the forces that established sixteenth-century Spain. In the year of the reconquest, decrees implementing forced conversion or expulsion of non-Christians appeared as formal policy designed to promote a Catholic, Christian Spain. As a result the Jews of Castile and Aragon were given the choice of becoming Christians or leaving the peninsula.⁵ While there was no indecision concerning that small but valuable community, the Moriscos⁶ were a different and much more complex problem; for conquered Muslims made up large, economically important communities spread throughout the kingdom. Since each Morisco community represented what amounted to a separate case, the expulsion of the Moors would have been far more difficult than the expulsion of the Jews. And so the rulers of Spain looked to conversion, as a result of proselytization, as the means by which the Muslims were to be absorbed into Christian Spain. Soon, however, the "other civilization" showed that it remained attached to its culture in the face of increased pressure to convert.⁷

At the turn of the century the aggressive attempts of Cardinal Ximénez

⁴ Américo Castro, *The Structure of Spanish History*, tr. Edmund L. King (Princeton, N. J., 1954), 14-30 *et passim*.

⁵ On the expulsion of the Jews, see R. B. Merriman, *The Rise of the Spanish Empire in the Old World and in the New World* (4 vols., New York, 1918-34), II, 92-94. For a history of the Jewish counterpart to the Morisco, see Cecil Roth, *A History of the Marranos* (New York, 1966).

⁶ Moriscos is the name given to the Muslims who stayed in Spain after the reconquest. In Spanish they were known as *mudéjares*, which is derived from the Arabic *mudajjan* meaning "permitted to remain." In Ottoman sources, aside from the people of *al-Andalus*, three terms were used for the Muslims who lived under the control of the Spanish: *mudaccal*, *mudaccan*, and *müdeccir*. (I am using the transcription system in *İslam Ansiklopedisi* [hereafter cited as *IA*] [10 vols. to date, Istanbul, 1940-].) The first term is used in one of the documents below and in Kâtib Çelebi, *Tuhfet-ul-Kibâr fi Esfâr-il-Bihâr* [The Gift of Noble Men from the Campaigns on the Seas] (Istanbul, 1141/1728), 18^a-18^b; and Münecim başı, *Şahâ'ij al-ahbâr* [The Records of Histories], Ottoman tr. Ahmed Nedim Efendi (3 vols., Istanbul, 1285/1868), III, 17. *Müdeccir* is the Ottomanized form of the Spanish *mudéjar* and is used by I. H. Uzunçarşılı, *Osmanlı Tarihi* [Ottoman History] (2d ed., 8 vols., Ankara, 1937-64), II, 201-202, n. 2. Further references are in Évariste Lévi-Provençal, "Moriscos," in *Encyclopædia of Islam* (4 vols., Leiden, 1913-42), III, 577-78; and the second part of the article on the Moriscos by Cavid Baysun, "Moriskolar," *IA*, VIII, 428-29.

⁷ This is the argument of both Castro, *Structure of Spanish History*, and Fernand Braudel, *La Méditerranée et le monde méditerranéen à l'époque de Philippe II* (Paris, 1949), 592-93.

de Cisneros to convert the Muslims of Granada helped to produce a revolt that set the framework for the relations between the Islamic community and the Spanish government. Recognizing that the old policy of religious autonomy no longer existed, the Moriscos of the region of Alpujarras rebelled. Promptly defeated by Spanish troops in 1501, the Moors of Granada were then offered a choice of conversion or expulsion. One year later Isabella extended this policy to Castile, where on February 12, 1502, all Moriscos became nominal Christians since emigration was made practically impossible. A pause in official action followed until 1525 when Charles V purified the crown of Aragon by expanding the policy of compulsory Christianity to include the lands of that kingdom. Repeating the resistance of the region of Alpujarras, the Muslims of Valencia revolted, but, as in the south, imperial troops swiftly suppressed them. In this manner, the Islamic population in Spain officially disappeared; yet, covertly, they remained until a final effort drove them from the peninsula in the seventeenth century.⁸

Not only were the Moriscos to be converted; it also seemed that in the middle of the sixteenth century Spanish rulers everywhere faced political difficulties that involved religious opposition to the existence of Catholic Christendom. In North Africa and Hungary Habsburg troops faced Islam on the march under the leadership of the Ottomans. Central Germany was consumed with rebellion that combined Protestant heresy with the disobedience of German nobles. An always dangerous France, allying itself with the Ottomans during the reign of Charles V,⁹ showed an alarming growth of Protestantism in the second half of the century. In the Netherlands in 1566, a well-organized militant Calvinism triggered a revolt that led to an exhaustive conflict on this northern frontier of the Habsburg Empire. And as the Netherlands broke into open rebellion, Protestant England added further difficulties by entering the conflict on the side of the Dutch. Accordingly, when the Moriscos rebelled in 1568, their revolt formed part of a widespread, political and religious movement against the Habsburgs and Catholic Christendom.¹⁰

The advance of hostile powers at the beginning of Philip II's reign

⁸ See the two classic studies, representing different points of view, by Henry Charles Lea, *The Moriscos of Spain* (Philadelphia, 1901); and D. Pascual Boronat y Barrachina, *Los Moriscos españoles y su expulsión* (2 vols., Valencia, 1901).

⁹ The beginning of Ottoman-French relations is summarized in Uzunçarşılı, *Osmanlı Tarihi*, II, 502-10. Two older works based on French sources are Jon Ursu, *La politique orientale de François I^{er}* (Paris, 1908); and Pierre Heinrich, *L'alliance franco-algérienne au XVI^e siècle* (Lyons, 1898).

¹⁰ J. H. Elliott, *Imperial Spain 1469-1716* (New York, 1966), 228-37.

tested the defenses of the Empire in all areas and, at the same time, raised the question of whether or not Islam had really left Spain. Although many Moriscos departed from the peninsula during the first half of that century, the vast majority had elected to remain as nominal Christians. By mid-century, efforts to ensure that these New Christians were indeed Christians had failed, and, while the Moriscos maintained their autonomy, Philip II not only experienced important defeats at the hands of the Ottomans in North Africa at Mostaganem (1558) and Jerba (1560) but also saw imperial rule in the Netherlands challenged by an iconoclastic upheaval in August 1566. With each demand for greater action on these northern and southern frontiers, the continued existence of a potentially disloyal minority at the center of the Empire became more dangerous.¹¹

In the year of the rebellion in the Netherlands Philip II resumed the wars of the reconquest in Spain. Reviving old decrees never fully enforced, he commanded the use of Castilian in place of Arabic, the wearing of Castilian rather than Moorish clothing, and the cessation of other Morisco customs. The provocative character of his decrees soon produced a reaction,¹² and in 1568 the Moriscos of the region of Alpujarras again revolted against Christian rule. This time Spanish commanders were compelled to rely upon naval and military units from Italy before the rebellion was contained in 1570. Thereafter Philip II directed the dispersal of the Moriscos throughout Spain, but even this scattering of the opposition did not remove the alien civilization. The final solution occurred only when the Moriscos were expelled in 1609.¹³

The study of this failure to assimilate the Moriscos has, in general, emphasized internal political, religious, and social and economic differences rather than imperial reasons for the Habsburg actions against the Muslim minority. Yet Philip II and his Spanish officials raised a major issue involving international relations when they charged, in effect, that the Moors in Spain made up a fifth column that aided both the Ottoman advance

¹¹ See Lea, *Moriscos*, 83, 98-101, 144, 190-97, 271-91; K. Garrad, "The Original Memorial of Don Francisco Núñez Muley," *Atlante* (No. 2, 1954), 203, n. 4, 5, 6; Braudel, *Méditerranée*, 587, 590-91; see also the summary of Philip II's judgment on the Morisco problem and the international situation in Boronat, *Moriscos*, I, 278.

¹² The objections of the Morisco community are found in Garrad, "Memorial," 199-226. The Morisco correspondence with the Ottoman sultans, to be examined below, contains a summary of these complaints. See below and MD 9 89:231 (10 Z 977/Apr. 1570). The standard sources for the rebellion are Luís del Mármol Carvajal, *Rebelión y castigo de los Moriscos de Granada* (Madrid, 1852); and Diego Hurtado de Mendoza, *Guerra de Granada*, (Madrid, 1852). The modern work, based on Spanish sources and limited to Granada, is Julio Caro Baroja, *Los Moriscos del reino de Granada* (Madrid, 1959).

¹³ Detailed information on the Morisco community before the expulsion of 1609 can be found in Henri Lapeyre, *Géographie de l'Espagne morisque* (Paris, 1959).

in North Africa and the Protestant cause in Europe.¹⁴ Except for these claims, which may have been exaggerated, there is little evidence available of any international connection between the New Christians in Spain, the Protestant rebels, and the Ottoman Empire.¹⁵ Now, however, the accessibility of Ottoman records can provide new information on the Morisco question and its relation to the centuries of dispute between Islam and Christianity.

From the Muslim invasion of the Iberian Peninsula in the seventh century to the final expulsion of the Moriscos in 1609, the close connection between *al-Andalus* and North Africa was striking. During eight and a half centuries of this Muslim history an uneven but more or less continuous exchange in population took place between the Maghrib and the Iberian Peninsula. Morocco, for example, was the staging area for Muslim raiders at the beginning of the Arab-Berber conquests in the eighth century and for Almoravid and Almohad warriors of the Berber empires in the eleventh and thirteenth centuries. Beyond the invasions and wars, which stimulated a north-south movement, trade, pilgrimage, and travel within the Muslim world led to repeated crossings over the narrow strip of water that divided Europe from Africa.¹⁶ Nor did the movement of Muslims between Spain and North Africa cease when the reconquest eliminated the last Muslim state on the peninsula.¹⁷ The enormous coastline, by sixteenth-century standards, that now had to be controlled presented the rulers of Spain with a military and naval problem that was never fully solved.¹⁸ Soon after the

¹⁴ Juan Reglá deals with this point in *Estudios sobre los Moriscos* (Valencia, 1964), 10-17, 139-57.

¹⁵ Lea, *Moriscos*, 25, 36, 227, 231, 401, contends that religious pressure was the most important factor; he is supported by Mármol, *Rebelión*, 168-69. For a skeptical view of international interference after the rebellion of 1568, see John Lynch, *Spain under the Hapsburgs: Empire and Absolutism 1516-1598* (1 vol. to date, New York, 1964-), I, 209-10.

¹⁶ See the map in Watt, *Islamic Spain*, 47. Almohad administrative organization placed the Maghrib and *al-Andalus* in one unit as has been shown in J.F.P. Hopkins, *Medieval Muslim Government in Barbary* (London, 1958), 35-37.

¹⁷ The difficult history of the Andalusian immigration to North Africa is presented in J. D. Latham, "The Reconstruction and Expansion of Tetuan: The Period of Andalusian Immigration," in *Arabic and Islamic Studies in Honor of Hamilton A. R. Gibb*, ed. George Makdisi (Cambridge, Mass., 1965), 387-408; "Towards a Study of Andalusian Immigration and Its Place in Tunisian History," *Cahiers de Tunisie*, V (3^e-4^e trimestres, 1957), 203-52; "Andalus in North Africa," 486-503. Roger Le Tourneau, *Fez* (Norman, Okla., 1961), 8, 10, 114, provides information on the Andalusian influence in that city. For Algeria, the general account in Ottoman, written originally in Arabic, of Ali Riza Paşa, *Mir'at*, 2-18, 28-30, 43-49, is especially valuable.

¹⁸ Merriman, *Rise of the Spanish Empire*, IV, 88, 97-98; Lea, *Moriscos*, 272 ff.; Braudel, *Méditerranée*, 583-84; Cesáreo Fernández Duro, *Armada española desde la unión de los reinos de Castilla y de León* (9 vols., Madrid, 1895-1903), I, 277; II, 11, 45-48; III, 53, 132-33, 353; thorough coverages of the corsair age following the Battle of Lepanto are in Alberto Tenenti, *Naufraques, corsaires et assurances maritimes à Venise 1592-1609* (Paris, 1959), 12-44, and *Venezia e i corsari 1580-1615* (Bari, 1961), *passim*; and Salvatore Bono, *I corsari barbareschi* (Turin, 1964), 14-76, 77-135.

reconquest, Muslims found that their Christian overlords could not block travel between the peninsula and North Africa.¹⁹ Geography, it is true, aided the Habsburgs in the defense of Spain, but this did not mean that the geographical division between Europe and Africa formed an impenetrable boundary. The western frontier between Muslim and Christian, throughout most of the sixteenth century, was, rather, a fluid area including Islamic communities in southeastern Spain and Spanish forts on the coast of the Maghrib.

As the Christianization of Spain proceeded, the size of the refugee community of Moriscos in North Africa grew. A bitter group of artisans, merchants, and agriculturists looked across the straits to "their" land and longed for a victorious return.²⁰ Many of these expatriates settled in the cities of North Africa where they became one of the most violently anti-Christian groups among societies making up Islamic North Africa.²¹ Motivated by revenge and enthusiasm for the holy war, the Andalusians became corsairs and participated in an increasing number of raids that plagued the shores of Spain from the reign of Charles V through the seventeenth century. Repeated privateering expeditions brought back to North Africa both material wealth and large numbers of refugees, which increased the strength of the Andalusian communities that dotted the Barbary coast.²²

At the turn of the sixteenth century the Maghrib was the scene of both political decentralization and active frontier warfare. While Spain had taken advantage of Muslim weakness to establish outposts along the coast of the Maghrib—the leading edge of the Christian frontier—²³ the political vacuum

¹⁹ Braudel, *Méditerranée*, 583–85.

²⁰ Castro, *Structure of Spanish History*, 93, 295, 375–77.

²¹ Münecim başı, *Şahâ'if*, III, 260–61, links the defeated Andalusians with the rise of Muslim naval activity in the western Mediterranean. There is considerable evidence on this point; see, e.g., Diego de Haedo, *Topografía e historia general de Argel* (Madrid, 1927), 50–52; Muhammad al-Saghir ibn al-Haj ibn 'Abdallah al-Ufrani, *Nozhet El-Hadi: Histoire de la dynastie saadienne au Maroc (1511–1670)*, ed. and tr. O. V. Houdas (Paris, 1889), 90; Edmond Fagnan, *Extraits inédits relatifs au Maghreb* (Algiers, 1924), 390–91; Paul Ruff, *La domination espagnole à Oran* (Paris, 1900), 1–11; Duro, *Armada*, I, 45–46; Fernand Braudel, "Les Espagnols et l'Afrique du Nord de 1492 à 1577," *Revue africaine*, LXIX (1928), 184–234, 351–428; Henri Terrasse, *Histoire du Maroc* (2 vols., Casablanca, 1949–50), I, 130–32.

²² Auguste Cour, *L'établissement des dynasties des Chérifs au Maroc et leur rivalité avec les Turcs de la régence d'Alger au XVII^e siècle* (Paris, 1904), 50; the Italian intelligence report in 1587 on the Maghrib coast, ed. Charles Monchichourt and tr. Pierre Grandchamp, Lanfreducci et Bosio, "Costa e descorsi di Barberia," *Revue africaine*, LXVI (1925), 419–549; Francisco de Laiglesia, *Estudios históricos (1515–1555)* (Madrid, 1908), 95–105; Braudel, *Méditerranée*, 583–85; Bono, *Corsari*, 14–76. The impact of this growth on a Moroccan traveler is in Abou-l-Hasan Ali Ben Muhammad Et-Tamgrouti, *En-Nafhat El-Miskiya Fi-s-Sijarat Et-Tourkiya 1589–1591* [The Report on the Mission to Turkey 1589–1591], tr. Henry De Castries (Paris, 1929), 75–78.

²³ Ruff, *Domination espagnole*, 1–5; Henri DeGrammont, *Histoire d'Alger sous la domination turque (1516–1830)* (Paris, 1887), 1–19; José M. Doussinague, *La política exterior de España en el siglo XVI* (Madrid, 1949), 9 ff.

in the Maghrib and the proximity of North Africa to Mediterranean commercial centers also had attracted Muslim frontier warriors, *gâzis*.²⁴ Within a short time an irregular war, conducted for Islam by corsairs, *levends*,²⁵ once again turned the North African coast into an important frontier between the northern and southern halves of the Mediterranean. Most accomplished among the leaders of Muslim galleys at this time were the Barbarossa brothers (Hayreddin and Aruj/Oruç).²⁶ Early in the first quarter of the century the Barbarossas established an enclave of corsairs in the central Maghrib. There, in Cherchel, and in other coastal cities the privateers found willing allies among Andalusian exiles, who also were interested in the holy war. Cooperation between corsairs, refugees from Spain, and local war parties led to assistance for Morisco immigration and to more effective raiding of the southeastern shores of Spain.²⁷ Later in the century, when the Ottomans turned their attention to North Africa, the

²⁴ This is the title given to those who dedicated themselves to war against the infidel on the frontiers. ("Gazi," *IA*, IV, 753.) The importance of this institution in the rise of the Ottoman Empire is enormous. (Witteck, *Rise of the Ottoman Empire*, 1-53; Halik Inalcik, "Padişah," *IA*, IX, 491-95.) For some idea of the strength of this institution in Algeria, see Gelibolulu Mustafa Ali, *Mevâ'id-ün-Nefâ'is fi Kavâ'id-il-Mecâlis* [Examples of Etiquette for the Guidance of Society] (Istanbul, 1956), 54-56; and the eighteenth-century Ottoman historian Hasan ibn Yûsuf Aşıkavî, "Târih-i Cezâ'ir veya tehzib-üt-tevârih" [The History of Algeria or the Correction of Chronicles], Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi Kütüphanesi, No. 955, fol. 2^a, who writes that most of the Ottomans in Algeria carried the title *gâzi*, belonged to the *hanafî* school of law, and were *rûmî mevlûd*, which probably means they were born in Europe.

²⁵ *Levend* has several meanings in Ottoman sources. Here it designates the Muslim corsairs who were part of the Islamic-Christian frontier system in the Mediterranean. In summer campaigns the *levends* formed an irregular part of the Ottoman fleet. (I. H. Uzunçarşılı, "Levend," *IA*, VII, 46-48; Mustafa Cezar, *Osmanlı Tarihinde Levendler* [Levends in Ottoman History] [Istanbul, 1965], 170-88.)

²⁶ Most histories of Hayreddin Barbarossa's life are based on the *gazavat nameler* [Holy War Accounts], which were written during the reign of Süleyman I to celebrate the exploits of this famous admiral. (See Agah Sırrı Levend, *Gazavât-Nâmeler ve Mihaloğlu Ali Beyin Gazavât nâmesi* [Holy War Accounts and the Holy War Account of Mihaloğlu Ali Bey] [Ankara, 1956], 70-77, for a list of the various manuscripts; secondary sources on Hayreddin can be found in Enver Ziya Karal, "Barbaros Hayreddin Paşa," *IA*, II, 211-15.)

²⁷ The Barbarossa brothers were defeated in their first effort to control the central Maghrib. Aruj was killed in the autumn of 1518 while attempting to hold Tlemcen. (Tayyib Gökbilgin, "Oruç Reis," *IA*, IX, 419-25.) At the same time local opposition forced Hayreddin to evacuate Algiers and return to Cherchel where he spent five years building his forces. There many of the corsairs who made up Hayreddin's raiding parties were Moriscos. When Hayreddin returned to Algiers, his galleys made a special effort to carry refugees from Spain to the Maghrib. The political advantages for the Muslim "war party" of this migration were recognized by both sides. (Sander Rang and J. F. Denis, *Fondation de la régence d'Alger, histoire des Berberousse* [2 vols., Paris, 1837], I, 21-283; Kâtib Çelebi, *Tuhfet*, 11^a-17^b; Nuri Paşa, *Netâ'ic*, I, 157-58; Ali Reza Paşa, *Mir'at*, 10-16; El-Djilani, *El Zohrat el Nayerat, Chroniques de la régence d'Alger*, tr. Alphonse Rousseau [Algiers, 1841], 13-87; Muḥammad Bayram, *Şaḥwāt-i t̤iibār* [The Essence of Consideration] [4 vols., Cairo, 1302/1884], IV, 7-8; 'Ali Muḥammad Ḥammudah, *Tārīḥ al-Andalus* [The History of al-Andalus] [Cairo, 1957], 302; Haedo, *Topografía*, 50-52, 91-92; Terrasse, *Histoire du Maroc*, I, 130-45; Ruff, *Domination espagnole*, 1-70; DeGrammont, *Histoire d'Alger*, 1-4; Merriman, *Rise of the Spanish Empire*, II, 130-33, 296-97; Braudel, *Méditerranée*, 583-89; Duro, *Armada*, I, 45-46, 158-59.)

sultans would link Ottoman power to this frontier reaction against Christian expansion.²⁸

Political developments in the western Mediterranean were watched by the sultans, for both the conquest of Egypt and the growth of Ottoman naval power pointed toward western ventures. Anticipating expansion into North Africa, Süleyman the Lawgiver aided Maghrib corsairs who, by 1529, had seized important sections of the North African coastline. But aside from supplying arms, ammunition, and men requested by the corsairs,²⁹ the Ottomans did not establish direct connections with their leader, Hayreddin Barbarossa, until Charles V sent his admiral, Andrea Doria, east in a raid on the Morea during the naval season in 1532.³⁰ Reacting to this challenge, Süleyman I shifted his attention from Germany to the Mediterranean where the initial success of the raid of the Habsburgs had exposed incompetent naval leadership. An imperial messenger was sent promptly to the Maghrib with an order inviting Hayreddin and his corsair captains to Istanbul. In 1534 the Sultan appointed Hayreddin, rather than his rival, Lutfi Paşa, grand admiral of the Ottoman fleet. Hayreddin then brought under the Sultan's control not only the corsairs of North Africa but also the territories he had conquered in the Maghrib.³¹ Hitherto the Adriatic and most of the Mediterranean had separated Charles V and Süleyman I; now the frontiers of the two Empires closed as the Ottomans moved to reduce the gap between their outpost in Algeria and the rest of the Empire while the Habsburgs acted to defend themselves against Muslim conquerors who

²⁸ Resistance to Spanish and Portuguese imperialism in North Africa was by no means universal. For examples of cooperation, see Rang and Denis, *Fondation de la régence*, I, 190-91, 209-19, 270-75; Rousseau, *Chroniques*, 40-68; Kâtib Çelebi, *Tuhfet*, 11^a-18^b, 20^a-20^b, 33^a-33^b, 45^a-45^b; Lutfi Paşa, *Tevârih-i-Âl-i 'Osmân* [A History of the Ottoman Dynasty] (Istanbul, 1341/1922), 356-57; Selaniki Mustafa Efendi, *Târih-i-Selânikî* [Selaniki's History] (Istanbul, 1281/1864), 115-18; Ibrahim Peçevi, *Târih-i-'Osmânî* [Ottoman History] (2 vols., Istanbul, 1283/1866), I, 348-49, 491-95, 501-502, 42-55; Fagnan, *Extraits*, 380-81; Ibn Galbûn, *Tâ'rih Tārāblus al-Garb* [A History of Tripoli of North Africa] Cairo, 1349/1930), 93-96.

²⁹ Rang and Denis, *Fondation de la régence*, I, 132-33; and Kâtib Çelebi, *Tuhfet*, 12^b-13^a.

³⁰ Aside from Hayreddin's own account and Piri Reis, *Kıtab-ı-Bahriye* [A Book of Naval Lore] (Istanbul, 1935), 634, 639, there is little mention of his exploits in Ottoman histories, written during or slightly after his lifetime, until he became admiral of the Ottoman fleet in 1534. Lutfi Paşa, *Tevârih*, 343-45; Celâlzâde Mustafa Çelebi, "Tabakât-ul-memâlik ve deracât-ul-mesâlik" [The Classes of Provinces and the Degrees of Routes], fols. 264^b-66^a, Istanbul University Library, TY 5997; and Münecim başı, *Şahâ'if*, II, 489-90, all report that Hayreddin went to Istanbul in 1534 to add Algeria to the Ottoman Empire and to lead the Ottoman fleet. For a similar Spanish view, see Laiglesia, *Estudios*, 93-162. Louis Berbrugger (*Le Pégnon d'Alger* [Algiers, 1860], 5-105) saw 1529 as the beginning of the Ottoman government in Algeria. Yet the capture of the Spanish fort guarding the harbor of Algiers did not lead to any important Ottoman decisions regarding North Africa.

³¹ For what it meant to be a slave, *ķûl*, of the sultan, and therefore an Ottoman, see Heyd, *Ottoman Documents*, 72, n. 5, and the references therein.

were advancing toward the North African staging area for an invasion of Spain.

The military operations of the Ottomans in North Africa up to mid-century gave the Moriscos in Spain and the Andalusians in North Africa some encouragement. As soon as Algeria became part of the Empire, Hayreddin acted to free the new Ottoman territory from its isolation. Striking westward at Tunis, he aimed, through the seizure of the eastern Maghrib, to expand Ottoman control of North Africa and to open up the western basin of the Mediterranean to the Sultan's fleet.⁸² Charles V, reacting quickly to this major Ottoman expansion, led a determined counterthrust, in 1535, that defeated Hayreddin's troops and took the city of Tunis. Then, to block the westward movement of the Ottomans, Habsburg commanders erected a defense line across the Mediterranean narrows from Sicily to Tunisia, including the crusading forts at Malta and Tripoli. In addition to garrisoning troops in La Goletta, the fort guarding the harbor at Tunis,⁸³ Charles V decided to deepen his control over this strategic corner of the eastern Maghrib by supporting the Hafsid dynasty, then in the last stages of decline.⁸⁴ Once his Mediterranean defenses were in order, the Emperor turned to northern problems while waiting for an opportunity to destroy the main Ottoman base to the west of his Mediterranean front, the stronghold that Hayreddin had established in the city of Algiers.⁸⁵ Six years after the Habsburg entrenchment in Tunisia, Charles V launched his naval campaign against the western Mediterranean edge of the Ottoman Empire. Late in the naval season of 1541 Christian galleys assembled in front of Algiers only to be disorganized by a violent winter storm that forced the Christians to retreat with a major loss of men and equipment. The Habsburg disaster encouraged the French who, in alliance with the Ottomans, resumed the Habsburg-Valois wars along the northern edge of the Mediterranean. In North Africa large-scale fighting diminished, but Ottoman warriors on the border continued their raids against Christian shipping and at the same

⁸² Kâtib Çelebi, *Tuhfet*, 20^a-20^b, listed the reasons for Hayreddin's occupation of Tunis. The grand admiral had argued that besides providing a secure port, the seizure of Tunis would allow the Ottomans to winter the fleet in a well-guarded harbor.

⁸³ The fort at Tunis is called Halk ul Vâd in Ottoman sources.

⁸⁴ Pablo Álvarez Rubiano, "La política imperial española y su relación con los Hafsides tunecinos, nuevos datos para su estudio," *Hispania*, III (Apr.-June 1941), 32-46.

⁸⁵ Hayreddin defeated the naval arm of the Holy League of 1538 at Prevesa. Thereafter Charles V restricted his naval activities to the western Mediterranean. (H. G. Koenigsberger, "The Empire of Charles V in Europe," in *The New Cambridge Modern History*, II, *The Reformation, 1520-1559*, ed. G. R. Elton [12 vols. to date, Cambridge, Eng., 1958-], 301-33; Uzunçarşılı, *Osmanlı Tarihi*, II, 455-518.)

time quietly extended their control over the coast and interior of the eastern and central Maghrib.⁸⁶

At mid-century the Sultan's viziers began to show a decided interest in expansion into the western Mediterranean. Ottoman commanders now struck regularly at Habsburg defensive positions and commercial traffic in the western Mediterranean. The year 1551 marked the fall of the southernmost anchor of the Christian mid-Mediterranean defense line as Turghud Paşa took Tripoli.⁸⁷ On land Salih Paşa, the Ottoman governor of Algeria (1552-1556), led his troops into Fez for a four-month stay at the end of 1554; then, turning to the eastern Maghrib in 1555, his forces took the Spanish fort at Bougie.⁸⁸ While Ottoman land actions tightened a noose around Tunis, Piyale Paşa, the Ottoman grand admiral, climaxed a growing onslaught on Habsburg defenses by leading, during the summer of 1558, a large galley fleet of about 150 vessels from Istanbul to Minorca where Ottoman troops landed and burned the city of Cuidadela, only 150 miles from the coast of Spain.⁸⁹ In the same year Ottoman troops in Algeria routed Spanish and Moroccan columns at Mostaganem, ending the use of Oran as an offensive base.⁹⁰ With both land and sea defenses failing before a resolute Ottoman imperialism, Philip II's commanders in the east gathered a large fleet with the intention of rolling back the westward expansion of the Muslim Empire. In 1560 Habsburg galleys sought to plug the holes in the mid-Mediterranean frontier by driving Muslim corsairs from the area around the island of Jerba, but the skillful employment of the fleet, led by Piyale Paşa, resulted in a major victory for the Ottomans.⁹¹ The naval season of 1560 ended ominously for Spain.

It is strange, however, that the defeat at Jerba marked a decline in naval activity on both sides of the Mediterranean. In the Muslim half, Anatolian

⁸⁶ For this period in the history of the central Maghrib, see Aziz Samih Ilter, *Şimali Afrika'da Türkler* [Turks in North Africa] (2 vols., Istanbul, 1937), I, 114-28; and Cour, *Établissement*, 74-104.

⁸⁷ Uzunçarşılı, *Osmanlı Tarihi*, II, 384-90, gives the basic information from the Ottoman side; Braudel, *Méditerranée*, 739-42, sees the strategic importance of Tripoli in terms of the North African situation.

⁸⁸ Cour, *Établissement*, 87-131; Ilter, *Şimali*, I, 128-34.

⁸⁹ On this event, see Duro, *Armada*, II, 10-22. Kâtib Çelebi, *Tuhfet*, 33^a-33^b, describes Piyale's exploits; other sources are given in the article by Şerafeddin Turan, "Piyale Paşa," *IA*, IX, 566-69.

⁹⁰ Ruff, *Domination espagnole*, 144-69.

⁹¹ Some idea of the "Westernization" of the naval history of the Mediterranean can be gathered by comparing the historical treatment of the Battles of Jerba and Lepanto. Although no immediate, permanent changes resulted from either of the two battles, both were major victories; yet, except for the detailed work of Charles Monchicourt, *L'expédition espagnole de 1560 contre l'île de Djerba* (Paris, 1913), it is Lepanto, not the Muslim victory at Jerba, that holds the overwhelming attention of historians.

disturbances,⁴³ the old age of the Sultan, and the lack of competition from the Habsburgs resulted in a low level of coordination among the Ottomans, which was reflected in the halfhearted siege of Malta in 1565. On the Christian side of the Mediterranean, Philip II successfully resupplied Malta during the Ottoman assault, but he allowed no counterattack to follow the Muslim withdrawal. One year after the relief of Malta, moreover, religious rioting in the Netherlands announced the beginning of major internal difficulties on the northern frontier of the Habsburg Empire. Finally, the death of the tenth sultan in the Ottoman line during the same year, 1566, ushered in a period of inaction as rulers and ruled assessed the strength of the new Ottoman Sultan, Selim II.

In the first years of Selim II's sultanate the residue of failure at Malta and the abortive Russian campaign in 1569 precipitated a general debate among the leaders of the Ottoman state concerning the direction of expansion.⁴⁴ Distant borders in Hungary and Iran produced major supply problems and difficult campaigning. Imperial advisers, after much discussion, therefore, turned to the most important remaining area in which summer campaigning was still fairly easy: the Mediterranean. Despite warnings that the Christians would unite if Venetian positions were attacked, Selim II approved plans to reactivate sea operations with an assault on Cyprus.⁴⁵ While the navy prepared to battle for control over the sea-lanes in the south-eastern Mediterranean, Selim strengthened his western naval frontier. In June 1568 Kılıç Ali Paşa, one of the most able and aggressive Ottoman naval captains, became the governor of Algeria.⁴⁶ These actions began the last phase of Ottoman-Habsburg competition in the Mediterranean. Ten

⁴³ Internal difficulties in the last years of Süleyman I's reign, mirrored in the disputes between his sons, are covered by Şerafeddin Turan, *Kanunî'nin Oğlu Şehzade Bayezid Vak'ası* [The Affair of Prince Bayezid, Son of Süleyman the Lawgiver] (Ankara, 1961).

⁴⁴ The beginning of Ottoman-Russian relations is described in an article by Halil İnalcık, "The Origin of the Ottoman-Russian Rivalry and the Don-Volga Canal (1569)," *Belleten*, XII (No. 46, 1948), 47-100. The Turkish version of this article is on pages 349-402 of the same volume.

⁴⁵ Ottoman viziers split on whether to invade Cyprus. Mehmet Sokollu led the party that argued for expansion in North Africa, while Lala Mustafa Paşa, Piyale Paşa, and Hoca Sinan Paşa formed the group in favor of invading Cyprus. Although emotion and ambition undoubtedly were present, the decision to seize Cyprus involved more than personal antagonisms. (See the following sources for some of the strategic reasons: Selaniki, *Tarih*, 100; Sir George Hill, *A History of Cyprus* [4 vols., Cambridge, Eng., 1948-52], III, 878-949; Tayyib Gökbilgin, "Mehmed Paşa," *İA*, VII, 595-605; Bekir Kütükoğlu, "Mustafa Paşa," *ibid.*, VIII, 732-36.)

⁴⁶ Kılıç Ali Paşa had built up a successful record as a North African corsair under Turgud Paşa (Dragud). He was appointed to his post in Algeria after religious rioting broke out in the Netherlands (1566), just before the Morisco revolt exploded in 1568, and while Mehmed Sokollu, an advocate of expansion in North Africa, was still in favor. There seems to be little question that Kılıç Ali Paşa's appointment (MD 7 578:1625 [2 M 976/June 1568]) was connected with a policy of Ottoman expansion in North Africa. (For further Ottoman sources and a short summary of his life, see Haluk Şehsuvaroğlu, "Kılıç Ali Paşa," *İA*, VI, 679-81.)

years after the start of this Muslim offensive, Ottoman warriors would bring the administration of another powerful Islamic state close to the southern shores of Spain.

While the military might of the eastern Islamic Empire grew in North Africa and the power of the Ottoman navy crept closer to the Iberian Peninsula, the tensions between Moriscos and Christians moved toward a climax. The size and economic position of the unassimilated Muslim community clashed with national and religious sentiments deepened by the internal problems of Spanish society, now affected by the forces of an imperial economy created by the Habsburgs.⁴⁶ But a historically based fear was far more important than the internal strains dividing the two communities. Transcending concerns for religious purity and economic advantage, the Muslim advance in the Maghrib vigorously raised the issue of security. If Ottoman power reached the Strait of Gibraltar, how loyal would the Moriscos be?⁴⁷

In spring 1570 Ottoman scribes registered in the record book of important affairs two commands that confirmed Ottoman involvement in the second rebellion of the region of Alpujarras (1568-1570).⁴⁸ Both documents bear the dispatch date of 10 *Zilkade* 977/April 16, 1570, the day they were handed over to the imperial messenger, Cezayirli Halil Çavuş,⁴⁹ for transportation to North Africa. First in order of registration is an imperial command to the governor (*Beylerbey*) of Algeria,⁵⁰ Kılıç Ali Paşa,⁵¹ that concerned the

⁴⁶ Braudel, *Méditerranée*, 374-420; Garrad, "Original Memorial," 203.

⁴⁷ The potential disloyalty of the Moriscos continued to bother the Spanish until the Muslims were expelled. No doubt some of the charges raised against the Moriscos were exaggerated for political or emotional reasons. (Braudel, *Méditerranée*, 586-87, 590-92, 894; Lea, *Moriscos*, 190-97, 271-91; Castro, *Structure of Spanish History*, 57, 90-93. For the magnification of the Protestant "danger" in Spain, see Henry Charles Lea, *A History of the Inquisition of Spain* [4 vols., New York, 1906-1907], III, 411-79; and Lynch, *Spain*, I, 209-10.) On the other hand, one ought to note that the English were much concerned with diplomatic maneuvers that would involve the Ottomans in the internal problems of Spain. For this activity, which followed the Ottoman-Spanish Treaty of 1580, see Akdes Nimet Kurat, *Türk-İngiliz Münasebetlerinin Başlangıcı ve Gelişmesi 1553-1610* [The Origin and Development of Turkish-English Relations 1553-1610] (Ankara, 1953), 118-61.

⁴⁸ The two orders are MD 9 77:204 (10 Z 977) and MD 9 89:231 (10 Z 977). Both of these documents have been transcribed into printed Ottoman and published in the periodical *Tarih-i 'Osmani Encümeni Mecmû'asi*, I (1912), 220-22. There are numerous misspellings and important omissions in the transcribed orders, for example, the dropping of *müsellah* (armed) in line 3 of MD 9 89:231 in the printed copy. Here, all translations are from the archival documents.

⁴⁹ Çavuş or messenger in this case. Further information on this position in the Ottoman administration can be found in Stanford J. Shaw, *Ottoman Egypt in the Age of the French Revolution* (Cambridge, Mass., 1964), 87-89.

⁵⁰ The full title in the "Mühimme" registers for the governor of Algeria is *cezd'ir-i-garb beğlerbeğisi*, as used in MD 5 94:215 (12 S 973). For the general details concerning this position, see Shaw, *Ottoman Egypt*, 74.

⁵¹ *Paşa* (Arabic *Başa*) was an honorific conferred upon Ottomans of two-horsetail rank and above. This included governors and viziers during the sixteenth century.

Sultan's interest in the Morisco revolt. The second order is an imperial command, addressed to the Andalusians, dealing with the question of Ottoman aid for the embattled Muslim population in Granada.

Though the original petition from the Moriscos has not yet been discovered, the summary of previous events,⁵² at the head of the Sultan's orders, described the main elements of Philip II's attack on Morisco customs⁵³ and outlined the early stages of the Muslim rebellion in which Ottomans had already participated. Writing to the Andalusians, the Sultan said

You have informed [me] . . . that now 20,000 armed men in number have come into being and an unarmed 100,000 are [also] certain and that, with the arrival of an amount of arms from Algeria, confidence has been produced and many defeats have been given to the evil-acting Unbelievers.⁵⁴

A letter from Kılıç Ali Paşa also confirmed this information and added some news about political conditions in other areas of the Habsburg Empire.

Order to the Governor of Algeria, Ali Paşa: You have sent a letter to my Sublime Court and have informed me saying that . . . the Lutheran sect has brought together a large body of troops and has pillaged and plundered the provinces of the tyrannical and accursed Spanish, has taken their lands, and has defeated [them]. Also from this area, since the Andalusians, Islamic people, have revolted, the leaders of the accursed Unbelievers have been roughly handled [*Kāsin olub*] and they have been in a state of disorder. Previously they had gathered a great force and had attacked the Andalusian people, and, by the grace of God, a victory had taken place. From this area troops and arms have been sent, assistance has been given, and the provinces of the tyrannical and accursed Unbelievers are not free from being looted.⁵⁵

⁵² Text in MD 9 89:231 (10 Z 977).

⁵³ *Ibid.*, lines 1-2. More detailed information on this matter can be found in Garrad, "Original Memorial," 199-226; and Baroja, *Moriscos*, 141-69.

⁵⁴ MD 9 77:204 (10 Z 977), lines 2-5. In all probability the Muslim leaders inflated their numbers. It is interesting that the Morisco figures are well under estimates of 150,000 and 600,000-800,000, as reported in Braudel, *Méditerranée*, 586, 894, and fit fairly well with the population statistics given in Garrad, "Original Memorial," 209, n. 1, for Granada. Even if one cuts the Morisco figures in half, the Muslim units, and the geographic advantages they enjoyed, made them a first-class military problem in the sixteenth century. If one adds international difficulties he gets some idea of why the Habsburg government was so concerned about this internal danger.

⁵⁵ In MD 9 77:204 (10 Z 977), line 2, Lutheran (*Lütrân*) means those who rebelled both against the Pope's direction of the Christian community and against the political powers supporting the Pope. Ottomans, who saw Christian developments in terms of Islamic concepts, did not, in these sources, distinguish between the various Protestant groups. (See Peçevi, *Tarih*, I, 415; 'Ali, "Künh," IV, fols. 241^b-42^a; and Mehmed, *Nuḥbet*, 118. Maurice Boyd, *Cardinal Quiruga, Inquisitor General of Spain* [Dubuque, Iowa, 1954], 52, n. 55, reports that the Inquisition employed the same terminology.) The entire quotation is from MD 9 77:204 (10 Z 977), lines 1-6. For the character of the war in Granada and its connection with North Africa from Spanish materials, see Baroja, *Moriscos*, 180-204. Reports on the same question from French and English agents are in *Sources inédites de l'histoire du Maroc*, 1^{re} série: *Dynastie Saadienne (1530-1660)*, ed. Henry de Castries et al. (18 vols., Paris, 1905-), Subser. 1, I, 286-87, 293-97; Subser. 3, I, 88-89, 104.

The introductory portions of both orders show that Selim II had been informed in detail of the Morisco revolt before the spring of 1570 and that the governor of Algeria had acted to support the rebellion by supplying arms and ammunition. Whether or not the reinforcements from North Africa were part of an Ottoman plan or an independent act by the governor of Algeria is not clear. Finally, the news concerning the "Lutherans" gave the Sultan some interesting intelligence regarding Philip II's European frontier.

The gains that could be achieved by aiding a revolt against the Habsburgs at one end of the Mediterranean while attacking the Venetians at the other end were too great to ignore, and Selim II encouraged the rebels. But the Ottoman effort in the western Mediterranean was to be delayed, for while "previously it had been the royal intention that the imperial fleet was to be sent to that area and all assistance and help were to be given to Islamic peoples,"⁵⁶ the Christians on Cyprus, which was in the center of the Empire, had violated their treaty with the Sultan. Cyprus, according to the Sultan, had become the major base for the Christian corsairs who raided the important naval traffic that followed the Levant coast. Besides disrupting the commerce of the eastern Mediterranean, the privateers had seized pilgrims who were on their way to the Holy Cities and had taken part of the Sultan's tax revenue from the rich province of Egypt. Only by taking Cyprus could this threat to the practice of the faith and to the integrity of the Empire be eliminated.⁵⁷ Since the decision to conquer Cyprus would require the use of the fleet, Ottoman galleys could not support the Morisco rebellion at this time; when the infidels were defeated, however, "it has been resolved [that] for My continued success, the imperial fleet will be sent to that region."⁵⁸ The Moriscos were assured, meanwhile, that the governor of Algeria had been instructed to render all assistance possible. Thus, the accompanying order to Kılıç Ali Paşa admonished him to support the Moriscos. "Now you will be prepared and ready to give all aid and

⁵⁶ MD 9 77:204 (10 Z 977), lines 7-8.

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, lines 8-13. These are Ottoman reasons for the attack on Cyprus. See note 44, above, and Kâtib Çelebi, *Tuhfet*, 39^b; Ahmed Feridun Bey, *Münşâ'ât-ı Salâhîn* [The Writs of Sultans] (2 vols., Istanbul, 1275/1858), II, 550-52. Feridun's work, the full title of which is a chronogram for the year of its completion, 982, is a two-volume collection of state papers of great importance for the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. When it was discovered that some documents, reputed to have been composed in the reign of the first two Ottoman sultans, were copied from materials pertaining to an earlier Central Asian dynasty, the originality of the entire work was questioned. Subsequent scholarship has shown, however, that the collection, with all its additions, is a highly reliable source. For further details, see J. H. Mordtmann and V. L. Ménage, "Feridun Beg," *EP*, II, 881-82. Hill, *History of Cyprus*, III, 878-88, notes that the Morisco rebellion was a factor in the Ottoman decision to invade the Venetian island.

⁵⁸ MD 9 89:231 (10 Z 977), line 17.

assistance to that region, whether it be the sending of victorious troops or the giving of arms and ammunition."⁵⁹ Concluding paragraphs to both orders warned the respective commanders to continue the struggle against the unbeliever, to beware of the enemy, and to keep the Sultan informed of events in the western Mediterranean.

When drafts of the imperial orders were given to Halil Çavuş in April 1570, the Sultan, who was never inhibited when it came to emphasizing his military prowess, included no mention of Kılıç Ali Paşa's seizure of Tunis during January 1570. Yet the activity of the Ottomans in the western Mediterranean from the conquest of Tunis by Barbarossa in 1534 to the siege of Malta in 1565 pointed to the consolidation of the Ottoman position in Algeria, to which Tunis was the key, as the basic policy of the sultans in North Africa. One wonders if Selim II was well enough informed to know that the frontier revolt of the Moriscos had little chance of success and, therefore, did not wish to discourage the Spanish Muslims by announcing that Tunis had a greater priority than Andalusia.⁶⁰

Regular Habsburg units, commanded by Don Juan, demolished the last of the organized Morisco bands by autumn 1570; thereafter the insurrection in Granada slowly died out. While Philip II dealt with this internal war, the Ottomans conquered Cyprus (1570-1571) and all but achieved a unified North Africa with the capture of Tunis (1570). In the case of Cyprus, the military operations in Granada distracted and delayed joint action by Christian fleets until early in the fall of 1571 when Don Juan won a major naval victory at Lepanto.⁶¹ On the other side of the Mediterranean Kılıç Ali's occupation of Tunis was more directly assisted by the Morisco revolt. Responsibility for the eastern defenses of the Habsburg Empire in the Mediterranean rested upon the commanders of the provinces in Sicily and Italy; it was these regions, already depleted by the need for troops in the Netherlands, that had to provide the regular soldiers and galleys for the suppression

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, lines 17-19.

⁶⁰ Braudel, *Méditerranée*, 899-932, argues that the Ottomans, without discouraging the Moriscos, concentrated on Cyprus and Tunis rather than Andalusia. From the beginning of Ottoman expansion the key to success had been a dispassionate determination of formal policy followed by well-coordinated military action on one frontier. In the case of the Moriscos, had Cyprus been taken with ease and had the Christians remained divided, the Ottomans would probably have turned to North Africa before 1574 and provided the Moriscos with a higher level of support than they did. Whether this would have involved an invasion of Spain is impossible to determine. No doubt the Sultan would have consolidated his position in North Africa first. For histories of this event from the Arab point of view, which are not anti-Ottoman, see Yahyā bū 'Aziz, *Ta'riḥ al-jazā'ir* [A History of Algeria] (Cairo, 1965), 9-10; and 'Abd ar-Rahmān ben Muḥammad al-Jilālī, *Ta'riḥ al-jazā'ir al-'Amm* [A General History of Algeria] (2 vols., Algiers, 1955), II, 342.

⁶¹ Hill, *History of Cyprus*, II, 904-49.

of the Muslim revolt in Spain.⁶² As Habsburg units moved to the west, Janizaries marched into Tunis.

In the winter of 1573 Don Juan retook the city of Tunis and began the last stage in the Ottoman-Habsburg military contest for North Africa. It is ironic that the Habsburg reconstruction of its mid-century frontier provided the Ottomans with an ideal objective for the spring naval campaign of the following year. Since the defeat in the Battle of Lepanto three years before, the Sultan's shipyards and arsenals, under the direction of Kılıç Ali Paşa and Mehmed Sokollu, had engaged in a remarkable rebuilding of the Ottoman navy.⁶³ The renewal of the fleet and the Spanish presence in Tunis permitted Selim II to issue orders, early in 1574, for a major naval campaign that would consolidate the Maghrib under Ottoman administration and would gain revenge for the defeat at Lepanto.⁶⁴ Strong Spanish forts guarding the harbor of Tunis and the proximity of Habsburg Sicily, however, presented the Ottoman military commanders with a difficult assignment. As planning for the spring campaign of 1574 progressed, it was not surprising that the Sultan turned his attention to the western edge of the Ottoman-Habsburg frontier. Perhaps the military forces of Philip II again could be tied down in the suppression of another rebellion while the Ottoman fleet attacked Tunis.

Buried deep in the second volume of a collection of state papers, gathered together as a model of proper scribal style, is a vizierial letter to the people of Andalusia.⁶⁵ The document, which appears along with a series of orders and letters concerning North African affairs,⁶⁶ carries no date. From internal evidence it is possible to assign the time of its composition to the period after the decision to reconquer Tunis—early 1574—and before the first of the Ottoman victories that summer.⁶⁷ This vizierial communication was probably prepared or at least approved by Feridun Bey;⁶⁸ its intent was to employ

⁶² Braudel, *Méditerranée*, 897–99; Merriman, *Rise of the Spanish Empire*, IV, 92–93. MD 12 571:1088 (7 ZA 979/Mar. 1572) records the transfer of Kılıç Ali Paşa from the post of governor of Algeria to that of grand admiral.

⁶³ The rebuilding program was another reflection of Ottoman strength. Ottoman historians celebrate this ability in Selaniki, *Târih*, 109; Peçevi, *Târih*, I, 498–500; Mehmed, *Nuḥbet*, 124–25; and Kâtib Çelebi, *Tuhfet*, 44^a–44^b.

⁶⁴ In February 1574 the Sultan wrote the governor of Algeria that the imperial fleet would arrive at Tunis during the summer. (MD 23 300:658 [18 L 981].)

⁶⁵ Feridun, *Münşâ'ât*, II, 550–52.

⁶⁶ On North African materials, cf. *ibid.*, 568–69; MD 18 135–36:288 (19 L 979). These two documents are the same except for more elaborate titles and a bit more detail in the *Münşâ'ât* copy.

⁶⁷ Feridun, *Münşâ'ât*, II, 551, lines 28–30, ends the Sultan's list of military developments. Akdes Nimet Kurat, *Türk-İngiliz*, 152, dates this document as 1573–1574. The numerous entries in MD 24 mobilizing the military might of the Ottomans begin early in 1574.

⁶⁸ Feridun Bey was appointed to the position of *Nişancı* (Keeper of the Seal) from his

the Moriscos again in the grand strategic plans of the Sultan. The political dimensions of the struggle now, however, extended well beyond the Iberian Peninsula and North Africa.

The royal letter to the Andalusians brought the history of Ottoman-Morisco relations from the assault on Cyprus to the decision to retake Tunis.

Then, when winter was at hand, the Spanish fleet, instigating Arabs from the home of crime on opposite shores, had invaded the city of Tunis in alliance and agreement with them. The imperial fleet has, therefore, turned toward that region this year in continuance of victory, in order to save Tunis and to conquer the forts named *Ḥalk-ul-Vād*.⁶⁹

The letter went on to explain that since Ottoman arms had overcome certain difficulties in the eastern Mediterranean—the defeat at Lepanto and the resistance on Cyprus⁷⁰—the Sultan could now turn his attention toward the oppressions laid upon the people of Andalusia. Re-emphasizing the connection between North Africa and Spain, the viziers directed the establishment of an espionage network between Spain and Algeria in order that the Ottomans and Moriscos might coordinate their efforts against the Christians.

Therefore our man, whose name is not revealed [*Maḥrem nām adamız*], from the special servants of the Empire and who is knowledgeable of those regions, has been sent to you with a book that shows [our] friendship. When our above-mentioned man arrives, God willing, may He be exalted, all of you shall consult together in good agreement and complete unity. Also, if in whatever year and time you will have the ability and power to move on and attack the enemies of religion with the zeal of the Evident Religion, accordingly you shall, with the knowledge of our above-mentioned man, send your men to the Threshold of Felicity [Istanbul] from the direction of Algeria. You shall communicate in detail with one another in order that the preparations of the enemies of evil repute shall be known, that [aid] will arrive for you by sea and land on the time that was appointed and assigned, and that they [the Algerians] will render every assistance.⁷¹

post as chief of the secretaries in December 1573 and was not dismissed from office until April 1576. (Mordumann and Ménage, "Feridun Beg," *ET*, II, 881-82.)

⁶⁹ Feridun, *Münşâ'ât*, II, 551, line 27. As a regular part of their frontier policy, the Habsburgs encouraged the Arab and Berber opponents of the Ottomans. Now that the Christians held a temporary advantage, they proceeded to incite the Beni 'Abbās and the Arab tribesmen who supported the Hafsid dynasty to revolt against the Ottomans. (İlter, *Şimali*, II, 153-56.) An order, issued on August 13, 1573, warned Vizier Piyale Paşa that the Spanish, along with their Arab allies, might attack Tunis. (MD 22 215:416 [14 R 981/Aug. 13, 1573].) For Spanish activities among the Arabs and Berbers in Tunisia and Algeria, see Pablo Alvarez Rubiano, "Política imperial," 32-46; and Ruff, *Domination espagnole*, *passim*. The entire quotation is from Feridun, *Münşâ'ât*, II, 551, lines 27-29. La Goletta/Ḥalk-ul-Vād with its supporting forts was an imposing structure. A short description of the difficult conquest is given in Peçevi, *Târiḥ*, I, 502-503.

⁷⁰ Feridun, *Münşâ'ât*, II, 551, lines 13-21. The defeat in the Battle of Lepanto is not directly mentioned; rather, the Sultan quotes a verse from the Koran, 2/216, "It may happen that ye hate a thing which is good for you."

⁷¹ Feridun, *Münşâ'ât*, II, 551, lines 36-37, 552, lines 1-5.

Although the intent of the vizierial letter to the Andalusians was to re-create the conditions in Spain during the second revolt of the region of Alpujarras (1568-1570), the concluding admonition added a new element that expanded matters. While all the commanders of the "Protected Lands" (Ottoman Empire) were instructed to use their military resources to attack the enemies of religion, the Moriscos were also encouraged to make use of Habsburg political difficulties in Europe to aid the progress of the holy war.

The Lutheran sect does not cease its war and combat with those who are subject to the Pope and his school. You shall [, therefore,] secretly communicate with them, and when they set out upon war and combat with the Pope you also shall take care, jointly, to cause losses to the provinces and soldiers [of the Pope] from your side.⁷²

Here the Sultan encouraged the Moriscos to act in conjunction with the revolutionary Protestant movement in the Netherlands. There, since the religious riots of 1566, Philip II had applied a policy of repression, which, under the stern hand of the Duke of Alva, had provoked a major reaction against Habsburg rule.⁷³

Were the Ottomans merely relying upon news of Habsburg troubles to incite the Moriscos to act again, or did they consider the Revolt of the Netherlands a matter worth exploring? Again Feridun Bey's collection yields an imperial document of major importance for European history. Not hesitating to establish alliances against Philip II beyond the Mediterranean, the Sultan dispatched an agent to Protestant leaders in Flanders and other Spanish provinces. While calling for a renewal of Muslim military actions in Spain, Selim II now worked to coordinate his western Mediterranean thrust with divisions among the Christians.⁷⁴

After extolling the virtues of the Prophet, the power of the Ottoman Sultan, and the evil of the religious practices that, according to the Ottomans, both Islam and "Lutheranism" rejected,⁷⁵ Selim II's correspondence with

⁷² The reference in the first sentence is probably to the Calvinist rebellion in the Netherlands. Catholics were named by using an Islamic technical term *mezheb* (school), which is normally employed in Ottoman sources to designate one of the four orthodox schools of Islam. (Heyd, *Ottoman Documents*, 154, n. 1.) The entire quotation is from Feridun, *Münşâât*, II, 552, lines 7-9. No distinction is drawn between the Pope and the Spanish in this document.

⁷³ Merriman, *Rise of the Spanish Empire*, IV, 281-300.

⁷⁴ Feridun, *Münşâât*, II, 542-44. The document is an imperial letter (*nâme-i hümayûn*) that was ordered sent to the followers of the "Lutheran" sect who were in *Filândara* (Flanders) and in the Spanish provinces. The Ottoman word for province (*vilâyet*) has several meanings. (See Heyd, *Ottoman Documents*, 50, n. 2.) It seems likely that the Ottomans sent their agent north to get in touch with those "Lutheran" forces in the Netherlands that opposed Philip II; the letter was, therefore, addressed to the widest possible audience rather than to any special group. This document has been partially transcribed in Uzunçarşılı, *Osmanlı Tarihi*, II, 486-87.

⁷⁵ Feridun, *Münşâât*, II, 542, lines 1-7, 543, lines 1-9.

the "Lutherans" noted: "Since you have raised your sword against the papists and since you have regularly killed them, our imperial compassion and royal attention have been devoted in every way to your region."⁷⁶ Before this time, the Sultan had not had the opportunity to communicate with the many leaders, in Flanders and in the Spanish provinces, who were disgusted with the practices of the Catholics. Thus,

the announcement of our friendship, affection, compassion, and favor for you has been our imperial intention for some time; because there was no one who could bear our imperial trust in this matter, however, [our communication with you] has been delayed.⁷⁷

But on the eve of the reconquest of Tunis the Ottomans had an agent.

Now since our unnamed servant from the slaves of the Lofty Threshold, who knows the military affairs and conditions of that area and who is to be trusted, has appeared, he has been sent to you in order to make known the affection and friendship and our compassion and solicitude that exist for you.⁷⁸

The Sultan's representative in the Netherlands was to meet with the leaders of the "Lutheran" groups to discuss the political affairs of Western Europe. Selim II specifically wanted the Protestant rebels to inform Istanbul when they planned to attack the followers of the Pope so that the Ottomans might cooperate with the "Lutherans" in a general assault on the papists.

You will, accordingly, send to our Lofty Threshold your men who are to be trusted, and you will jointly inform our slave of your conditions such that, at the time you decide upon, our victorious troops will be sent from land and sea, and, as it should be, assistance will be given.⁷⁹

To reinforce this proposed Muslim-"Lutheran" alliance, the Sultan informed the Protestant rebels that

our imperial letter also has been sent to the notables of the Islamic people who are Moriscos [*Mudaccal*], and it has been written saying [to them]: "When the Lutheran Beys [*Begs*], *Beyzades* [*Begzâdes*], and notables send troops against the followers of the Pope, you will also advance on those without religion from one side, and you will render assistance [to the Lutherans]." You will mutually inform each other, always, and become friendly.⁸⁰

The imperial letter ends with a physical description of the Ottoman agent, with repeated guarantees that the "Lutheran" ambassadors to Istanbul would

⁷⁶ *Ibid.*, lines 10-11.

⁷⁷ *Ibid.*, lines 16-18.

⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, lines 18-20.

⁷⁹ *Ibid.*, lines 23-26.

⁸⁰ *Bey* (*beg*) is used in a general sense to mean the important leaders of the rebel Protestant movement. For further details concerning this term, see Mehmed Zeki Pakalın, *Osmanlı Tarih Deyimleri ve Terimleri Sözlüğü* [A Dictionary of Expressions and Terms for Ottoman History] (3 vols., Istanbul, 1946-54), I, 213-14. *Beyzades* (*begzâdes*) are the sons of the leaders named above. The quotation is from Feridun, *Münşâât*, II, 543, lines 26-29.

be protected, and with additional assurance that the Ottoman Empire would assist the proposed double envelopment of Spain.⁸¹

The temporary success of Spanish repression in the Netherlands, the dispersal of the Moriscos throughout Spain after 1570, and, above all, the problem of communicating over the enormous distance between the Netherlands and Istanbul prevented Selim II's grand strategy from squeezing Philip II into an Iberian corner.⁸² But despite the failure of the Moriscos to rouse themselves again, the movement of Muslim agents between the eastern and western ends of the Mediterranean had its impact. Through the interrogation of captured agents, and from his own espionage network, the Habsburg King learned of the dangerous combinations that ringed Spain. When the Ottomans reconquered Tunis, Philip husbanded his forces rather than risk another North African disaster that could open the Iberian Peninsula to an internally supported invasion or would drain the Empire of military resources, exposing the Netherlands to the Protestant rebels.⁸³

⁸¹ *Ibid.*, lines 29-37, 544, lines 1-4. Did the Ottomans succeed in reaching all those who rebelled against Philip II? There is considerable evidence that the Ottomans were in touch with the Moriscos. And although Ottoman-Dutch relations remain obscure, there is some interesting information on early contacts between the Netherlands and the Turks. The out-of-date study of the Revolt of the Netherlands, by J. L. Motley (*The Rise of the Dutch Republic* [3 vols., London, 1910-11], II, 498; III, 131), which cites original sources that I have been unable to check, states that Zeeland sailors relieving Leiden in 1574 wore a crescent badge with an inscription "Rather Turkish than Popish" and that in 1577 Juan de Escobedo informed Philip II of the interest of the rebels in an alliance with the Turks. William of Orange, writing in February 1570, speculated on how disastrous it would be for the Spanish if the Moriscos could hold out until the Turks arrived. (*Correspondance inédite de la Maison d'Orange-Nassau*, collected Guillaume Groen Van Prinsterer [2 vols., Leiden, 1836], Ser. I, II 361-63.) In the year of the reconquest of Tunis English agents reported that the Turkish ambassador to the Habsburg Emperor was a Dutchman. (*Calendar of State Papers, Foreign Series*, ed. Allan James Crosby et al. [24 vols., London, 1861-1936], X, 580-81.) *Sources inédites*, ed. Castries et al., Subser. 3, I, 363-68, 404-407, contains two reports, one dated 1579 and the other 1582, connecting the Dutch rebellion with the Moriscos. Finally, the use of North African bases by Dutch privateers during the last quarter of the century indicated that a common antagonism toward Spain and a joint interest in privateering had brought Ottoman corsairs and Dutch seamen together on the western fringe of the Muslim Empire. (Tenenti, *Venezia*, 40-41, 78-114; Bono, *Corsari*, 77-91; Alfred C. Wood, *A History of the Levant Company* [London, 1965], 28.) From the Ottoman side, information about the revolt in the Netherlands continued to come from Algeria. (MD 35 189:475 [2 B 986/1578].) At the turn of the seventeenth century the description of a Dutch ambassador's trip to Constantinople, where he encountered Dutch merchants, indicates that formal diplomatic relations did not begin until 1612. (See Cornelius Haga, *A true declaration of the arrivall of C. Haga, ambassador at Constantinople*, tr. from the Dutch copy for Thomas Archer [London, 1613].) Mustafa Naima, *Tarih-i Na'imâ* [Naima's History] (6 vols., Istanbul, 1279/1862), II, 108, confirms this visit. Uzunçarşılı, *Osmanlı Tarihi*, II, 235-38, gives further details on the establishment of Ottoman-Dutch relations.

⁸² Weather was the most important factor inhibiting joint operations. In the age of the galley the Mediterranean naval season ran approximately from May to October. This time dimension and the distance of Spain from the center of Ottoman activities meant that the fleet would have to winter somewhere in North Africa. For the Sultan's recognition of this problem, see MD 44 35:76 (12 RA 989/1581); on the general problem of distance in the sixteenth century, see Braudel, *Méditerranée*, 309-24.

⁸³ According to Braudel (*ibid.*, 980-81), the Council of State, rather than approving a counterattack, reviewed the question of whether or not to abandon Oran. It should be noted

After the reconquest of Tunis (1574) and the successful establishment of Ottoman influence in Morocco (1576),⁸⁴ the Moriscos disappeared from the forefront of the political stage. Already in July 1576 an imperial order to the governor of Algeria contained a summary of the Morisco situation that signaled a new direction in Ottoman frontier policy. Murad III had received a report from North Africa that "on the shore opposite the province of Fās [Morocco] the Andalusians were Orthodox Muslims and that under the Unbelievers they had become weak, and their conditions had changed for the worse."⁸⁵ Four years later the Ottomans signed one of several peace treaties with the Spanish that both ended large-scale Muslim-Christian conflicts in the Mediterranean and allowed Murad III the full use of his power against the Safavids.⁸⁶ This closure of the western frontier left little hope for the future of an Islamic society in Spain; thereafter, the only information in the principal Ottoman sources concerned the resettlement of the exiles in North Africa and in other regions of the Ottoman Empire.⁸⁷ In 1609 the last elements of an old Islamic society were removed as the Spanish expelled the remaining Moriscos without excessive resistance.⁸⁸

Intensified internal economic difficulties in the last half of the century

also that the financial difficulties of Spain were about to produce the royal bankruptcy of 1575-1576.

⁸⁴ The Ottomans had supported rival candidates for the Saadi sultanate since the end of Süleyman I's reign. (MD 6 263:561 [29 CA 972/Jan. 1565].) In 1576 Murad III provided military support for Abdülmelik, who wished to seize the Saadi throne from his nephew. This seizure extended Ottoman influence into Morocco. (Abdülaziz Efendi, *Ravzat-ul-Ebrâr* [The Garden of the Righteous] [Bulak, Egypt, 1248/1832], 459; Münecim başı, *Şahâ'if*, III, 537-38; Mehmed, *Nuḥbet*, 133-34; Kâtib Çelebi, *Takvîm-üt-Tavâriḥ* [The Calendar of Chronicles] [Istanbul, 1286-87/1869-70], 125.) Moroccan accounts are in Ufrani, *Nozhet*, 109; Fagnan, *Extraits*, 397-401; and Ahmad an-Nâsirî, *Kitâb al-Isṭikṣâ li aḥbâr duwal al-Mağrib al-Aḫṣâ* [A History of the States of Morocco] (8 vols., Casablanca, 1955), V, 61-64. European sources can be found in Nicolae Iorga, *Geschichte des osmanischen Reiches* (5 vols., Gotha, 1908-13), III, 159-60.

⁸⁵ "Mühimme Zeyli Defteri," 3 204:— (13 R 984/June 1576), lines 5-6.

⁸⁶ The treaty is recorded as a *nâme-i hümayûn* (imperial letter) in MD 43 177:322 (end C 988/Aug. 1, 1580). European sources are covered in Braudel, *Méditerranée*, 989-1008. Some of the reasons for the Ottoman turn toward Iran are listed by Bekir Kütükoğlu, *Osmanlı Safevi Siyasi Münasebetleri 1578-1590* [Ottoman Safavid Political Relations 1578-1590] (Istanbul, 1957), 7-29.

⁸⁷ Beginning in 1571, orders concerning the refugees from the rebellion of 1568 appeared in Ottoman records. MD 15 27:234 (4 S 979/1571) orders the granting of positions to the *'ulemâ and suluḥâ* (learned and pious) from Spain according to their deserts; MD 23 139:284 (28 B 981/1573) commands the governor of Algeria to prevent the taking of money and clothing from the refugees; and MD 23 121:244 (19 B 981/1573) directs the granting of vacant positions to the Moriscos. Uzunçarşılı, *Osmanlı Tarihi*, II, 201-202, gives a partial transcription of MD 78 441:— (1022/1613), which orders the Tunisian governor and judges to assist the refugees from Spain and to collect them for transfer to the provinces of Adana, Uzeyr (area between Adana and Aleppo), Tarsus, Sis (center for the province of Adana), Syria, and Kars (Zülkadriye).

⁸⁸ Lapeyre, *Géographie*, examines the expulsion in detail.

stirred discontent among both the Old Christians and the Moriscos and provoked a rise in hostility between the two religious communities.⁸⁹ While part of the mounting pressures was the result of general economic problems, the Moriscos were disturbed by specific changes for the worse in areas where they had major interests, such as the silk trade.⁹⁰ But whatever the intensity of these economic grievances may have been, it seems unlikely that they alone aroused either the government to act so severely against the Islamic community or the Moriscos to rebel against one of the most powerful states in the European world. Something else had to challenge the enormous power of the Habsburg Empire.

Certainly heightened religious feeling associated with the Counter Reformation affected the Habsburg treatment of Spanish Muslims. At the very least, efforts against an expanding Protestant world and against Islam on the march demanded some form of Christian purity at home. The Habsburgs had acted, unsuccessfully, since 1502 to bring the Moriscos into the Catholic community; by the last half of the century, time was running out. Now the Moriscos faced Catholic clerics returning from the third meeting of the Council of Trent (1562-1564). If Spain was to be a center of activity for reformed Catholicism, how could churchmen tolerate the existence of a community that had refused, for over a half a century, to join the Christian world? Was, however, the political and religious force of the ecclesiastical party the determining element in the worsening relations between the Moriscos and the state following the retirement of Charles V?

Considering the evidence available, neither the pressure of the churchmen nor internal social and economic reasons seem to have been so powerful as to compel Philip "The Prudent" to adopt policies toward the Moriscos that produced a revolt in 1568 and that led to the redistribution throughout Spain of an alienated minority. These were severe actions motivated by reasons and fears far more serious than heightened economic and religious tensions. No doubt exists that a high degree of religious emotion entered into the decisions to root out the false Christian, but what really tipped the scales against the Moriscos were the ominous events on the northern and southern frontiers of the Habsburg Empire.

The long centuries of Muslim rule in Spain cannot be ignored when judging the impact on Spain of increased Ottoman power in North Africa. From mid-century on, the Sultan's warriors had relentlessly pushed Habsburg garrisons back from their positions in the eastern Mediterranean. Con-

⁸⁹ Braudel, *Méditerranée*, 353-420, 594; Baroja, *Moriscos*, 16, 55-59.

⁹⁰ Elliott, *Imperial Spain*, 228-37.

currently the Muslim fifth column in Spain served Ottoman purposes by diverting Habsburg energies toward the repression of an internal revolt while the Muslims took two of their major objectives, Cyprus and Tunis. Despite the suppression of the Moriscos and the subsequent distribution of the rebels, the problem of a disloyal minority still tormented the Spanish. Both Ottoman and Spanish records testify to the continued attempts by the Muslims to use the Moriscos as a military weapon, or, at the very least, as part of an espionage system. Ottoman power had now, furthermore, moved uncomfortably close, placing, with the aid of Spanish refugees,⁹¹ an Ottoman candidate on the Moroccan throne in 1576. Thus, by the last quarter of the sixteenth century, another strong Islamic army, with supporting elements inside the Iberian Peninsula, was encamped within the traditional staging areas for the invasion of Spain. Although after 1580 the Ottomans and the Spanish disengaged, could Philip II be sure that the Ottomans would never use this tyrannized minority and a strong position in North Africa to reverse the reconquest?⁹² The rhythm of Iberian history during the last eight centuries gave no comforting answer.

Nor in the crisis years of the 1560's was it possible to view the Morisco issue as only a problem of assimilation or expulsion coupled with the renewal of Muslim power in North Africa. Well into the last quarter of the century revolution and war shook the foundations of the Habsburg Empire. The rebellion in the Netherlands after 1566, the Morisco uprising in Spain in 1568-1570, the Huguenot struggles in France after 1562, and the successful Ottoman reconquest of Tunis in 1574 came dangerously close together. This deadly interplay of frontier wars that strained Spanish energies was, moreover, not hidden from Habsburg opponents. Ibrahim Peçuyulu (Peçevi), summarizing sixteenth-century Ottoman historians, exposed the Spanish dilemma. "In 1570, while the Spanish infidel checked 'Lutheran' unbelievers with troops, the Islamic people [in Granada] took [this] opportunity and brought victory to the country of Granada."⁹³ What concerned Philip II was this very attempt at an alliance among the Ottoman Empire, Protestant revolutionaries, and a Muslim fifth column in the center of Spain. If Calvinist destruction of idols prompted Philip II into sending his best general to root out heretical revolutionaries, so much less could he tolerate their infidel

⁹¹ Ufrani, *Nozhet*, 110; Fagnan, *Extraits*, 397-98.

⁹² Merriman, *Rise of the Spanish Empire*, IV, 97-99; *Calendars of State Papers, Venetian*, ed. Rawdon Brown et al. (38 vols., London, 1864-1947), VIII, 519-20, contains a report, dated 1591, of an Ottoman threat to use the Moriscos against Spain.

⁹³ Peçevi, *Tarih*, I, 485-86, summarizes 'Ali, "Künh," IV, fol. 241^b-42^a. Others who repeat the same "imperial" view of the rebellion are Mehmed, *Nuhbet*, 118-19; and Münecim bapı, *Şahâ'it*, III, 526.

counterpart, let alone their allies, in the very heart of the centralized Spanish Catholic state that had been created in the war against Muslims who now, again, were approaching the Iberian Peninsula. Even the resources of the mighty Habsburg Empire were not sufficient to confront both Islam and the Reformation.

The second revolt of the region of Alpujarras, the Calvinist rebellion in the north, and the advance of the Ottomans in North Africa revived the question of the Moriscos at a time when religious feeling was running high, and when there was a definite threat of a Muslim-supported revolutionary alliance with connections throughout and around Habsburg territories. Important political reasons, which were deeply rooted in Iberian history, gave free rein to an enthusiasm for a reformed Catholicism that masked many other interests. Whatever may have been Philip II's own motivations, Ottoman evidence provides enough information to indicate that imperial politics, transcending the Mediterranean, made the existence of the Morisco community a definite danger to the state. Self-defense dictated some sort of action. Expulsion was to be the final, tragic solution, and the Strait of Gibraltar became the dividing line between two civilizations.

If All the World Were Philadelphia: A Scaffolding for Urban History, 1774–1930

SAM BASS WARNER, JR.

FROM the moment American historians began writing self-conscious urban history they assumed the city was a particular kind of place, an environment, or set of environments, that called for special historical investigation. In his pioneering *Rise of the City, 1878–1898* (New York, 1933), Arthur M. Schlesinger, Sr., took the common-sense view that the crowding in slums, the intense social and economic interactions of the downtown, and the diurnal rhythms of the suburbs, all forced men to learn new styles of life if they were to prosper, indeed if they were to survive. Subsequent urban historians, whether their subject was immigrants, industrial cities, or colonial towns, repeatedly asserted that the city, either as a whole or by its parts, bore uniquely upon the lives of the men and women whose stories they told. Thus far, however, historians have failed to study the sources of this uniqueness in any systematic way.

Perhaps because the idea of a city as a special place, or a cluster of special places, seemed such a truism, it appeared not to be worthy of investigation in its own right. Perhaps because the demands for environmental history forced historians to labor so long to master the detail of a locale, few of them would contemplate a comparative study or a survey of a long time period. Or, perhaps the tradition of local history that has long stressed the distinctiveness of each urban portrait has prevented historians from considering the comparative and sequential aspects of urban environments. Whatever the cause of the lack of system, now thirty-five years after Schlesinger began the specialty, urban history still lacks a study of the succession of urban environments for any major city and the custom of research that would allow a reader to compare the history of one city to the history of any other.

This failure to examine the environment of cities in any systematic way

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has had serious consequences for the specialty. Teachers of urban history courses in American colleges must patch together chronological series out of books that do not treat comparable events, although the entire selection purports to deal with urbanization. A common sequence touching some of the important areas in American urban history might leap, for example, from Carl Bridenbaugh's description of colonial towns, to Oscar Handlin's analysis of Boston from 1830 to 1880, to Jacob Riis' account of New York's Lower East Side, to Lincoln Steffens' survey of municipal corruption, to Gilbert Osofsky's history of Harlem.¹ There is analysis of urban environments in Handlin, Riis, and Osofsky, although the data presented do not allow strict comparison without much outside knowledge. There is no concept of environment in Bridenbaugh and Steffens. The latter's argument rests on an interpretation of the structure of urban industry in the early twentieth century, but none of the other books give information on the earlier or later industrial structure. There are immigrants in Bridenbaugh's towns, but no information on acculturation. Just as frustrating to teacher and student as this lack of consistent information from book to book is the fact that no outline of the process of urbanization can be elicited from a chronological reading of our major urban histories. Except to the most imaginative reader, the usual shelf of urban history books looks like a line of disconnected local histories.

From time to time more systematic methods of viewing change in urban environments have been proposed. Soon after Schlesinger's work appeared, Lewis Mumford wrote his wide-ranging urban history of Europe and America, *The Culture of Cities* (New York, 1938). In it he divided urban history according to technological periods, arguing that urban environments responded to a regular sequence of technological events.² Economic historians have also worked with the concept of a process of development, and their periods complement the technological periods that Mumford derived intuitively. The economists have related the size of cities to economic functions and thereby tied urban history directly to the history of industrializa-

¹ Carl Bridenbaugh, *Cities in the Wilderness: The First Century of Urban Life in America, 1625-1742* (New York, 1938), and *Cities in Revolt: Urban Life in America, 1743-1776* (New York, 1955); Oscar Handlin, *Boston's Immigrants: A Study in Acculturation* (Cambridge, Mass., 1941); Jacob Riis, *How the Other Half Lives: Studies among the Tenements of New York* (New York, 1890); Lincoln Steffens, *The Shame of the Cities* (New York, 1904); Gilbert Osofsky, *Harlem: The Making of a Ghetto. Negro New York, 1890-1930* (New York, 1966).

² In this work and its predecessor, *Technics and Civilization* (New York, 1934), Mumford elaborated a scheme first proposed by the Scottish biologist and city planner, Patrick Geddes, in his *Cities in Evolution* (London, 1915).

tion.³ By extension of their reasoning, it is possible to relate internal environments to general economic change by regarding these environments as products of the developing scale and complexity of local, national, and international markets. Thus, the colonial American town becomes a product of an Atlantic system for the exchange of staples and manufactured goods; the big city to which the immigrants came in the early nineteenth century becomes a product of increased interregional commerce; the modern metropolis becomes a product of highly specialized regional and interregional exchanges in which services of all kinds have grown to supplant in significance older manufacturing and commercial functions. The idea of such urban sequences is as old as the concept of industrialization. What is new is the growing ability of economic historians to specify the relationships that determine urban growth and change.

Today it is possible to arrange the kind of basic facts that urban historians tend to gather in the course of their studies in such a way as to reveal the sequences suggested by Mumford and the economic historians. Such an arrangement gives the writer, and later his readers, a measure by which to judge the typicality of the subject; it also enables the writer and his readers to get some idea of where the particular events under discussion fit within the process of Atlantic urbanization. An orderly presentation of a few facts can, in short, provide a kind of intellectual scaffolding for urban history.

This article will demonstrate a systematic arrangement of a few facts about the population of Philadelphia during the years 1774, 1860, and 1930. It will discuss, in order, the growth of the population, the course of industrialization, the changing locations of workplaces and homes, the shifting intensity of residential clusters, and the group organization of work. Philadelphia has special merit for such a demonstration because it became a big city early in our history and because it industrialized early.

By the best current estimate the population of urban Philadelphia in 1775 (Philadelphia, Northern Liberties, and Southwark) was 24,000.⁴ Such a size did not make it the rival of Edinburgh and Dublin, as it has often been described,⁵ but rather an ordinary provincial town comparable to many

³ Eric E. Lampard, "History of Cities in Economically Advanced Areas," *Economic Development and Cultural Change*, III (Jan. 1955), 81-136; Eugene Smolensky and Donald Ratajczak, "The Conception of Cities," *Explorations in Entrepreneurial History*, 2d Ser., II (Winter 1965), 90-131; and a useful survey of various systematic methods of urban study, Philip M. Hauser and Leo F. Schnore, *The Study of Urbanization* (New York, 1965).

⁴ This figure is calculated from manuscript tax lists and constables' returns. Other colonial statistics in this paper are from 1774. This size of population is of the same magnitude as that used by Everett S. Lee, "Population," in *The Growth of Seaport Cities, 1790-1825*, ed. David T. Gilchrist (Charlottesville, Va., 1967), 28.

⁵ Bridenbaugh, *Cities in Revolt*, 217.

towns throughout Europe and Latin America. Though a new town, its physical, social, and economic environments must have been long familiar to the European world. This very typicality of Philadelphia suggests that comparative studies of contemporary European and Latin American provincial cities would reveal important dimensions of the preindustrial world.

In 1860 the consolidated city of Philadelphia (consolidated in 1854 to include all of Philadelphia County) held a population of 566,000, second only to New York in numbers of inhabitants.⁶ So rapid had been its growth that it had become one of the great cities of the world, about the same size as the old cities of Vienna and Moscow or the new city of Liverpool. As in the case of Liverpool, industrialization, immigration, and boomtown conditions were its hallmarks.

In 1930 Philadelphia's population (within the same boundaries as in 1860) had risen to 1,951,000. It was then, as it has remained, one of the nation's "big five," grouped with New York, Chicago, Los Angeles, and Detroit. In comparison to other cities of the world it ranked twelfth, behind Osaka, Paris, Leningrad, and Buenos Aires.⁷ In this period the key social issue was the manner in which a city of such unprecedented size structured its masses of people and its heavy volume of economic activities.

It is impossible to classify with precision the occupations of city dwellers over a century and a half of modern history. Crude listings can, nevertheless, give useful perspectives on the nature of urban economic life. The statistics for Philadelphia suggest two quite different perspectives: a view of continuity and a view of change.

In terms of continuity, differences of a few percentage points may be read both to suggest the stability of urban life and to point to fundamental change. Note, for example, in Table I the move in the Manufacturing category from 52.4 per cent to 45.3 per cent, in the professions from 3.1 per cent to 6.3 per cent, or in the building trades from 7.6 per cent to 8.1 per cent. Although the span from 1774 to 1930 is generally treated by historians as a time of major revolutions, over the entire 150 years the city fulfilled a basic set of functions: it provided clothing, food, and housing for its residents, and professional services, markets, and manufactures for its residents and its trading region. From such a placid viewpoint, even a sharp decline, such as that of the transportworkers, or an equally sharp rise, such as that of the

⁶ New York's population was 805,651, Brooklyn's 266,661, giving a combined urban population of 1,072,312. (*U. S. Eighth Census: 1860, Population*, I, xxxi-xxxii.) Baltimore was third with 212,418.

⁷ The 1860 and 1930 world population data are from Vladimir S. Woytinsky and Emma S. Woytinsky, *World Population and Production* (New York, 1953), 120-22. The population of all cities is according to their political boundaries, not their metropolitan regions.

Table I
A Comparison of Some Elements of the Work Structure
of Philadelphia, 1774-1930*

	1774	1860	1930
Occupation:			
Laborers, all industrial categories	13.3	8.1	8.7
Clerks of all kinds, office, and sales	0.8	3.4	13.9
All other occupations	85.9	88.5	77.4
	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
Workers by industrial categories:			
Manufacturing and mechanical industries	52.4	54.9	45.3
Building	7.6	8.3	8.1
Clothing	7.6	11.7	4.5
Bakeries	3.3	0.9	1.2
Iron, steel, and shipbuilding except autos and blast furnaces	6.2	4.5	4.7
Metalworking except iron and steel	2.0	2.4	0.6
Paper and printing	0.8	3.2	2.9
Miscellaneous textiles except wool and knitting	1.8	4.8	3.8
Balance of manufacturing	23.1	19.1	19.5
Nonmanufacturing	47.6	45.1	54.7
Wholesale and retail except autos	21.1	11.2	15.3
Transportation except railroads and transit	12.3	3.6	2.6
Professional and semiprofessional except entertainment	3.1	4.3	6.3
Hotels, laundries, and domestic service except slaves and indentured servants	5.9	21.8	12.8
Other nonmanufacturing industries	5.2	4.2	17.7
	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
Total Classified	3,654	3,012	864,926

* The classification of the Philadelphia work force of this table is that of the 1930 US Census, *Fifteenth Census, Classified Index of Occupations* (Washington, D.C., 1930), and *Alphabetical Index of Occupations* (Washington, D.C., 1930). One exception only has been made: wooden shipbuilding trades have been placed with the iron, steel, and shipbuilding categories for 1774 and 1860. The categories chosen for this table are those showing some specificity and continuity through all three periods and did not, like banking, contain so many unspecified clerks, or, like cotton mills, contain so many unspecified operatives as to

clerks, can be regarded as merely a shift in the nature of the city's commerce, not a departure from its historic functions. This perspective of continuity is especially useful to political history since it helps to explain the enduring power of urban businessmen, the commercialism of urban leadership, and the perseverance of business ideology at all levels of city politics.

The grouping of occupational statistics can also be used to place a city's history in a perspective of change. One can, for instance, interpret the shifts in the percentage of persons engaged in manufacturing and mechanical industries in the three years we are using (1774, 52.4 per cent; 1860, 54.9 per cent; 1930, 45.3 per cent) to suggest a steady decline in the proportions of Philadelphians engaged in manufactures from a peak in 1774. This interpretation seems proper because the 1774 percentage radically understates manufacturing activity. Colonial tax lists did not report the contribution of female domestic labor although such labor constituted an important fraction of the city's output. Indeed, one economic historian has estimated that on the eve of the Revolution four thousand Philadelphia women were spinning and weaving.⁹ If this interpretation is correct, then the course of urban industrialization takes on a special character. Not only did successive changes in industrial organization and machine processes free men and women from manufacturing for other occupations, but urban industrialization was a progressive sequence, ever lessening the commitment of the urban work force to manufacturing. Such a long trend differs from our common-sense impression that manufacturing occupied more and more city workers from President Jackson's time to the Hoover era.

defy 1774 or 1860 restoration. Occupations that could not be distributed by industry, like gentleman, widow, clerk, agent, operative, laborer, foreman, and helper, have been omitted from the industrial categorization of 1774 and 1860 and therefore do not enter into the percentage distributions of those years. These variations in classification between 1774, 1860, and 1930 probably account for small fluctuations in the Index of Dissimilarity of Table III. In a few cases the census names of some industrial categories have been altered for clarity. The census' Other Iron and Steel category appears in the table as Iron, steel, and shipbuilding except autos and blast furnaces; the census' Other Textiles appears as Miscellaneous textiles except wool and knitting; the census' Other Professional appears as Professional and semi-professional except entertainment. The table's category Hotels, laundries, and domestic service except slaves and indentured servants is a grouping of three census categories: Hotels, Restaurants, and Boarding Houses; Laundries and Cleaning Shops; Other Domestic Services. The 1774 list of occupations was drawn up from a careful comparison of names given on the 1774 Provincial Property Tax List for Philadelphia County with the 1775 Constable's Return for Philadelphia. The tax list is deposited in the Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission, Harrisburg; the Constable's Return is in the Archives of the City of Philadelphia, City Hall, Philadelphia. The 1860 material was drawn from a random sample of 3,666 persons taken from the original Eighth Census schedules for Philadelphia County now deposited in the National Archives. The 1930 data were transcribed from unpublished schedules of the Fifteenth Census now in my possession.

⁹ Anne Bezanson, *Prices and Inflation during the American Revolution: Pennsylvania, 1770-1790* (Philadelphia, 1951), 129.

More detailed comparisons of occupational and industrial groupings can also be made. Such groupings reflect changes in the structure of Philadelphia's economy that accompanied changes in the city's role in the Atlantic and American economy. During the first wave of industrialization, from 1774 to 1860, the proportions of unskilled laborers fell rapidly while the numbers of office and sales clerks multiplied. General wholesaling and retailing, however, declined with the differentiation of the old importing merchant's and general storekeeper's functions into distinct specialties. The labor force tied to marine transport and drayage declined sharply, while new industries like clothing, paper, and printing and some lines of textiles rose to great importance.

In the second wave of industrialization, during the interval 1860-1930, office and sales clerks again multiplied, but unskilled laborers remained a more or less steady proportion of the working population. Clothing, printing, baking, and textiles declined in relative importance, though they remained heavy users of Philadelphia's labor force. New industries, especially electrical machinery and auto parts, surged into prominence.¹⁰ Such changes in manufacturing went forward within the context of a general decline in the proportion of Philadelphians engaged in manufactures and a strong rise in professions, government, commerce, and some services.

In sum, even such a crude table (Table IV) shows that Philadelphia, despite its unique historical mixture of manufacturing, banking, and transportation, participated in the general trend of American and European industrialization suggested by Colin Clark.¹¹ Philadelphians' economic effort shifted steadily from an early concentration on manufactures and commerce toward a modern emphasis on services, education, and government.

As in the case of all large American cities, Philadelphia's growth was propelled by heavy in-migrations of rural native and foreign immigrants. The successive waves of foreign migration have been well documented, and now recent internal migrations have been estimated in state-by-state detail.¹² Today's practical concern with the social and political problems of black core cities and white metropolitan rings has obscured some of the history of urban settlement. The modern core of poverty and ring of affluence date

¹⁰ See Table IV; and Gladys L. Palmer, *Philadelphia Workers in a Changing Economy* (Philadelphia, 1956), 20-52.

¹¹ Colin Clark, *The Conditions of Economic Progress* (2d ed., London, 1951), Chap. ix.

¹² Conrad Taeuber and Irene B. Taeuber, *The Changing Population of the United States* (New York, 1958); Simon Kuznets *et al.*, *Population Redistribution and Economic Growth, United States, 1870-1950* (3 vols., Philadelphia, 1957-64).

from the late nineteenth century and were not characteristic of the first wave of urban growth.¹³

A kind of core and ring distribution of city dwellers manifested itself from the beginning, but it was much weaker and the reverse of the later distribution. In 1774 the poor seemed to have been pushed to the fringes of the city by the high cost of land near the Delaware River wharves. Then, during the early nineteenth century, Philadelphia grew so rapidly, and from such small beginnings, that no large stock of old housing existed to absorb or to ghettoize the waves of poor people flooding into the city.

Like inhabitants of a booming Latin American city today, Philadelphians of all income levels had to locate in new construction. Shanties, shacks, backyard houses, and alley tenements, as well as the monstrous conversions of the early nineteenth century, all so movingly reported by the nation's first sanitary inspectors, testify to the unpleasant clash of low incomes with the costs of new construction.¹⁴ Under these conditions the poor tended to settle in backyards everywhere, in any old, decaying street that was not being seized by business, and especially at the outer edge of the city where land was cheapest, or could be squatted on.

If laborers are taken as proxies for low-income families, then Table II shows the tendency of poverty to concentrate at the ring of the city in 1860, not at the core; clerks concentrated next to the downtown. Such commonplace occupations as carpenters, machinists, shoemakers, and tailors settled in reasonably even proportions in both parts of the city. By 1930 the large stocks of old, cheap housing in the core of the city had completely reversed this pattern; low rents concentrated in the core, homeowners and middle-income rentpayers (\$50.00-\$99.00) at the ring.

Complementary patterns can be observed in the location of immigrants. In 1860, except for the British who clustered in the ring to be near the city's outer textile mills, immigrants were rather evenly distributed between core and ring. In 1930 the major immigrant groups, the Italians, Poles, and Russians, and the incoming Negroes concentrated in the cheap housing in the core. By the twentieth century, income, ethnic, and racial segregation had become as characteristic of the giant industrial metropolis as jumble and huggermugger had characterized the earlier big city.

¹³ Sam Bass Warner, Jr., *Streetcar Suburbs: The Process of Growth in Boston, 1870-1900* (Cambridge, Mass., 1962), gives a detailed account of the development of this core and ring pattern in Boston; Leo F. Schnore, *The Urban Scene, Human Ecology and Demography* (New York, 1965), demonstrates three quite different patterns for race, education, and income in large American metropolitan regions, 1950-1960.

¹⁴ *Transactions of the American Medical Association*, II (1849); John H. Griscom, *The Sanitary Condition of the Laboring Population of New York* (New York, 1845).

Table II
Location of Foreign-Born, Negroes, and Selected Occupations, Tenures, and Rents, by
Per Cent in Core or Ring, 1860, 1930¹⁸

1860									
Ring Core Total Number	Negro	Foreign- Born	Britain	Germany	Ireland		Total Population		
	34.9	62.1	73.7	60.4	60.8		61.9		
	65.1	37.9	26.3	39.6	39.2		38.1		
	22,185	168,556	22,398	43,833	94,989		565,529		
Ring Core Number in Sample	Laborer	Clerk	Carpenter	Machinist	Shoemaker	Tailor	Sample		
	75.5	40.6	61.7	69.5	66.9	68.9	58.9		
	24.5	59.4	38.3	30.5	33.1	31.1	41.1		
	442	283	149	82	181	122	4,740		
1930									
Ring Core Total Number	Negro	Britain	Germany	Ireland	Italy	Poland	Russia	Total Population	
	19.7	52.6	43.8	52.0	29.5	27.4	30.0	70.4	
	80.3	47.4	56.2	48.0	70.5	72.6	70.0	29.6	
	222,504	36,593	38,066	31,359	68,156	30,582	80,959	1,950,961	
Ring Core Number of Families	Own Their Home	Rent at under \$15	Rent \$15-\$29	Rent \$30-\$49	Rent \$50-\$99	Rent \$100+	Total Families		
	52.4	10.9	16.8	40.3	60.5	44.2	44.2		
	47.6	89.1	83.2	59.7	29.5	55.8	55.8		
	232,591	10,142	63,432	96,026	36,427	6,538	448,653		

As significant to the social geography and social history of the city as the general placement of income, ethnic, and racial groups by core and ring is the question of the intensity of residential clustering. For example, are the shops and houses of the printers so tightly clustered together in one neighborhood that they encourage the establishment of benevolent societies and unions somewhat in the manner of the medieval city with its guilds? Or are the printers' homes so dispersed that only the conditions in the shops themselves contribute to association? Are the immigrants of a given period so tightly clustered that they experience American culture only through the strong filter of an ethnic ghetto? Or are the immigrants mixed in with large proportions of other poor people so that their assimilation is a process of adapting to some more general culture of the American poor? Variations in the intensity of clustering will also affect the historian's evaluation of the functions of political bosses and their ward machines and of the services of city institutions like hospitals, schools, theaters, and saloons. By noting the ward location of the workers classified according to their industrial groups for Table I, and by adding information on the foreign-born and on rents, as it became available, one can compare the intensity of residential clustering in 1774, 1860, and 1930.

In the history of Philadelphia, the general trend in concentrations of settlement was striking. Between 1774 and 1860 necessity and convenience caused the members of some industries to cluster their homes. Then, with the improvement in intracity transportation and the creation of large business organizations, the necessity to hibe faded away. As this industrial cause of clustering lapsed, intense segregation based on income, race, foreign birth, and class rose to prominence as the organizing principle of the metropolis. (See Table III.)

A value of twenty-five on the accompanying Index of Dissimilarity (Table III) makes a convenient boundary between strong and weak clustering.¹⁶ Some groupings of industry like the building trades, whole-

¹⁶ The core is the original municipality of Philadelphia, 1860, Wards 5-10; the ring is the eighteen outer wards. The location of the Negroes was given in *U.S. Ninth Census: 1870, I, Population*, 254; the location of the foreign-born was determined by transcribing the original eighth census schedules at the National Archives. The error in the transcription was less than 1.0 per cent. The location of the occupations was determined from a sample of *McElroy's Street Directory* for 1860. The ring wards are northeast 23, 35, 41; south 48; west 34, 46, 40; northwest 38, 21, 22, 42; the core is the thirty-seven inner wards of the city. All figures calculated from unpublished tract statistics of the fifteenth census, 1930. The owning families plus the renting families do not quite add to 100 per cent because there were 3,497 families who were listed as renting, but did not specify their rental group. (*U.S. Fifteenth Census: 1930, Population, Families*, IV, 1162-63.)

¹⁶ Karl E. Taeuber and Alma F. Taeuber, *Negroes in Cities: Residential Segregation and Neighborhood Change* (Chicago, 1965), 43-62.

Table III
Index of Dissimilarity, Philadelphia, Southwark, and Northern Liberties, 1774; Philadelphia, 1860; 1930¹⁷

1774	Index No.	1860	Index No.	1930	Index No.
		Negro, free, native-born	47.3	Rental under \$15 per month Italy, foreign-born Negro, native and foreign Rental \$100 +	56.0 50.7 50.7 50.2
Laborers	37.2	Miscellaneous textiles	40.3	Russia, foreign-born Poland, foreign-born Miscellaneous textiles	44.4 44.0 42.3
Metalworking except iron and steel	32.5	Germany, foreign-born	34.1	Rental \$15-\$29	35.3
Iron, steel, and shipbuilding Paper and printing	29.4 29.4	Bakeries	30.7	Germany, foreign-born Rental \$50-\$99 Hotels, laundries, and domestics	32.4 31.5 30.8
Transportation except railroads and transit Miscellaneous textiles	24.7 24.3	Iron, steel, and shipbuilding	29.0	Clothing Transportation except railroads and transit Britain, except Northern Ireland, foreign-born	27.7 27.2 26.6

TABLE III (continued)

1774	Index No.	1860	Index No.	1930	Index No.
Clothing	22.3	Laborers Clothing	21.9 21.8	Professional except entertainment Owned occupied home	23.1 22.6
Building trades	21.2			Ireland, Northern and Southern, foreign-born	21.5
Wholesale and retail	20.5			Iron, steel, and shipbuilding	20.8
German patronyms	19.7				
Professional except entertainment	19.7				
		Ireland, Northern and Southern, foreign-born	19.8		
		Transportation except railroads and transit	19.6		
		Paper and printing	19.0	Rental \$30-\$49 (the median)	17.7
Bakeries	16.7			Metalworking except iron and steel Bakeries	16.4 15.2
Hotels, laundries, and domestics	15.1			Paper and printing Building	11.4 10.4
Homeowners	6.1			Wholesale and retail	5.3
		Building trades	16.4		
		Pennsylvania, native-born Wholesale and retail	10.1 9.6		

¹⁷ This Index of Dissimilarity should give the reader some measure by which he can compare the intensity of residential clustering in Philadelphia in 1774 to clustering in 1860 and clustering in 1930. The index has been frequently used by sociologists to discuss segregation in modern American cities. The values of the index in this table are lower than for modern studies because all the tabulations had to be based upon ward data, the ward being the only subdivision of the city for which material was available in all three periods. To construct the index, proportions of each group (laborers, foreign-born Irish, and so forth) to the total population of each ward were calculated. Next the proportion of the group to the total population of the city was calculated. Then the index was computed. The index measures the degree to which the group in question clustered in some wards in higher proportions than its proportion to the total population of the city. It is a measure of the variation of the ward-by-ward distribution of one group as compared to all others in the city. If the index number were 0, then in each ward of the city the group in question would be distributed in precisely

saling, and retailing never established strong residential clusters. In 1774 the laborers' homes clustered most intensely at the outer fringe of town; the other strong gatherings were the printers; the shipbuilders near the port; blacksmiths, tinsmiths, and coppersmiths (these occupations are included within the US census categories of Table III, namely, Metalworking except iron and steel; Iron, steel, and shipbuilding; Paper and printing).

The big city of 1860 continued some of these tendencies toward industrial concentration: professionals such as lawyers and doctors lived and practiced near the downtown; bakers lived and worked there, too, and also clustered near the city's eleven public markets. The strongest industrial cluster of this era, and remaining so in 1930, was the textileworkers. Another sign of the future, visible from the tabulation for 1860, was the concentration of the hotel, laundry, and domestic workers. In this case their stronghold lay on the south side of the downtown, the site in 1930 of Philadelphia's sin and slum district. The evidence of the free Negroes also tells of the long-standing caste rules against that race. Theirs was the most intense segregation. The foreign-born Germans had created a strong cluster on the north side of town, but the largest immigrant group of all, the Irish, were evenly distributed throughout the city. They lived in basements, alleys, and attics on every block.¹⁸

In 1930, except for the textile group, well-paid skilled workers were scattered through the city's wards without much regard as to their industries. The new clusters of industry groupings shown in Table III were those who lacked skills and were not well paid: truckers, expressmen, sailors, clothing-workers, and workers in hotels, laundries, and domestic service. These were also the trades of the Negroes and the new immigrants. The index for 1930, then, shows the modern metropolitan pattern: high concentration of low skills and low rents. All the disfavored groups did not live in the same place, to be sure, but these groups divided up what was available wherever

its proportion to the entire city's population. If the index number were 100, the group would be entirely concentrated in its ward, or wards, and present in no others. A full explanation of the index and other methods of measuring clustering appears in Taeuber and Taeuber, *Negroes in Cities*, 203-204, 223-38. The sources for the occupations and origins of this table were the same as those mentioned in the note to Table I. For a more complete description of the archival research behind the data for 1774, see Sam Bass Warner, Jr., *The Private City: Philadelphia in Three Periods of Its Growth* (Philadelphia, 1968), 225-28.

¹⁸ I have compared these Philadelphia Index of Dissimilarity values for foreign-born in 1860 with those of Boston at about the same period. The results are similar: they indicate that the Irish assimilation in Boston also took place in mixed poor neighborhoods of both foreign-born and native poor as well as in heterogeneous wards of all classes and backgrounds. The Index of Dissimilarity values for Boston (twelve wards, 1855) were: foreign-born Irish, 8.0; foreign-born Canadians, 13.9; foreign-born Germans and Dutch, 33.8. (*Census of Massachusetts: 1855* [Boston, 1856], 124-27.)

cheap old housing prevailed. In Philadelphia in the 1920's these conditions could be found especially in the core and in the old industrial sections of the north side. The rich, of course, huddled together, as segregated in their way as the poorest Negro.

These trends nicely match the general trend in the building of the American metropolis and the aging of its structures. They also reflect the strong early twentieth-century prejudice against foreigners and the intense caste feeling against Negroes. In this sense, the history of Philadelphia seems to conform to the general national history of urban growth, immigration, and industrialization.¹⁹

Because most of our social historians who are interested in big cities have been concerned with immigrants, and because our labor historians have not been concerned with cities, American history has failed to deal with the interaction between urban environments and the social organization of work. The simplest statistical computation shows that we have ignored a series of events of wide implication and enormous magnitude. The arrangement of most of the economic activities of a city into work groups is as much of a revolution in the environments of cities as the introduction of the automobile or electricity. In this important dimension of social structure, the town of 1774, the big city of 1860, and the industrial metropolis of 1930 all differed markedly from each other.

In eighteenth-century Philadelphia, with but very few exceptions, most people labored alone, with their family, or with a partner or a helper or two.²⁰ The first wave of industrialization brought a large fraction of the city's manufacturing workers into a group organization of work. (See Table IV.) The technique of rationalizing tasks so that they could be performed by groups of men and women working within one shop, rather than as individuals laboring in a neighborhood of households, was to my mind the largest component in the first wave of urban industrialization. The early

¹⁹ Students in my seminar at Washington University did some computations of the Index of Dissimilarity for 1910 and 1950 and arrived at values consistent with those given here for Philadelphia in 1930 for Baltimore, Boston, Chicago, Cincinnati, Houston, Kansas City, Los Angeles, Louisville, Manhattan and Brooklyn, St. Louis, and San Francisco. Stanley Lieberman did a careful study of ethnic group patterns in Boston, Buffalo, Chicago, Cincinnati, Cleveland, Columbus, Philadelphia, Pittsburgh, St. Louis, and Syracuse, using similar methods. His results also fit with my values for Philadelphia. (Stanley Lieberman, *Ethnic Patterns in American Cities* [New York, 1963], 209-18.)

²⁰ The exceptions were shipyards, ropewalks, and distilleries in the city. In the country the plantation for manufacture or agriculture was the setting for group work. The only other common cases were ships and the army. (Richard B. Morris, *Government and Labor in Early America* [New York, 1946], 38-40; Carl Bridenbaugh, *The Colonial Craftsman* [New York, 1950], 126-29, 136-39, 141-43.)

Table IV
Average Size of Establishments in Major Lines
of Manufacture, Philadelphia, 1860, 1930²¹

Total Persons Employed	1860	Average No. Persons Per Establishment
98,397	All lines of manufacture	15.6
1,255	Locomotives	627.5
4,793	Cotton goods	94.0
1,131	Gas fixtures	75.4
3,258	Cotton and woolen goods	63.9
1,021	Umbrellas and parasols	48.6
3,290	Shirts, collars, etc.	45.7
14,387	Clothing, men's and boys'	40.9
1,219	Silk fringes and trimmings	39.3
1,876	Bricks	38.3
2,285	Hosiery, woolen	32.2
1,613	Machinery, general, of iron	26.4
2,680	Carpets	21.6
1,190	Bookbinders	20.0
1,038	Carriages and coaches	20.0
1,326	Leather	15.8
8,434	Boots and shoes	12.0
1,627	Furniture and cabinetmakers' wares	10.1
1,290	Cigars	5.6
1,138	Millinery, laces, etc.	4.9
54,851		
	1930	
292,616	All lines of manufacture	52.6
1,986	Sugar refining	662.0
3,103	Iron and steel mills	443.3
20,280	Electrical machinery	375.6
1,535	Paper	307.0
5,105	Leather	204.2
8,321	Worsted goods	180.9
8,564	Cigars and cigarettes	161.6
26,693	Knit goods	134.1
1,861	Chemicals	124.1
1,245	Dental goods and equipment	113.2
13,806	Printing and publishing, newspaper and magazine	99.3
3,479	Silk and rayon manufacture	94.0
2,219	Cotton, small wares	92.5

Table IV (continued)

Total Persons Employed	1930	Average No. Persons Per Establishment
1,829	Druggists' preparations	91.5
5,692	Cotton goods	79.1
3,002	Woolen goods	73.2
3,327	Shirts	72.3
1,840	Meat packing, wholesale	59.4
13,083	Foundry and machine-shop production	59.2
3,227	Boxes, paper	50.4
4,056	Dyeing and finishing textiles	41.4
4,676	Furniture, including store fixtures	41.0
11,680	Clothing, men's and boys'	39.6
3,884	Confectionery	39.2
2,070	Paints and varnishes	37.6
1,432	Ice cream	36.7
1,114	Structural and ornamental iron	35.9
9,304	Clothing, women's	31.3
1,464	Fancy and miscellaneous articles	30.5
1,463	Planing mill products	28.7
1,513	Nonferrous metals	28.0
1,293	Copper, tin, sheet ironwork	21.9
8,413	Bread and bakery products	16.5
7,319	Printing and publishing, book and job	15.2
189,878		

increases in productivity in most lines of urban manufacture came from the work of groups, not from the new machines. The violent strikes and the anti-Catholic and anti-Negro riots of the 1830's and 1840's testify to the painful and revolutionary effect of this social change.²² By 1930 three-quarters of Philadelphia's work force—in office, factory, store, and government—labored in groups.²³

²² A major line of manufacturing is one that employed one thousand or more persons in the city of Philadelphia. Office help is included with the mill hands, supervisors, owners, and employers. Many children are omitted in 1860 in those lines, like cigar making, that were dominated by small shops. (Philadelphia Board of Trade, *Manufactures of Philadelphia* [Philadelphia, 1861], 5-18; U. S. *Fifteenth Census: 1930, Manufactures*, III, 466-67.)

²³ *History of Labour in the United States*, ed. John R. Commons (4 vols., New York, 1918-35), I, 185-230.

²⁴ It seems reasonable to estimate that conditions of work in groups prevailed in all lines of activity where the average size of the establishment was fifteen or more. (William M. Hench, *Trends in the Size of Industrial Companies in Philadelphia for 1915-1930* [Philadelphia, 1948], 7-8, 21-23; U. S. *Fourteenth Census: 1920, IX, Manufactures*, 1277; U. S. *Fifteenth Census: 1930, Manufactures*, III, 444, *Wholesale Distribution*, II, 1262-67; Pennsylvania Department of Labor and Industry, "Employment Fluctuations in Pennsylvania 1921-1927," *Special Bulletin* 24 [Harrisburg, 1928], 30.)

In the simplest sense this transformation of the organization of work had the effect of creating a new lattice of loyalties and social relationships in the city. If factoryworkers may be taken as indicative of the behavior of clerical and retail help, then the University of Pennsylvania's Wharton School studies show that most city dwellers in the 1920's settled down to more or less permanent jobs after four or five years of shopping around.²⁴ It seems fair to reason that in time the men and women of his work group must have become important members of a worker's social life and that the group must have become a source of discipline, loyalty, and culture in its own right. These were some of the positive results of removing a large fraction of the city's work force from entrepreneurial roles.²⁵

Research on the historical interactions between the group organization of work and urban residential environments is not yet fairly begun, yet such research seems to hold great promise for extending our comprehension of the processes of urban history. In my own study of Philadelphia I have found that even such simple information as the average size of establishment by industry adds significantly to the understanding of such important events as the rise and decline of unions and strikes, epidemics of street violence, and the development of an isolated mill-town culture in one quarter of Philadelphia as opposed to the suburban-downtown white-collar culture of another quarter.²⁶

To sum up, what in the way of intellectual scaffolding for urban history does this survey of Philadelphia offer? It provides a descriptive framework relating changes in scale to changes in structure.

First, at each period of Philadelphia's history (1774, 1860, 1930) the city had grown to a radically different size, from 24,000 to 566,000 to 1,951,000. The proportions of the social elements of the city were thoroughly altered by such shifts, as were all the city's environments. The basic distribution of the city's jobs and houses according to core and ring varied with each period, and the variations depended directly upon rapid urban growth. The implications of such changes in social geography for political institutions, communications within the city, municipal institutions, and informal associations

²⁴ Anne Bezanson et al., *Four Years of Labor Mobility: A Study of Labor Turnover from a Group of Selected Plants in Philadelphia, 1921-1924* (Philadelphia, 1925), 70-96.

²⁵ A good way to get some feeling for the issues of urban work groups would be to look at the data in *The Pittsburgh Survey*, ed. Paul U. Kellogg (6 vols., New York, 1909-14), in the light of the suggestions of Robert Blauner, *Alienation and Freedom: The Factory Worker and His Industry* (Chicago, 1964); and Marc Fried, "The Role of Work in a Mobile Society," *Planning for a Nation of Cities*, ed. Sam Bass Warner, Jr. (Cambridge, Mass., 1966), 81-104.

²⁶ *Id.*, *The Private City*.

decades after the Seven Years' War, a radical change took place in the extent and structure of the illicit trade that in turn significantly modified the legal or fair trade. After the war wealthy British merchants with far-flung interests largely replaced the many relatively small-scale local smugglers. By developing more efficient means of transportation, by taking advantage of international facilities for capital and credit, and by invading established channels of legal distribution, the illicit trader was able to engross a large share of the market.

The new system of smuggling posed a serious threat to the legal trade and aroused the opposition of such vested interests as the leading London wholesale dealers and their copartners, the directors of the East India Company. But if the legal purveyors of tea suffered from the impact of the illicit innovators, the competition between the two groups led to a vastly expanded market for tea. When William Pitt finally agreed in 1784 to reduce drastically the tax on tea, the potential demand was such as to assure the government that its future revenues would more than compensate for any immediate loss. But for the legal trade, that tax reduction meant salvation.

As Adam Smith warned the government, a highly taxed article, if in demand, would find a means of evading the additional charges. Tea was his primary evidence.² Until the Commutation Act of 1784, the tax was rarely below 80 and frequently over 100 per cent of the original cost.³ This was the margin upon which illegal importers and sellers built a trade that fluctuated with the availability of tax-free tea. Of the several methods of evading the tax, two, while not trifling, made a relatively small impact upon the London dealer: smuggling from the East Indiamen and the relanding on the British coast of exported tea. The former was probably the cheaper source for tax-free tea, but no regular trade could be built upon a supply that was neither sufficiently large nor constant in amount. Scattered evidence indicates that quantities varying from as little as 60 chests (or 4,800 to 6,000 pounds) to as much as 1,000 to 3,000 chests might be illicitly removed from an East Indiaman either outside territorial waters, or on the way up the

² Adam Smith, *Wealth of Nations*, ed. Edwin Cannan (Modern Library ed., New York, 1937), 832, 834-35.

³ "An Account of the Quantities of Tea retained for Home Consumption in the United Kingdom; the Rates of Duty chargeable thereon, and the Net Receipt of Duty by the Customs and Excise, in each Year from 1740 to 1844 inclusive" [hereafter cited as "Tea retained for Home Consumption"], *Parliamentary Papers* [hereafter cited as *BPP*], 1845, XLVI, *Accounts and Papers* (21 vols., London, 1845), XIX, No. 191. Until 1784 all duty included a per pound and an ad valorem rate based on the sale price at the company's auctions so that the percentage rates are only approximations. (See, e.g., the calculated percentages in Cole, "Trends in Eighteenth-Century Smuggling," 399.)

Thames, or even after arrival at Deptford.⁴ While enriching the servants of the East India Company and contributing to colorful stories vividly told in contemporary reports and personal memoirs,⁵ such smuggling was more in the nature of an annoyance than a threat to the London dealers and a matter of particular concern to the company. But the company, though more lenient than its continental counterparts, did not ignore such evasion.⁶ By the 1770's the company began to enforce its rules with something more than its usual laxity.⁷

The surreptitious return to the British coast of exported tea had a more complicated effect on the legal trade. All exported tea moved in the first instance through legal channels: it was put up for sale at the company's auctions and bought by London wholesalers or merchants and exported by them. As such the trade represented, at least at the outset, a legitimate source of income to the London dealers. The moralist may question whether the export of tea for the purpose of relanding, or fictitious export, was indeed a completely fair trade. Some dealers thought so, but were no less active during the 1770's in urging the government to suppress smuggling⁸ as every pound exported and clandestinely relanded competed on the domestic market with their own highly taxed article.

But the quantity of exported tea available to the illicit trade depended largely upon whether or not the drawback of the import duty was allowed. During the years 1745-1767 no drawback was allowed, and we can assume that almost all tea exported in that period remained at its place of destination. The larger quantities exported before 1745 and after 1767, as shown in Table I, give some indication of the amount in the fictitious export trade, but do not reflect its real magnitude.

⁴ Sir Evan Cotton, *East Indiamen* (London, 1949), 38; Account of Teas Exported from China, Public Record Office [hereafter cited as PRO] 30/8/293, fol. 1; T. Pownall, Observations on Plan to Prevent Smuggling, Jan. 26, 1783, *ibid.*, fols. 4-5.

⁵ William Richardson to Pitt, July 5, 1784, *ibid.*, fol. 45; India Office Home Miscellaneous Series [hereafter cited as IO Home Misc.], CDXCVII, 335-36; C. N. Parkinson, *Trade in the Eastern Seas* (Cambridge, Eng., 1937), esp. 204; Cotton, *East Indiamen*, 37-40; Lord Teignmouth and C. G. Harper, *The Smugglers, Picturesque Chapters in the History of Contraband* (2 vols., London, 1923).

⁶ Account of Teas Exported from China, PRO 30/8/293, fol. 1; Cotton, *East Indiamen*, 122-40; Dermigny, *Chine*, I, 265 ff.

⁷ For the company's warnings and advertisements, see Instructions to Supercargoes, Dec. 4, 1777, IO China Misc. (1771-92), 232-33; IO Misc. Letters Out, XXVIII, 472-73, 484-89, 491-92; XXIX, 142-43; XXXI, 10-11, 457-59; London *Morning Herald*, June 26, 1786. For cooperation with customs, see IO Home Misc., CLXXV, 497-98, the case of the *Locko* (1783); CDXCVII, 336-42, the case of the *Dublin* (1786); IO Misc. Letters Out, XXIX, 221-22, 504, 531, 563-64; Henry Atton and H. H. Holland, *The King's Customs* (2 vols., London, 1908-11), I, 328-29. For specific cases indicative of the company's policy, see Cotton, *East Indiamen*, 38-39; IO Secret Court, Minutes, Jan. 31, 1787, no pagination, for the dismissal of George Crauford, a gunner of the ship *Deptford*, for having assisted in smuggling.

⁸ See, e.g., Memorial of Davison, Newman & Co. to Pitt, July 3, 1784, PRO 30/8/293, fols. 39-40.

Table I
Six-Year Averages of Tea Exported from Britain⁹

Years	Tea (in 000 lbs.)
1740-45	518
1746-51	298
1761-66	525
1767-72	1,200

Even in the periods when the drawback was allowed, that portion of the tea entered for export to the American colonies would be on the whole legitimate. As neither the drawback nor the bonded security, which was double the value of the tea, was released until a certificate of landing at the destination was secured, it is not likely that tea intended for illicit relanding would be entered for export to America. Whatever fraudulent methods were used to evade the law, no merchant would wish to tie up his capital for a year, the approximate time required for a return voyage to the American colonies. By entering the tea for export to Ireland, the merchant could secure the release of the bonded security and the drawback in a matter of weeks. The rise in the percentage of tea exported to Ireland is therefore a better gauge of the increase in fictitious exports. During the years 1755-1764 about 50.5 per cent of the total exports were destined for Ireland; in the decade of 1768-1777 they rose to 71 per cent. In average annual quantities the rise was spectacular, from slightly under 185,000 pounds to 920,000 pounds for the same periods. By 1780 exports to Ireland reached 1,700,000 pounds.¹⁰ The whole of the increase should probably not be attributed to the circuitous illegal trade, but the sudden and sustained rise after 1767 is unmistakable evidence of this type of evasion.¹¹

Far more important than these methods of smuggling was the illicit importation of tax-free tea from European countries. Among these, France and Holland had been trading with China from the early part of the

⁹ For the source of Table I, see Table IV, pages 67-68.

¹⁰ Figures are calculated from Table IV, pages 67-68. The quantities exported to Ireland included those for the Channel Islands and the Isle of Man. (See Robert Wissett, *Compendium of East India Affairs* [2 vols., London, 1802], II, 106, whose annual totals are identical with those in E. B. Schumpeter, *English Overseas Trade Statistics, 1697-1808* [Oxford, Eng., 1960], 60-61.) There is, however, among the Liverpool Papers, British Museum, Additional Manuscripts [hereafter cited as BM, Add. MSS.] 38,337, fol. 159, a Customs Account (Jan. 31, 1764) of tea exported from midsummer 1749 to 1763 distinguishing quantities for Ireland and America. While the annual totals varied slightly from those given in Schumpeter, the total for the fifteen years differed less than 1 per cent; over the period, the total of tea exported to Ireland was 45.67 per cent of all export. In the light of these figures, Dermigny's comparisons (*Chine*, II, 631-32) of total export with total consumption in Britain and the analysis based on them would seem to suggest larger quantities of fictitious export than there could possibly be.

¹¹ Report of Commissioners of Excise on Smuggling, Feb. 15, 1783, in *Eighteenth Century Documents Relating to . . . Smuggling . . .*, ed. A. L. Cross (New York, 1928), 316-17.

century, Sweden and Denmark mainly from the 1730's, and occasionally Portugal and Spain. The Holy Roman Empire intermittently gave its sanction and protection to a varying group of interlopers operating under the name of the Imperial Company. For purchases in China, the French, Swedes, and Danes were financed largely in Europe. The Dutch bartered spices from Batavia for tea, and the Imperial Company was dependent mainly upon British capital. With varying success, most sought to tap the resources of European remittances from India and China or those of the country traders in Asia. But, with the exception of Holland, most countries depended primarily on the smuggling trade to dispose of their tea.¹²

The European companies were unencumbered with import taxes, had larger ships than the British and, more significantly, "comparatively low freight and other charges," as the directors of the English company admitted.¹³ Besides importing a much larger annual quantity, continental companies obtained, until the years after 1784, tea of superior quality. Contemporaries reported that the Swedes "got the best tea" by contracting in advance with the silver they brought to China; the credit of the Danes "was tolerably well established at Canton"; and the French were willing to pay more than the English and thus obtained superior qualities.¹⁴ Only the Dutch had acquired a reputation for bringing to Europe "teas of the worst qualities," the refuse of all other nations; thus, "Dutch tea is become a name for all that are bad in quality and unfit for [British?] use."¹⁵

Of the kinds annually exported from China, the general categories of black and green were further distinguished into several qualities. In an ascending order of fineness, the former included bohea, congou, and souchong, and the latter, single and hyson. There were in addition small quantities of such kinds as pekoe, the finest of the black, and twankay and hyson skin, of medium quality among the green. In 1784 one of the most knowledgeable among Pitt's informants voiced the judgment of tea

¹² The European companies are described in Memorial on Smuggling, Mar. 12, 1784, PRO 30/8/354, fols. 243-43b; Observations on the Affairs of the E.I.C., 1773-86, IO Home Misc., CCCXI, fol. 307; Francis Drake, Observations on the Trade between Denmark and Asia, *ibid.*, LVII, fols. 229 ff. Among standard studies, see esp. John Bruce, *Historical View of Plans for the Government of British India and Regulations of Trade to the East Indies* (London, 1793), 229. Among modern studies, see H. B. Morse, *Chronicles of the E.I.C. Trading with China, 1635-1834* (5 vols., Oxford, Eng., 1926), I, 295-96; II, 11-12, 84; V, 156, 171, 177, 186, 191; E. H. Pritchard, "Struggle for Control of the China Trade during the Eighteenth Century," *Pacific Historical Review*, III (No. 3, 1934), 280-95. Dermigny (*Chine*, I, esp. 160 ff.) gives the early history of these companies and is exhaustive on the French (esp. II, 563-80, 840-79). There is much information on these companies in Europe and their activities in India in Holden Furber, *John Company at Work* (Cambridge, Mass., 1951).

¹³ IO Court Minutes, XCIII, 166-67.

¹⁴ Richardson to Pitt, June 20, 1784, PRO 30/8/293, fols. 17-17b.

¹⁵ Memorial on Smuggling, Mar. 12, 1784, *ibid.*, 30/8/354, fol. 247.

dealers that the imports of the English company were not properly assorted to suit British needs.¹⁶ His specific charge that the company had failed to supply a sufficient quantity of congou, a tea that had become particularly popular in the smuggling trade,¹⁷ is, indeed, supported by a comparison of English with European assortments. Of the quantity sold by the English company in the years 1772-1781, the proportion of congou varied from 5.9 to 9.5 per cent (or 279,600 to 733,700 pounds); among European imports, on the other hand, for the season 1783-1784 congou represented 31.4 per cent (or 3,580,000 pounds) of the total quantity of fourteen cargoes.¹⁸

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, fol. 246b; Richard Twining, *Observations on the Tea and Window Act and on the Tea Trade* (London, 1784), 17, 48.

¹⁷ For the popularity of congou, see below, pages 55-56, 64.

¹⁸ The following table gives the complete assortments, in percentages and total quantities, of the English and continental supplies of tea:

English and European Assortments of Tea (in percentages)								
	East India Company, 1772-81	Europe, 1783-84				Total Continental Europe	Denmark	
		France	Imperial Company	Sweden	Denmark		1785	1786
Bohea	56.0	68.9	46.7	48.5	55.3	53.0	45.7	39.2
Congou	7.0	9.8	29.3	43.2	30.1	31.4	30.8	37.0
Souchong	1.5	1.1	2.5	.8	7.5	2.7	13.8	18.9
Singlo	30.6	5.0	17.8	6.1	4.6	9.4	6.4	3.1
Hyson	3.5	15.1	3.6	1.4	2.5	3.5	3.3	1.8
Private trade	1.4	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Total quantity (in 000 lbs.)	5,891	1,876	2,774	4,221	2,518	11,389	2,372	1,930

English figures are calculated from those given in "Statement of the Number of Pounds Weight of each of the different Varieties of Tea sold by the East India Company in each year from 1740 down to the Termination of the Company's Sales, together with the Average Prices at which such Teas were Sold" [hereafter cited as "Tea sold by EIC"], *BPP*, 1845, XLVI, No. 191. Continental figures are calculated from Richard Atkinson to Pitt, C. 1784 (internal evidence), PRO 30/8/294, fols. 137-48; Francis Baring, Ships in Canton, Tea at Gothenburg, and Sale at Lorient, Aug. 16, 1784, *ibid.*, fols. 183-84; and Various Accounts of Tea in Denmark, *ibid.*, fols. 67, 204; Drake, Observations, IO Home Misc., LVII, 245. The accounts of the assortment for countries other than Denmark in 1785 and 1786 are incomplete. (See PRO 30/8/293, fols. 189-91b, 193, 205; *ibid.*, 30/8/294, fol. 72.) All continental figures represented quantities arrived in the year specified. As two years were required for a return voyage to China, the Danish assortments for 1785-1786 were ordered before and during 1784 and thus were unaffected by the Commutation Act. For 1782-1783 the proportion of congou was 22.2 per cent of the total sale of the English company, but the sudden increase would seem to indicate the special efforts that the company made to fight smuggling. Even then, the absolute quantity for the two years was only 2,690,000 pounds. It should, moreover, be noted that during the 1740's continental Europeans used to import mostly low-quality tea. (See Sir Stephen T. Janssen, *Smuggling Laid Open, in All Its Extensive and Destructive Branches* [2d ed., London, 1767], 12.) For annual quantities imported by individual countries from 1768 to 1791, see PRO 30/8/294, fols. 70, 118; the table in Dermigny, *Chine*, II, 539, includes only seven- or eight-year averages, and none of these distinguish the various kinds of tea.

When the ships from China arrived, the tea was usually sold at auction within the country to which each ship belonged. Tea shipped to Britain from each European country followed special routes to particular areas, all of which had been established from the 1740's, although none claimed an exclusive right. From Sweden and Denmark, a part of the tea was customarily smuggled, when the shipping season allowed, directly to the west and east coast of Scotland as well as to Ireland. In the winter season it was first dispatched to Dunkirk, Ostend, and Flushing where it was sometimes resold for shipment to the south, east, and west coast of England and to Scotland. In France the chief centers of sale were Lorient and Nantes, and by the 1760's Roscoff had become one of the major ports from which tea was sent to the east, south, and west of England. For smuggling into Britain, the Channel Islands and the Isle of Man, neither of which came under British customs regulations, served as strategic entrepôts for tea coming from various European countries.¹⁹

While the tea trade on the Continent had early been concentrated in the hands of affluent merchants who could purchase relatively large quantities of tea, smuggling into Britain before the 1760's was mostly dominated by many small-scale local importers with little capital or credit. Their boats ranged from small sloops down to wherries or large rowboats,²⁰ the carrying capacity of which rarely exceeded sixty chests of tea and was often much less.²¹ Usually unarmed, they relied on their ability to evade detection and on the undercover assistance of the local inhabitants.²² Individual shipments often required the financial cooperation of several purchasers who gave their money and orders to the boat's captain. He in turn sailed to Ireland, the Channel Islands, the Isle of Man, or sometimes to a ship hovering off the coast to purchase the tea, usually for cash. Some captains might sail directly to Europe if their boats were large enough and if they were familiar with the trading connections on the Continent.²³

¹⁹ The above account is based on "Report, Committee to Investigate the Causes of Smuggling" in *The Journal of the House of Commons* (117 vols., London, 1803-63), XXV, 101, 106; Tea Dealers' Memorial to Treasury, Feb. 4, 1779, Her Majesty's Customs Library [hereafter cited as HMCL], Excise and Treasury, XIX, 449-50; Memorial on Smuggling, Mar. 12, 1784, PRO 30/8/354, fols. 243-45; IO Court Minutes, XCV, Pt. A, 711. Dermigny, *Chine*, II, 660 ff., is especially full on the sales and routes of smuggling from France, and IV, Pt. 1, *Les Routes*, 12, prints a map showing the general routes of smuggling from the Continent. For the Isle of Man, see R. C. Jarvis, "Illicit Trade with the Isle of Man," *Transactions, Lancashire and Cheshire Antiquarian Society*, LVIII (1945-46), 245-67.

²⁰ Excise Report, Dec. 4, 1783, HMCL Scottish Excise and Treasury, I, 151-56.

²¹ Excise Report, June 23, 1783, *ibid.*, 130-31.

²² Excise Report, Apr. 5, 1787, HMCL Excise and Treasury, XXIII, 39.

²³ *Mémoire de Foucaud*, fols. 283-84, in Dermigny, *Chine*, II, 665-66, describes the visits of English smugglers in Roscoff and the social and religious as well as gastronomical problems that were raised.

But however the tea was purchased, the transactions were simple and direct, charges for transportation comparatively low, and the individual quantities involved relatively small. Once landed, the illegal tea was primarily traded by local retailers whose market was necessarily restricted. In Scotland before the 1770's, an "extensive dealer" would have been one "who ordered ten chests of Congou (value £130) for his account and risk," and in the south of England the very small dealer could obtain his supply from the hawker who sold it by the dollop of $2\frac{1}{2}$ pounds.²⁴ The average provincial shopkeeper had little general knowledge of the tea trade and lacked the financial resources and business contacts to expand his trade. On the other hand, by drawing on the smugglers, he was able to undersell the highly taxed article of the fair-trade dealers within his locality. Tea could be hawked, moreover, through the countryside. Especially when large quantities had been brought ashore, some did, indeed, find its way to London, but there is little evidence of an extensive network of distribution. This diffuse, informal, and more or less personal trade was the traditional form of smuggling throughout the eighteenth century and was never completely eliminated. Its effect on the demand for legal tea, however, was not wholly negative: a coastal trade, it introduced to villagers far removed from the influence of the fashionable world a new and relatively inexpensive beverage and thus extended the potential market for legal tea.

For the legal trade in highly taxed tea, London was the importing and distributing center. Controlled at the place of entry by the East India Company, the inland distribution and the export trade were in the hands of the leading London wholesalers who purchased tea at the company's semi-annual auctions and whose interests were often, but not always, identical with those of the company. As long as the demand for legal tea increased, both the company and the London wholesalers were assured of a relatively stable and profitable business within the market area under their control. The interest of the legal traders would be threatened if their market contracted, as it did by 50 per cent in 1742-1743,²⁵ or when that of the free traders expanded at a faster rate than theirs. In either situation, in order to price his highly taxed article within a competitive range, the London wholesaler would have to reduce his costs.

During the twenty years following the tax reform of 1745, the legal trade does not seem to have suffered unduly from the competition of tax-free tea.

²⁴ Memorial on Smuggling, Mar. 12, 1784, PRO 30/8/354, fol. 245; Richardson to Pitt, July 6, 1784, *ibid.*, 30/8/293, fol. 45.

²⁵ This was calculated from Table IV, pages 67-68. The contraction was largely the result of an upsurge in smuggling that led to the reform of 1745.

Despite the gradual rise of customs duties, the average annual quantities of tea sold by the East India Company increased from 2,450,000 pounds in 1744-1746 to 5,580,000 in 1764-1766. At the same time the bid-up prices at the company's auctions, compared with those at Amsterdam, remained relatively high.²⁶ It is perhaps not surprising that neither the company nor the London wholesalers thought it worth their while to protest against smuggling.

The cost of tea to the London wholesaler was regulated by a number of variables. As the first seller the company set the prices for each kind at which the bidding was to commence. These put-up prices were calculated to cover prime cost, freight, charges of merchandise such as supercargoes' commission and expenses of the company's establishment at Canton, insurance, interest, and the customs duty—an *ad valorem* tax assessed on the sale value of the tea and paid by the company. The tea, auctioned by lots of varying numbers of chests of the same kind, could be bought by the dealers at the minimum advance of a penny above the put-up price. That portion destined for inland distribution was charged an additional excise duty, which was paid by the dealers upon the removal of the tea from the company's warehouses. In 1745 the excise tax of four shillings per pound weight was replaced by one shilling plus an *ad valorem* duty of 25 per cent of the bid-up price.²⁷ A rise in the bid-up price would, therefore, increase not only the initial cost but also that portion of the excise duty calculated on an *ad valorem* basis. There was, of course, also the broker's fee, generally computed at $\frac{1}{2}$ per cent of the gross value of the tea.

That the conditions of trade after 1745 were sufficiently satisfactory to at least the major London wholesalers may be illustrated by the prices they were willing to pay for bohea at the auctions of the East India Company. If the import and sale of tax-free tea encroached upon that of the legal trade, such competition would have been reflected in particular in the prices paid for bohea. It was the kind most commonly smuggled into Britain before the Seven Years' War and, in addition, represented over 50 per cent of the total quantity of tea sold by the company. Table II, on the following page, summarizes for the years 1745-1764 the average quantities sold and the prices of bohea at the company's auctions. The figures suggest a profitable and brisk trade, with the company receiving a handsome return on its investments, while the London wholesalers were not hesitating to buy bohea

²⁶ For English quantities, see Table IV, pages 67-68. for Dutch prices, see Dermigny, *Chine*, II, 546-48.

²⁷ The cost to the wholesaler is based on the calculations of the company's accountant in IO Home Misc., CDI, 122, Appendix No. 2.

Table II
Quantities and Prices of Bohea, 1745-1764²⁸

Periods	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)
1745-49	1,298.8	54	24	43.46	81	22.86	66.3	27.7
1750-54	1,644.8	54	24	34.36	43	20.59	54.9	18.6
1755-59	2,204.3	59	24	36.64	53	21.16	57.8	20.7
1760-64	3,095.9	65	24	37.74	57	21.43	59.2	26.6

at prices, even without excise charges, well above those obtained on the European markets.

The end of the Seven Years' War, however, marked a turning point in the fortunes of both the legal and the illegal trade. For the years 1763-1769 total exports from China increased by 70 per cent over the previous seven years. The market for tea in Britain was no doubt expanding under the influence of a general increase in economic activities, but while the company's sales increased 23 per cent, imports into Europe rose by 51 per cent. During the war the quantities of tea imported by continental companies had declined almost to the level of the 1740's: from an annual average of 8,700,000 pounds in 1749-1755 to 6,800,000 pounds in 1756-1762. With the exception of one year, 1759, no French ship ventured to China, and even the Dutch trade fell off. Given an annual consumption in Europe estimated at approximately 5,000,000-6,000,000 pounds,²⁹ there was probably no great surplus of tea for smuggling into Britain during the war. But with the return to peacetime activities the European trade experienced a rapid and sustained rise. For the years 1763-1769 annual imports averaged 10,300,000 pounds and reached 13,400,000 pounds throughout the following fifteen years.³⁰ Within less than a decade European trade with China had almost doubled.

This vastly expanded trade was aimed primarily at the British market. Such a radical increase in quantities available for smuggling into Britain

²⁸ The numbers in parentheses denote the following: (1) average annual quantities sold by the East India Company (in 000 lbs.); (2) percentage of total quantities sold by the East India Company; (3) put-up prices at East India Company auctions (in pence); (4) bid-up prices at East India Company auctions (in pence); (5) percentage rise over put-up prices; (6) excise charges of 1s. plus 25 per cent ad valorem (in pence); (7) total cost to dealers, less 6½ per cent allowed customarily by East India Company (in pence); (8) Dutch prices (in pence, converted to English equivalent from table in Dermigny, *Chine*, II, 546-47). In this table quantities and bid-up prices are calculated from "Tea sold by EIC"; put-up prices in PRO 30/8/293, fol. 23. Excise charges are calculated according to the formula followed by the company's accountant as set out in table in IO Home Misc., CDI, 122, Appendix No. 2. The excise rates are taken from Tea retained for Home Consumption.

²⁹ These figures were calculated from the table of seven- and eight-year averages in Dermigny, *Chine*, II, 539; for European consumption, see, e.g., Francis Baring to Pitt, July 4, 1785, PRO 30/8/293, fol. 173b.

³⁰ It should be noted that this is in marked contrast to the fluctuations in other branches of the overseas trade for the years 1765-1769. (Cf. T. S. Ashton, *Economic Fluctuations in England, 1700-1800* [Oxford, Eng., 1959], 153-54.)

upset, moreover, the equilibrium between the legal and illicit trade that for the previous two decades had enabled each to control its own market relatively unaffected by the other. In the competition that ensued the balance lay with the free traders, and the rivalry between the two groups brought the prices of tea within the reach of a wider public and at the same time extended the network of distribution.

The London wholesalers were not slow to react to the threat from across the Channel. At the company's auctions in 1766 they demonstrated the power of concerted action by substantially lowering the bid-up prices for all kinds of tea: that for bohea fell from 39.5*d.*, the average price in 1765, to 30.6*d.*, or a drop of 22.5 per cent. At the same time pressure was exerted on the government, and in the following year Parliament was persuaded to reduce the duties on tea. The excise charge of one shilling per pound on all kinds of black tea and one kind of green, single, altogether representing about 90 per cent of the tea handled by the dealers, was removed for a period of five years on condition that the company reimburse the government if the reduction should result in any loss of revenue.⁸¹ The experiment initially proved highly successful, at least for the London dealers. Sales jumped from an annual average of 5,500,000 pounds in 1764-1766 to 8,800,000 pounds in 1768-1770; the profits of the company, on the other hand, were pared to the minimum, especially for the most popular teas. By 1769 the dealers were buying bohea for as little as 24.6*d.* Thus within a short period of four years prices for bohea had declined by 40 per cent. Even with the 25 per cent ad valorem excise charges that still remained on tea for home consumption, the average cost to the wholesaler for bohea was only 30.75*d.* Although continental prices had fallen slightly, bohea still commanded 24*d.* on the Amsterdam market during the years 1768-1770.⁸² For the first time in the century, London wholesalers could contemplate underselling tax-free European tea; a difference of about 6*d.* between European and London prices would hardly cover the costs of transportation. The fate of smuggling was now at stake, a matter of no little consequence to those dealers engaged in it.

The London wholesalers were not allowed to enjoy their buoyant market for long. Francis Garratt, a prominent London tea dealer, recalled that there was soon "created a speculative spirit on the market."⁸³ In 1770 the March

⁸¹ 8 Geo. III, c. 25. For the politics involved, see L. S. Sutherland, *East India Company in Eighteenth-Century Politics* (Oxford, Eng., 1952), 138-76.

⁸² Amsterdam prices are converted to their English equivalent according to table in Dermigny, *Chine*, II, 546-48; all English quantities and prices are calculated from "Tea sold by EIC."

⁸³ Garratt to Henry Dundas, July 22, 1800, National Library of Scotland [hereafter cited as NLS], Melville Papers, MS. 1063, fol. 173.

sale prices for bohea increased to 32.5*d.*, and by the September sale had reached 39*d.*⁸⁴ The directors of the company must have welcomed the rise, but to the fair-trade dealer it posed a serious threat. For the smugglers, nothing could have been more fortunate. With bohea costing the London wholesaler 46*d.*, even without the one-shilling duty, the illicit trade was again on a profitable footing. The London wholesalers registered their lack of confidence by reducing purchases, and sales fell from a high of 9,400,000 pounds in 1769 to 6,700,000 in 1771, a figure rarely exceeded in the following thirteen years. At the end of the five-year period, it was generally acknowledged that the revision of the duties had proved a failure. The speculators had succeeded in defeating the good intentions of the government and the hopes of the fair-trade dealers. As sales had not increased sufficiently to cover the loss of revenue occasioned by the removal of the one-shilling duty, moreover, the company was required to reimburse the government. The company's difficulties were compounded by the accumulation of a large stock of unsold tea in its warehouses and a decline in per unit profit. When the one-shilling duty was restored, the bid-up price dropped.⁸⁵

At the same time the temporary fiscal reform had affected the European market. As continental prices for bohea had dropped at the end of the Seven Years' War, there was little room for the European importers to maneuver. According to one calculation, which tends to understate the prices in Canton,⁸⁶ the difference between the prime cost of bohea in China and the selling price in Europe was only 11*d.* per pound at Copenhagen and 12*d.* at Amsterdam. The charges at Canton, in addition to the freight and other expenses, would have left little in the way of profit to the importer. Threatened with possible ruin if they continued to depend upon the sale of bohea, particularly if prices remained low in London, the Danes and Swedes revised their assortments by importing from China more expensive and finer quality teas, notably congou.⁸⁷ At Canton the price of congou averaged about twice that of bohea. As the English East India Company sold little congou (under 200,000 pounds), and as its cost price to the London dealers, even

⁸⁴ From table in *Advice to the Unwary* (London, 1780), facing 4, a pamphlet prepared by the Tea Dealers' Association assisted by the East India Company. The table is especially revealing as it gives the quantities and prices for each semiannual auction.

⁸⁵ *Ibid.* The seventeen million pounds of unsold tea that had accumulated in the company's warehouse by 1773 precipitated another series of events that led to the famous tea party at Boston harbor. (See M. M. Postan and H. J. Habakkuk, general eds., *Cambridge Economic History of Europe* [6 vols., Cambridge, Eng., 1941-67], IV, 298.)

⁸⁶ Dermigny, *Chine*, II, 545, n. 5, 546-48, uses for the period under consideration figures given by Morse in *Chronicles of the E.I.C.*, whose prices were those paid by the British. But during these years the British tended to purchase low-quality tea while the Danish tea, for example, was considered of better quality.

⁸⁷ Memorial on Smuggling, Mar. 12, 1784, PRO 30/8/354, fol. 243.

without the one-shilling duty, was well above five shillings, there was much opportunity for illicit congou. The smugglers seem to have found it profitable. Within a decade congou became one of the most popular black teas in Britain, particularly in the north where the most noticeable changes in the method of smuggling were taking place. The upgrading of the British taste for tea may perhaps be justly attributed to the competition created by the unsuccessful attempt to discourage smuggling.

The reimposition in 1772 of the one-shilling duty gave added impetus to European importers and marked the second phase of the competition between legal and illegal tea. In this uneven battle the London wholesaler succeeded in holding down the price of legal tea by reducing both his and the East India Company's markup; even so, there was little chance that his tea would undersell that of the illicit trade. Commanding the major lines of distribution and having a better knowledge of the art of buying and blending various qualities of tea, the London dealer had certain advantages, but in the end he had to seek the protection of stricter laws and their more effective enforcement. The changing situation forced the illicit traders to a new exercise of their ingenuity; they succeeded not only in importing larger quantities but also in devising effective means of distributing tea to inland centers.

The most visible evidence of the power and financial resources of the illicit trade was what Scottish excise officers referred to as the "new mode" of smuggling. In contrast to the traditional small, unarmed boat, there appeared on the British coast the large, well-armed vessel. As described in an excise report of 1778, the armed smuggling ships along the coast of Norfolk and Yorkshire were between 100 and 180 tons and carried 20 to 60 men each. Those along the coast of Wales and the west of England were "of still greater strength"—from 150 to 200 tons with 16 to 18 guns.³⁸ On the west coast of Scotland some ships were as large as 230 to 300 tons, mounted with 20 to 24 guns and carrying 50 to 80 men.³⁹ A detailed survey of 26 of the 53 excise collections in England and Wales enumerated no less than 250 vessels in the illicit carrying trade off the coast, and Scottish excise officials reported an additional 37 in their waters.⁴⁰ While neither report distin-

³⁸ Excise Report, Mar. 24, 1778, HMCL Excise and Treasury, XIX, 367.

³⁹ Excise Report, Dec. 4, 1783, HMCL Scottish Excise and Treasury, I, 152, 157; Excise Report, Dec. 1, 1785, *ibid.*, II, 60-63.

⁴⁰ Excise Report on Smuggling, c. 1777 (internal evidence), PRO 30/8/283, fols. 187-88b. Some of these collections included Canterbury, Richmond, Rochester, Suffolk, Sussex, Essex, and the Isle of Wight; for Scottish ships, see Excise Report, Dec. 1, 1785, HMCL Scottish Excise and Treasury, II, 60-63.

guished the number of ships according to size, both emphasized the armed strength and the increased tonnage of the new ships.

The carrying capacity of the contraband fleet had certainly grown. Although there is no account of the total quantity smuggled by the large vessels, the record that the Scottish excise kept of one cutter seems to represent the upper limit of the average cargo. That cutter was equipped with 24 guns, which placed it among the largest ships. In May 1783 it landed on the west coast of Scotland 700 chests of tea and 500 ankers of spirits, returned in October with 400 chests and 200 bags of tea together with 840 ankers of spirits, and again in November with 600 chests and 300 bags of tea.⁴¹ Calculated on the common equivalent of 80 pounds to a chest and 27½ pounds to each bag, the amount of smuggled tea totaled 157,750 pounds for the three voyages. On the English ships the average cargo of tea was estimated at only 24,000 pounds since they carried as many as 3,000 ankers of spirits.⁴² Although large vessels never completely replaced small boats, they came to control a greater share of the contraband traffic.

The illicit carrying trade was itself a profitable venture. The prevailing freight rates on the large ships were 6*d.* per pound of tea and 2*s.* 6*d.* per anker of spirits, with tea yielding a somewhat higher return than spirits. On the Scottish run, the gross income from freight for a large ship was thus higher, about £1,000 per voyage, than on the English, which averaged about £558. The Scottish shipowners had, moreover, the advantage of lower initial costs. The estimated first cost of the Scottish ship was about £1,000; that of the English was said to be almost double that amount. The operating expenses were also higher on the English ships. As the danger of obstruction by revenue officers was greater, especially along the east and south coast of England, a larger and better-armed crew "ready for defence" and for landing the tea were necessary—requirements that raised operating costs to as much as £500 per voyage. It was computed that for the Scottish run a ship would have earned at the end of the second voyage not only its first cost but "a neat gain of upwards of £600," whereas in the English trade "it will be the fourth voyage e'er the owners are reimbursed."⁴³ On the other hand, as the run across the Channel was shorter, the English ship could make more trips during the smuggling season than its Scottish counterpart. Though it

⁴¹ Excise Report, Dec. 4, 1783, *ibid.*, I, 154. An anker was equivalent to approximately eight imperial gallons.

⁴² Memorial on Smuggling, Mar. 12, 1784, PRO 30/8/354, fols. 245-45b.

⁴³ *Ibid.*; cf. Ralph Davis, *Rise of the English Shipping Industry* (London, 1962), 60-61, 138, 362, 379, 389.

is debatable which had the final advantage, both produced an enticing profit for those prepared to finance the venture.⁴⁴

While excise and customs officials emphasized the size and armed strength of the ships, behind the "new mode" lay new forms of organization. During the 1760's some attempts at organizing the trade on a more regular basis were initiated. In Scotland, particularly along the east coast, the orders of as many as two or three hundred shopkeepers were collected and sent to a factor or merchant at one of the smuggling ports on the Continent. The merchant, having purchased the tea and added to its cost his commission of 2 per cent plus the freight charges, was then responsible for shipping it. The packages of tea, which had "separate invoices, marks and numbers," were then delivered by what was known as the general ship.⁴⁵ One such merchant, the Frenchman, René-Yves Foucaud, attempted to increase his business during the 1760's by stationing two of his *commis* in Cornwall and Wales to collect payment and to explain the prices and the quality of his tea.⁴⁶

In 1765 the incorporation of the Isle of Man into the kingdom deprived the traditional smugglers of a safe and strategic entrepôt from which tea could be relanded expeditiously and inexpensively on the west and south coast of Britain. As the change occurred at a time when larger quantities of tea were being imported into the Continent for re-export to the British Isles, some readjustment of the illicit trade became necessary. One of Pitt's correspondents claimed that the loss of the island as a convenient warehouse had forced those Manxmen involved in the smuggling trade to migrate to England. According to him, they taught the English how to organize a direct trade with Europe.⁴⁷ Pitt's correspondent may have exaggerated the abilities and influence of the Manxmen (although he was exceedingly well informed on the intricacies of smuggling); still, by the 1770's, the illicit tea trade had achieved a system of organization unexampled in the checkered history of smuggling.

The trade was further revised by the entrance of the large-scale importer and wholesale distributor whom excise described in 1778 as having "acquired a strength and confidence unknown, we believe, in any former time."⁴⁸ To be sure, even in 1784 his trade did not replace completely the traditional

⁴⁴ In Memorial on Smuggling, Mar. 12, 1784, PRO 30/8/354, fol. 245, the writer reported that some European merchants shared the costs of the ship with the British smugglers in part to assure themselves of the sale of tea.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, fol. 244b.

⁴⁶ Mémoire de Foucaud, fols. 283-84, in Dermigny, *Chine*, II, 664, n. 8.

⁴⁷ Memorial on Smuggling, Mar. 12, 1784, PRO 30/8/354, fol. 244.

⁴⁸ Excise Report, Mar. 24, 1778, HMCL Excise and Treasury, XIX, 367.

mode of direct smuggling, but in certain areas his domination was well entrenched. As the scope of his operations expanded in the direction of monopoly, the systematic organization of the trade enabled him to import and distribute far larger quantities of smuggled tea than were possible under the "old mode." In the public image he was often identified as the engrosser or the speculator.⁴⁹

The engrossers established themselves in at least three major areas from which tea could be distributed with relative ease: on the east and west coasts of Scotland with centers at Edinburgh and Glasgow, and in the south, at London. Each developed within its own trading area a distinct form of organization. In London there were well-established facilities for credit and for the sale and distribution of tea; organization followed the pattern of the legal trade and remained in the hands of wealthy entrepreneurs.⁵⁰ While illicit wholesalers might cooperate to evade the increasingly restrictive excise laws, purchases abroad, like those at the East India Company's auctions, were made by individual houses. Richard Twining, a leading London dealer, observed that dealers in the capital who wished to share in the profits of the illegal trade could purchase almost constantly "very large quantities" of tax-free tea. Nor were the persons involved unknown to the business world; they were some of "the most extensive dealers . . . who possessed the fairest reputation [and] who avowed and defended the deed."⁵¹

In Scotland the trend was toward combination. Examples of the most highly organized kind were the three companies described by excise as having taken over the "far greater part" of the trade on the west coast of Scotland. Composed of extensive dealers, each company had marked out as its base of operation a coastal area from the Water of Orr to the Firth of Clyde: the Clovan Company, consisting of twelve persons, at the Water of Orr; the Mull Company, formed by "four or five very extensive dealers," along the Mull of Galloway; and the Garrick Company, with ten persons, on the coast of Ayrshire. By the early 1780's the three had formed a loose cooperative association; thus, the ships of one might land goods at the preserve of the other in order to evade revenue officers. As warehouses two of the companies had acquired "very large farms . . . enclosed with high walls and gates" within which "artfully designed concealments" were built sometimes under land "planted with corn."⁵²

⁴⁹ See, e.g., the description in an anonymous Memorial on E.I.C. Auctions, Sept. 30, 1784, PRO 30/8/354, fols. 239-41b.

⁵⁰ Nathaniel Smith of EIC to Pitt, July 1, 1784, *ibid.*, 30/8/293, fol. 35.

⁵¹ Twining, *Observations*, 5-7. Twining's observations were confirmed in 2nd Report of the E.I.C. on the Sale and Prices of Tea, 1, PRO 30/8/353, fol. 61.

⁵² Excise Report, Dec. 4, 1783, HMCL Scottish Excise and Treasury, I, 152-53.

Organization on the east coast of Scotland was not so tight, but it was dominated by the "most decent and respectable" dealers who "have entirely thrown out the multitude." In place of the general ship which in the past had sailed from port to port delivering tea and other goods "at mast," associations had been formed under the direction of the principal tea dealers in Edinburgh and, to a lesser extent, in Aberdeen and a few other coastal towns. With shopkeepers in the large inland towns "admitted to shares" in the associations, a close-knit network of trade was maintained between the wholesalers and their correspondents.⁵³ Such organizations permitted the merchant-wholesalers in the east of Scotland to mobilize sufficient capital and personnel to finance and handle a brisk illicit trade. Pitt's informant noted that, "since 1768 or 1769 when this general association took place amongst the dealers, from their experience and harmony the trade has been carried on in a snug profitable easy way."⁵⁴

Whether the business was conducted by individual wholesalers or by companies, the enlarged scale of the operations required and enabled the engrossers to systematize the purchase and sale of tea. By 1770 some individual purchases on the Continent represented substantial amounts, in volume as great a quantity as would require three or four voyages of a large ship to transport and in value as much as £30,000 worth of tea in one season.⁵⁵ To safeguard the investment against loss or seizure, ships and cargoes could be insured "at Lloyd's with liberty of hovering all the winter season at, or under, four per cent premium."⁵⁶ But even insurance could be waived by some. If a dealer with good credit purchased large quantities from a European merchant to whom he was well known and whose house he constantly used, the merchant would agree to share any possible loss.⁵⁷

In contrast to the cash payments typical of the "old mode," liberal credit allowances were given by European companies and merchants to their regular British customers. To those who placed orders of £20,000 to £30,000, the seller would allow three months for the tea to be shipped. Once shipped it was paid for by bills at seventy-five or ninety days drawn on London or sometimes on Amsterdam. Thus credit was extended to at least three months and sometimes six, giving the purchaser ample time to sell the tea

⁵³ *Ibid.*; Memorial on Smuggling, Mar. 12, 1784, PRO 30/8/354, fols. 244b-45.

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, fol. 245.

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, fols. 244-44b.

⁵⁶ Memorial on E.I.C. Auctions, July 1, 1784, *ibid.*, 30/8/293, fols. 35-36; Further Memorial on E.I.C. Auctions, Sept. 30, 1784, *ibid.*, 30/8/354, fol. 241; cf. Davis, *Rise of the English Shipping Industry*, 379.

⁵⁷ Smith to Pitt, July 1, 1784, PRO 30/8/293, fol. 35.

and to discharge his bills.⁵⁸ The charges were estimated at 10 to 20 per cent of the value, and there was no lack of houses to negotiate the bills. One of Pitt's correspondents was prepared to point out many such houses in London, and one in particular that received £200,000 a year "for teas purchased on British account."⁵⁹ As large-scale smuggling activities tended to cease during the summer months, credits and shipping accounts were cleared at that time so that bad debts could be distinguished from the good and orders prepared for the coming year. Risks were therefore limited. Some contemporaries assumed that the seasonal character of smuggling was due to the desire of the smugglers to take advantage of the long winter nights for their undercover activities.⁶⁰ Perhaps this was so, but the rhythm of the smuggling season fitted that of the China trade. Most ships from China arrived in Europe during July and August with the sales following a month or so later.⁶¹ Thus it would be September before the new tea was ready for shipment to Britain. By the following summer, after a good year of smuggling, the European warehouses would have little tea left to supply the British.

By transporting goods in well-armed vessels, by mobilizing large capital resources, by sharing the risk of loss through insurance, and by taking advantage of the facilities of international finance, the engrossers had devised a "refined plan"⁶² that enabled the import of tax-free tea to flourish in a manner deeply alarming to the government and the legal trade. But, given the increasingly stringent laws regulating the sale and movement of tea within the kingdom and their somewhat stricter enforcement by excise officers, the vastly expanded import trade of the smugglers required a correspondingly effective method of distribution and the support of a large body of substantial dealers able and willing to counter the law by their wit. In contrast to the traditional, and still-important channels of direct, local, and personal distribution, the chief characteristic of the new method was the use by large-scale wholesale dealers of the established legal channels of trade to distribute tax-free tea.

⁵⁸ Further Memorial on E.I.C. Auctions, Sept. 30, 1784, *ibid.*, 30/8/354, fol. 241; cf. Charles Wilson, *Anglo-Dutch Commerce and Finance in the 18th Century* (Cambridge, Eng., 1941).

⁵⁹ Memorial on Smuggling, Mar. 12, 1784, PRO 30/8/354, fol. 244b.

⁶⁰ See esp. *ibid.*, fols. 244, 245, 246-46b.

⁶¹ Nearly 70 per cent of the ships from China arrived in Europe during July and August. (See charts of ships' arrivals for 1719-1769 and 1770-1790 in Dermigny, *Chine*, II, 246-48, and discussion of arrivals and sales of tea in Europe in Baring to Pitt, July 4, 1785, PRO 30/8/293, fols. 173-73b; Baring to Court of Directors, Aug. 1788, *ibid.*, 30/8/294, fols. 91-91b.) Professor T. S. Ashton raised with us the question of the seasonal character of large-scale smuggling.

⁶² Memorial on Smuggling, Mar. 12, 1784, *ibid.*, 30/8/354, fol. 246.

London had early established itself as the dominating force of the legal trade. There, the East India Company, which enjoyed the legal monopoly to import tea, held its semiannual auctions, and there, merchants and wholesalers with business connections in the country had access to vast networks of distribution. If tax-free tea could be fed into the legal channels in London, circulation to the provinces would be as secure as that of the highly taxed article. But the city was also the center of excise administration; dealers there were far more closely surveyed than those in the country. Hence, smugglers' efforts focused on devising various means by which illicit tea might be moved under legal cover both into and out of the city.

To be sure, tax-free goods could be moved from the coast to places near the metropolis by armed carriers; even in the late 1770's some tea was still brought to London by large gangs of land smugglers carrying firearms but more generally "bludgeons or loaded whips which are very dangerous weapons . . .," as excise admitted.⁶³ But without legal cover, something like a standing army would have been necessary to move the tea into the shops of the provincial retailers. The illicit trader with heavy capital commitments found it financially advantageous to devise less violent ways of disposing of the tea and turned to the legal channels of trade. By law an excise permit, stating the quantity, type, origin, and destination of the tea, was required to accompany the movement of more than six pounds of tea into or out of a dealer's shop. The quantity of tea permitted was registered at the local excise office where a record was kept of the amount of tea credited to the account of each dealer. Tea moved without an excise permit or any excess stock found in the dealer's shop was forfeited and subjected those involved to heavy penalties, including penal sanctions. Around this document clustered various abuses.⁶⁴

One such abuse was to establish a surplus credit at the local excise office in order to cover the movement of tax-free tea. To do so required several steps. The London wholesaler with the necessary capital resources could open branch shops in the outskirts of the city or even in coastal towns either in his own name or in that of some "indigent and obscure persons."⁶⁵ Such

⁶³ Excise Report on Smuggling, c. 1777 (internal evidence), *ibid.*, 30/8/183, fol. 190b; St. Brooksbank, Thoughts upon Smuggling, Jan. 14, 1783, in *Documents*, ed. Cross, 291.

⁶⁴ The basic law providing for the permit is 10 Geo. I, c. 10. Some of the more common abuses included the falsifying or counterfeiting of permits, the procuring of them under false pretense or by bribing excise officials, and the purchase of permits from other dealers. For more details, see Report of Commissioners of Excise on Smuggling, Feb. 15, 1783, in *Documents*, ed. Cross, 314; Second Report, Committee on Illicit Trade, in *London Morning Chronicle*, Mar. 11, 12, 1784; Tea Dealers' Memorial, Feb. 4, 1779, HMCL Excise and Treasury, XIX, 450-51; and Memorial on Smuggling, Mar. 12, 1784, PRO 30/8/354, fol. 245.

⁶⁵ Report of Commissioners of Excise on Smuggling, Feb. 15, 1783, in *Documents*, ed. Cross, 314. Some of the methods by which a legal stock might be "created" are described in

shops offered the Londoner a relatively safe place for receiving clandestinely tax-free tea. Excise permits to move tea out of the London shop were then obtained and sent, unaccompanied by tea, to the branch shop to cover the entry of the illicit goods. With tax-free tea thus "legalized," new permits could be obtained from the local excise office to move goods into London or elsewhere in the country. According to excise, in the twelve weeks ending March 15, 1783, London dealers obtained permits to send a total of 24,442 pounds of tea to shops in Deal, although not "one ounce of tea actually went from London."⁶⁶

In Scotland the transportation of illicit tea to the wholesaler's shop was done with the ease and regularity of a legal business. From the coast tea was dispatched inland to major centers of distribution by land carriers in groups of thirty to fifty men. The shipping and other charges on tea ordered abroad by Edinburgh merchants included delivery to their warehouses; tea for Glasgow was deposited in safe hiding places two miles outside of town. An additional charge of 3d. per pound was collected for delivery to the dealer's shop. The quantity delivered to Edinburgh dealers was estimated at 15,800 pounds per week, or over 800,000 pounds a year. For the west coast, one report calculated that in addition to other kinds, "about 10,000 chests of Congou of 80 pounds were imported by the smugglers," with Glasgow alone absorbing no less than "300 pounds of Congou . . . every day not three pounds of which pay duty."⁶⁷ Perhaps the more moderate estimate that four-fifths of the total supply was illicit may be closer to the actual situation.⁶⁸ But even the Scottish wholesaler found it necessary to enter the legal channels at some point in the chain of distribution. He could obtain excise permits more advantageously by acquiring a legal stock at a customs sale of seized tea. In Edinburgh it was common practice for a combination of dealers, such as the Hell Fire Club, to buy in the seized tea at a price well below its market value. Some legal tea was obtained from London, but Scottish dealers bypassed the London wholesalers and bought directly at the East India Company's auctions, as a

Proceedings of the Association for the Protection of Trade against Smuggling, IO Home Misc., LXI, 126.

⁶⁶ First Report, Committee on Illicit Trade, in London *Morning Chronicle*, Jan. 8, 1784.

⁶⁷ Account of Aitcheson of Edinburgh, Jan. 8, 1785, and Account of Paton of Glasgow, Jan. 10, 1785, in J. C. [John Campbell?] to Dundas, Scottish Record Office [hereafter cited as SRO], Melville Castle Muniments, GD51/3/194, fols. 1-2. A slightly higher estimate for the east of Scotland was given in Memorial on Smuggling, Mar. 12, 1784, PRO 30/8/354, fol. 245.

⁶⁸ Sam. Stalker, Glasgow merchant, to Pitt, Dec. 11, 1784, *ibid.*, 30/8/293, fols. 120-20b. Various estimates indicate that the total annual consumption in Scotland was about two million pounds. (See Memorial on Smuggling, Mar. 12, 1784, *ibid.*, 30/8/354, fol. 243b; Excise Office [Edinburgh] to Dundas, May 4, 1790, NLS, Melville Papers, MS. 14, fol. 87b.)

Glasgow illicit wholesaler boasted of having done to his entire satisfaction.⁶⁹ Whatever methods were used, by the time tea reached the retailer's shop the two channels had been so merged that only the scruples of individual dealers distinguished the illicit from the legal, as Twining noted.⁷⁰

By exploiting the legal channels of trade, the wholesaler of illicit tea was eroding at the same time the business of his legal counterpart. He both provided the dealers with legal covering and offered an article that yielded a more favorable return. For Scotland it was calculated that the first cost at Gothenburg for congou ranged between 22*d.* and 26*d.* a pound for which the retail dealers in Glasgow paid 51*d.* to 60*d.* to the wholesaler on the west coast. The cost of freight, insurance, commission to the European factor, and charges on credit was estimated at 12*d.*, leaving a gain of about 50 per cent. The retailer in turn charged his customers 72*d.* to 78*d.*, or a markup of 20 per cent or more.⁷¹ On the east coast profits were more evenly distributed between the merchant and the retail dealer. The latter paid only 45*d.* for congou, although he sold it at the same prices as the dealer in Glasgow.⁷²

Profits aside, the most dangerous threat to the London wholesaler's business was the ease with which the "new mode" of illicit trade was able to establish a virtual monopoly over various regional markets, of which Scotland is the most revealing example. While bohea, the cheapest of the black tea, remained the most popular in England, in Scotland congou had almost completely replaced bohea. Contemporaries attributed the change, at least by implication, to a more discriminating palate among Scottish tea drinkers,⁷³ but economic as well as gastronomical considerations lay behind the demand for congou. The latter was more profitable both to the importer and to the retailer. In contrast, bohea, which cost approximately 12*d.* abroad, was purchased by the retail dealer for 24*d.*, leaving only the profit on freight to the importer. It was sold in the shops for 28*d.*, "which afforded the retailer a profit of not more than 4*d.*" An Edinburgh dealer of smuggled tea

⁶⁹ 'Tea Dealers' Memorial, Feb. 16, 1776, HMCL Excise and Treasury, XIX, 281-87; Account of Paton of Glasgow, Jan. 10, 1785, SRO, Melville Castle Muniments, GD51/3/194, fols. 1-2; Memorial of Tea Dealers in Edinburgh to Pitt, Aug. 20, 1784, PRO 30/8/293, fol. 82.

⁷⁰ Twining, *Observations*, 6-7.

⁷¹ Account of Paton of Glasgow, Jan. 10, 1785, SRO, Melville Castle Muniments, GD51/3/194, fols. 1-2. The prices are confirmed in Tea Prices in Sweden, 1784 (internal evidence), PRO 30/8/294, fol. 172; I. W. Stodhart to Pitt, July 6, 1784, *ibid.*, 30/8/293, fols. 47-47b. The percentages are calculated, conservatively, as differences between a purchase price at the upper limit and a sale price at the lower limit.

⁷² Account of Aitcheson of Edinburgh, Jan. 8, 1785, SRO, Melville Castle Muniments, GD51/3/194, fols. 1-2.

⁷³ See, e.g. IO China: Court Letters, I, letter of Apr. 12, 1787, para. 26; announcements of Alexander Forbes, John Swanston, and Thomas Spence in *Edinburgh Advertiser*, Apr. 5, 12, May 3, Aug. 12, 1791; excise announcement, *ibid.*, Oct. 7, 1791.

advanced that as the reason why "Bohea is not much encouraged in Scotland."⁷⁴

Scottish free traders were able to control their market not only in the kinds of tea but also in prices. In a letter of February 1779 some London dealers reported to the Treasury the prices of smuggled and legal tea as follows:

Table III
Range of Prices of Smuggled and Legal Tea, February 1779 (in pence)⁷⁵

	Smuggled	Legal
Bohea	24-33	47-51
Congou	40-54	56-96
Souchong	42-66	72-144
Common Green or Singlo	42-66	68-120
Hyson	66-108	126-240

Compared with the Scottish prices of 72*d.* to 78*d.* per pound, all the tax-free congou and that portion of the legal goods priced at the lower limits could have competed effectively in Scotland. It is true that prices in the south rose after 1779, but even as late as 1784 there was still some congou available at 6*s.* per pound on the legal market.⁷⁶ Illicit bohea was also cheaper in the south. The fact that Scottish dealers could price their tea so high and almost eliminate bohea seems to point to a very well-protected market.

Indeed, the Scottish dealers went further and invaded the English market. According to excise, for the year ending June 30, 1776, the total quantity of tea sent by permit from England to Scotland amounted to 71,754 pounds whereas that sent by permit from Scotland to England was 180,978 pounds.⁷⁷ A specific illustration of such a reversal of the course of trade, as defined by law, was the business of Aitcheson, "one of the most considerable dealers in Edinburgh . . . in smuggled tea" before 1784. He claimed to have sent "large quantities of . . . [the best congou] to London where it was re-

⁷⁴ Account of Aitcheson of Edinburgh, Jan. 8, 1785, SRO, Melville Castle Muniments, GD51/3/194, fols. 1-2.

⁷⁵ The source for Table III is Tea Dealers' Memorial, Feb. 4, 1779, HMCL Excise and Treasury, XIX, 450.

⁷⁶ See, e.g., the Price List of Charles Brewster (London), 1781, in Fenton Order Book, 1773-94, BM, Add. MS. 36,666 (no pagination); announcement of John Hodgson in London *Morning Chronicle*, Oct. 6, 1784, which compares current with pre-1784 prices; Davison Newman to Pitt, July 3, 1784, PRO 30/8/293, fol. 41; Retail Prices as Stated by Rutton, Twining and Other Tea Dealers, *ibid.*, 30/8/294, fol. 211.

⁷⁷ Excise Report, Mar. 24, 1778, HMCL Excise and Treasury, XIX, 360.

tailed for Souchong."⁷⁸ Tea sent from Scotland to London was undoubtedly covered by permits, but the capital was only one target for the enterprising Scottish importer-distributor. Scottish excise reported that a part of the tea imported into the west coast was sent to "England . . . on horseback escorted by troops of 30, 40 or 50 men."⁷⁹ On the east coast the resourceful Aitcheson, by manipulating permits, "opened shops for the retail upon my own account in the towns of Newcastle, Durham, Shields and Leeds with great success."⁸⁰

Scotland was only one region that threatened the dominating position of London. With tea being smuggled from the Continent by routes that encircled the kingdom, tax-free imports could be expected to converge on various provincial centers for distribution to their respective market areas. Just as most of the imports along the coasts of Hampshire, Sussex, Kent, and Suffolk tended to move first to London,⁸¹ "great quantities of smuggled tea" put ashore on the coasts of Wales, Somerset, Devon, and Cornwall found their way to Bristol, and "the very great quantities . . . landed . . . upon the north coast of Yorkshire" reappeared in Kingston-upon-Hull.⁸² The existence of regular channels for the distribution of tea is clear from memorials submitted to the Treasury in 1782 by the principal dealers of these towns.⁸³ In 1784 Bristol actually ranked first in the nation so far as numbers are concerned, with 472 licensed tea dealers compared to 432 for London.⁸⁴ When the distributors of tax-free goods could avail themselves of such well-established regional centers of distribution, one may wonder whether even the free trader in London could undersell his provincial competitors.

The impact of such competition on the fair-trade wholesalers, especially those in London, was registered in a decreasing volume of trade and a steady shrinkage of the market area. In the auctions of the East India Company, the quantities sold for British consumption fell dramatically from the high annual average of 7,500,000 pounds in 1768-1770 to 3,600,000 in 1781-1783, ranging between 2,600,000 and 5,600,000 pounds during the 1770's, as Table IV shows:

⁷⁸ Account of Aitcheson of Edinburgh, Jan. 8, 1785, SRO, Melville Castle Muniments, GD51/3/194, fols. 1-2.

⁷⁹ Excise Report, Dec. 4, 1783, HMCL Scottish Excise and Treasury, I, 155.

⁸⁰ Account of Aitcheson of Edinburgh, Jan. 8, 1785, SRO, Melville Castle Muniments, GD51/3/194, fols. 1-2.

⁸¹ Excise Report on Smuggling, c. 1777 (internal evidence), PRO 30/8/283, fol. 102.

⁸² Report of Commissioners of Excise on Smuggling, Feb. 15, 1783, in *Documents*, ed. Cross, 312-13; Excise Report, Mar. 24, 1778, HMCL Excise and Treasury, XIX, 367; Tea Dealers' Memorial, Feb. 16, 1776, *ibid.*, 282-83.

⁸³ Memorial of Tea Dealers in Bristol, Jan. 1, 1783, *ibid.*, XXI, 5-7; Memorial of Tea Dealers in Kingston-upon-Hull, *ibid.*, 7-9.

⁸⁴ H. C. and L. H. Mui, "The Commutation Act and the British Tea Trade, 1784-93," *Economic History Review*, 2d Ser., XVI (No. 2, 1963), 245.

Table IV
Quantities of Tea in the Legal Trade, 1740-1794
(in 000 lbs.)⁸⁵

Year	Tea Sold by EIC (1)	Exports (2)	Great Britain (3)	Ireland (4)	United Kingdom (5)
1740	1,653	351	1,302	192	1,494
1741	1,379	378	1,001	191	1,192
1742	691	410	281	193	474
1743	911	430	481	230	711
1744	2,365	895	1,470	253	1,723
1745	2,463	642	1,821	602	2,423
1746	2,524	76	2,448	48	2,496
1747	282	181	101	114	215
1748	3,304	345	2,959	192	3,151
1749	3,477	322	3,155	180	3,335
1750	2,375	371	2,004	292	2,296
1751	3,681	394	3,287	369	3,656
1752	2,457	324	2,133	140	2,273
1753	3,451	364	3,087	166	3,253
1754	3,196	347	2,849	200	3,049
1755	3,570	302	3,268	169	3,437
1756	3,899	192	3,707	106	3,813
1757	3,860	267	3,593	130	3,723
1758	3,685	309	3,376	145	3,521
1759	3,548	394	3,154	92	3,246
1760	4,020	427	3,593	268	3,861
1761	4,354	245	4,109	199	4,308
1762	4,401	414	3,987	231	4,218
1763	5,436	395	5,041	266	5,307
1764	5,685	705	4,980	243	5,223
1765	5,473	809	4,664	540	5,204
1766	5,586	583	5,003	183	5,186
1767	5,303	655	4,648	273	4,921
1768	8,526	1,849	6,677	999	7,676
1769	9,448	1,469	7,979	1,136	9,115
1770	8,574	851	7,723	911	8,634
1771	6,799	1,226	5,573	734	6,307
1772	7,032	1,149	5,883	839	6,722
1773	4,577	2,006	2,571	1,205	3,776
1774	6,832	1,280	5,552	1,177	6,729
1775	6,225	750	5,475	681	6,156
1776	4,578	814	3,764	704	4,468
1777	5,583	1,277	4,306	814	5,120
1778	4,771	1,361	3,410	770	4,180
1779	6,733	1,276	5,457	885	6,342

Table IV (continued)

Year	Tea Sold by EIC (1)	Exports (2)	Great Britain (3)	Ireland (4)	United Kingdom (5)
1780	7,559	1,969	5,590	1,738	7,328
1781	5,023	1,444	3,579	1,305	4,884
1782	6,284	2,116	4,168	2,034	6,202
1783	5,858	2,766	3,092	1,650	4,742
1784	10,148	1,537	8,611	1,549	10,160
1785	15,082	1,914	13,168	1,633	14,801
1786	15,931	1,946	13,985	1,867	15,852
1787	16,222	2,176	14,046	1,680	15,726
1788	15,015	1,796	13,219	1,546	14,765
1789	16,710	2,175	14,535	1,971	16,506
1790	16,695	2,001	14,694	1,736	16,430
1791	17,268	2,171	15,097	1,995	17,092
1792	18,135	2,313	15,822	1,845	17,667
1793	17,378	2,034	15,344	2,149	17,493
1794	19,127	2,502	16,625	2,040	18,665

In the early 1770's Garratt was "travelling the kingdom for the purpose of selling tea," but found it "almost impossible to do any business within 30 miles of the sea coast."⁸⁶ Trade did not improve with time, as an excise report on Barnstaple, Devonshire, shows: in 1773 there were 177 licensed dealers in the collection, but five years later the number was reduced to 70, and "even these are going to close as they sell only two or three pounds in several months."⁸⁷ By 1783 surveys of such towns as Blackheath, Rochester, Sittingbourne, Canterbury, Dover, Romney, Rye, Battle, Lewis, and Uckfield, among others, disclosed that all the tea locally consumed was smuggled.⁸⁸

⁸⁶ The sources for the table are: figures for (1) are from "Tea sold by EIC"; those for (2) cover all tea shipped out of Great Britain including quantities for Ireland and are taken from Schumpeter, *English Overseas Trade Statistics*, 60; figures for (5) include all tea retained for use in both Britain and Ireland and are taken from "Tea retained for Home Consumption"; figures for Ireland (4) for 1789-1794 are taken from J. R. McCulloch, *Dictionary, Practical, Theoretical, and Historical, of Commerce and Commercial Navigation* (London, 1832), 1028. Calculations were made as follows: figures for (3), tea retained in Great Britain, are derived by subtracting the export figure (2) from the sale figure (1); figures for Ireland (4) for the years 1740-1788 are derived by subtracting the figure for Great Britain (3) from that of the United Kingdom (5). The method used has been checked from figures for the period 1789-1808. For these years all figures for columns (1), (2), (4), and (5) are taken from sources given above.

⁸⁷ Garratt to Dundas, July 22, 1800, NLS, Melville Papers, MS. 1063, fols. 173-73b.

⁸⁸ Excise Report, Mar. 24, 1778, HMCL Excise and Treasury, XIX, 360.

⁸⁹ Observations with respect to the Consumption of Tea at the Places Named, c. 1784 (internal evidence), PRO 30/8/294, fols. 250-50b.

Nor was the company immune to the injurious effects of the expansion of the illicit trade. It is true that its total sale (including exports) showed a smaller drop: from 8,800,000 in 1768-1770 to 5,700,000 pounds in 1781-1783 with an annual range between 4,600,000 and 7,000,000 pounds during the 1770's.⁸⁹ But prices at the company's auctions exhibited a more somber picture. In contrast to the period 1745-1765 when the bid-up price for bohea was rarely under 12*d.* above the put-up price, London dealers, hard pressed by the illicit competition, were forced to reduce the company's margin of profit. Indeed, after 1770 when the put-up price was raised to 27*d.* per pound, the markup was often merely one penny.⁹⁰ During these years the company was barely covering its costs on bohea, especially as war inflated the already heavy freight charges.

The principal dealers of London who eschewed business in tax-free tea were embattled and encircled. In order to compete, the London wholesaler had to reduce his markup to an almost ruinous level, as the following table shows.

Table V
Percentage Difference between Cost to Buyers at EIC Auctions
and Prices Charged by Retailers⁹¹

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
Bohea	51.75	(-) 5.6	6.0	23.8	15.9
Single	80.50	16.7	11.1	3.1	(-) 10.5
Congou	82.25	(-) 7.3	9.7	3.8	2.1
Souchong	96.38	12.0	25.0	5.2	00.0
Hyson	142.63	27.9	5.4	1.2	0.9

But even such a low markup did not necessarily assure success. An example of this was the business of Charles Brewster. Between 1776 and 1785 this London wholesaler found his orders from Wathal Fenton, a general shop-

⁸⁹ The figures were calculated from Table IV, pages 67-68.

⁹⁰ E.I.C. Put-up Prices, 1742-84, PRO 30/8/293, fol. 23; "Tea sold by EIC."

⁹¹ The meanings and sources of the five columns are as follows: (1) is the cost of tea to buyers at EIC sales (in pence), calculated as ten-year averages (1774-1783) of EIC sale prices plus all duties less customary discount, from *Report of Proceedings Respecting the Sale and Prices of Tea held since the Recent Act, ordered to be published, 19 Nov. 1784, by E.I.C. Court of Directors*, 57; (2) is calculated from prices in *Tea Dealers' Memorial*, Feb. 4, 1779, HMCL Excise and Treasury, XIX, 450; (3) is calculated from Wholesale and Retail Prices of Tea for the Last 10 Years before 1784 with Comments from Mr. Twining and Mr. Rutton, PRO 30/8/294, fol. 254; (4) is from *Calculation of Retailer's Profits at Old Duties*, c. 1784 (internal evidence), *ibid.*, fol. 170; (5) is from *Prices of Fair Trade Tea in Davison, Newman and Co. to Pitt*, July 3, 1784, *ibid.*, 30/8/293, fol. 41.

keeper in Newcastle-under-Lyme, Staffordshire, reduced from an annual total of two to four hundred pounds to a few pounds a year. Not until after the Commutation Act did Fenton turn once again to his London supplier for tea.⁹² Twining did not exaggerate when he observed that the failure to compete with smuggled tea forced more and more shopkeepers to deal with the free trader secretly, while condemning him publicly.⁹³ In London both free and fair traders suffered from the impact of the well-organized provincial smugglers.

Such were the conditions that led some London dealers to form an association for the protection of their trade. At the same time the company was itself faced not only with diminishing returns but with possible loss on two major teas, singlo and bohea. In the end the dealers, many of them men of wealth and political influence, cooperated with the officials and directors of the company and a vigorous minister in suppressing the clandestine trade, but the preparations and the agitation had been initiated long before 1784.

Among the company's servants, William Richardson was, if not the earliest, the most persistent and successful organizer of the forces against smuggling. Some time after 1768 he began to collect information about the illicit trade and several years later succeeded in organizing the fair-trade dealers in provincial towns as well as in enlisting the support of some of the company's directors and some leaders of government. By 1779 he was meeting "once each week" with members of the Association of London Tea Dealers to plan "ways and means to accomplish our wishes."⁹⁴ Among tea dealers, Garratt was active from the early 1770's onward and by 1776 had collected sufficient information to publish a pamphlet explaining the threat of the illicit trade. That year Garratt and Company was one of ninety-six firms of London dealers who submitted six specific measures to the Treasury for the more effective suppression of smuggling.⁹⁵ The time was not propitious, as Garratt noted: Lord North, with whom he had consulted and whose support had been obtained previously, was by then too involved in the American dispute.⁹⁶ But the association under the leadership of such important men of the city as Abraham Newman, Twining, Ellis, and

⁹² Fenton Order Book, 1773-94, BM, Add. MS. 36,666; for a summary of Fenton's trade, see Mui, "Commutation Act," 246.

⁹³ Twining, *Observations*, 21-24.

⁹⁴ The Service of William Richardson, IO Home Misc., LXI, 152; see also E. H. Pritchard, *The Crucial Years of Early Anglo-Chinese Relations, 1750-1800* (Pullman, Wash., 1936), 146-49.

⁹⁵ Tea Dealers' Memorial, Feb. 16, 1776, HMCL Excise and Treasury, XIX, 287.

⁹⁶ Garratt to Dundas, July 22, 1800, NLS, Melville Papers, MS. 1063, fols. 173-73b.

Garratt⁹⁷ continued to press the government, contributing to, if not instigating, the enactment of the new excise restrictions of 1779-1782.

The act of 1781 (21 Geo. III, c. 55), the most comprehensive of the group, was specifically designed to protect the London fair trade. By this act no tea above six pounds could be moved into the (London) bills of mortality, and no tea above forty pounds could be moved between places outside of that limit. From London, however, any amount could be sent. In 1782 the quantity permitted to be moved by provincial dealers was reduced to twenty pounds. Against this law, the principal dealers of Bristol and Hull complained bitterly as it "will of necessity transfer the customer of every trader in Bristol [and Hull] who will not be limited to 20 pounds to London." But excise upheld it because the law "was enacted on the application of the most respectable tea dealers in London whose trade was injured" by smuggling.⁹⁸ While the law was not completely effective, a fact that excise readily admitted, it added to the cost of those free traders who wished to use the legal channels.⁹⁹ One Edinburgh dealer claimed his business in England had been ruined by the twenty-pound limit.¹⁰⁰ The fraudulent dealer in London was in a similarly difficult position in obtaining a supply of tax-free tea. He revived the long-existing but expensive practice of dividing the tea into packages of under six pounds. By the end of 1781 "six capital fraudulent tea dealers" had established branch shops at South Lambeth, Stockwell, Kennington Common, and Norwood so that in one month ending January 10, 1782, they sent into London 16,558 pounds of tea in six-pound packages, and in the same period thirty other, apparently smaller, dealers sent in a total of 7,268 pounds by the same method.¹⁰¹ Such packaging was time consuming and costly; the resort to it is testimony less to the ingenuity of the free traders than to the embattled position of the Londoner.

At the same time the fair-trade dealers of London carried their fight into the salesroom of the company. On November 13, 1781, the company's directors received a letter from "a capital purchaser of tea and proprietor of E.I. stock" who warned of "a combination among the tea dealers to lower

⁹⁷ Proceedings of the Association for the Protection of Trade against Smuggling, IO Home Misc., LXI, 124.

⁹⁸ Memorial of Tea Dealers in Bristol, Jan. 1, 1783, HMCL Excise and Treasury, XXI, 5-7; Memorial of Tea Dealers in Kingston-upon-Hull, *ibid.*, 7-9; Excise Report on the Memorials of Dealers of Bristol and Kingston-upon-Hull, Feb. 28, 1783; *ibid.*, 72-73.

⁹⁹ Excise Report, Oct. 4, 1781, *ibid.*, XX, 220-21; Excise Report on the Memorials of Dealers in Bristol and Kingston-upon-Hull, Feb. 28, 1783, *ibid.*, XXI, 72-73.

¹⁰⁰ Account of Aitcheson of Edinburgh, Jan. 8, 1785, SRO, Melville Castle Muniments, GD51/3/194, fols. 1-2.

¹⁰¹ Excise Report, Feb. 19, 1782, HMCL Excise and Treasury, XX, 278-79.

the price of that article."¹⁰² The dealers' action was at least partly successful; the average bid-up prices of three kinds of tea were lower in 1782-1783 than they had been in 1779-1781, as Table VI shows:

Table VI
Put-up and Bid-up Prices, 1779-1783¹⁰³

	Put-up Prices (in pence), 1779-83	Bid-up Prices (in pence),	
		1779-81	1782-83
Bohea	25.24	30.10	32.25
Congou	25.24	55.87	49.80
Souchong	44.88	65.07	67.15
Singlo	28.05	56.10	50.15
Hyson	56.01	104.27	89.80

The plight of the legal trade was clearly explained by Newman. For the years 1778, 1783, and 1784, Newman gave the company his opinion of the state of the legal market. The earliest statement advised the company to offer for sale only moderate quantities, particularly in singlo, as the dealers "had been long overstocked" with it and "by continual losses . . . are quite dispirited." He recalled that during the last sale, as a result of the fall in the bid-up prices of bohea and singlo, the company had sustained a loss of "about £6,000." By 1784 he estimated that if the company put up a large quantity of bohea for sale, it would be "attended with a certain present loss of £25 or £30,000 and a future one of full as much as the trade loses."¹⁰⁴ With both bohea and singlo netting a loss of such magnitude, the company's tea trade was in a desperate situation.

The stage was thus set. Within the company, Richardson had pressed the question of smuggling on the directors and, through them, on several leaders of government. Only a determined government was needed to forge an

¹⁰² IO Court Minutes, XC, 441. Contemporary gossip frequently referred to the presence of dealers in illicit tea among the proprietors of the company's stock. (See, e.g., *London Morning Chronicle*, Oct. 11, 1784; *London Morning Herald*, Nov. 29, 1784; Memorial on E.I.C. Auctions, Sept. 30, 1784, PRO 30/8/354, fol. 240.)

¹⁰³ The sources for the table are E.I.C. Put-up Prices, 1742-84, PRO 30/8/293, fol. 23, and "Tea sold by EIC." From the put-up prices has been deducted the company's customary discount of 6½ per cent as similar deduction had already been taken from the bid-up prices; cf. average prices of EIC teas sold in *Advice to the Unwary*, 4-5.

¹⁰⁴ Guildhall (London) MS. 8611, Davison, Newman Company Papers, London Tea Market, 1783-1817 (no pagination).

alliance with the leading forces within the legal trade, an alliance that was to deal the final blow to the eighteenth-century free trade in tea. Although Garratt's interview with Charles James Fox produced no immediate result, his discussion with Pitt contributed at least something to the "perfect revolution in the tea trade of Europe," as Garratt described the Commutation Act of 1784.¹⁰⁵

From 1784 onward, smuggled tea became an article of disrepute among British dealers and consumers, and information concerning the activities and organization of the free trader was allowed to lie buried in dusty documents, leaving only colorful tales culled from personal memoirs and sensational reports to be rehashed over and over again.¹⁰⁶ But before 1784 the smuggler was no small interloper. He was indeed an important complement to his legal counterpart and as such contributed to the commercial expansion of the kingdom. By operating along the coast of the country, the smuggler became a virtual pioneer in developing trade facilities in areas not easily reached from the established centers of distribution. By perfecting organization in transport and in credit, he introduced from Europe large quantities of tea to many dealers at a lower price than the highly taxed article. In their turn, by choosing to circumvent, rather than to defy, the law, the dealers safeguarded a certain portion of legal business and supplied an inexpensive beverage to the consuming public. But the very success of the trade and its rapid expansion eventually threatened the powerful interests of the London wholesalers, the East India Company, and the government and forced the three into vigorous action. Until the effective enforcement of the Commutation Act, however, what appeared from the viewpoint of the law to be frauds, abuses, and evasions might also be regarded as innovations promoting the international and domestic trade of the kingdom, which, in turn, contributed to the growth of the British economy in the latter part of the eighteenth century.

¹⁰⁵ Garratt to Dundas, July 22, 1800, NLS, Melville Papers, MS. 1063, fol. 173b. For a discussion of the Commutation Act, see H. C. and L. H. Mui, "William Pitt and the Enforcement of the Commutation Act, 1784-88," *English Historical Review*, LXXVI (July 1961), 447-65.

¹⁰⁶ Cf. G. D. Ramsay, "The Smuggler's Trade: A Neglected Aspect of English Commercial Development," *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, 5th Ser., II (1952).

The Perils of Pluralism: The Background of the Pierce Case

DAVID B. TYACK

THE King Kleagle, Pacific Domain, of the Knights of the Ku Klux Klan warmed to his theme. We are facing now, he said in 1922, "the ultimate perpetuation or destruction of free institutions, based upon the perpetuation or destruction of the public schools." To defend the common school "is the settled policy of the Ku Klux Klan and with its white-robed sentinels keeping eternal watch, it shall for all time, with its blazing torches as signal fires, stand guard on the outer walls of the Temple of Liberty, cry out the warning when danger appears and take its place in the front rank of defenders of the public schools."¹ The Kleagle and his hooded colleagues had just helped persuade the citizens of Oregon to pass an initiative requiring all children between eight and sixteen to attend public schools and essentially outlawing private elementary schools. Now they were awaiting a court test of the law by their opponents. Their short-lived triumph and the monumental decision of the United States Supreme Court in 1925 (*Sisters v. Pierce*) ruling the law unconstitutional together form an illuminating case study of the purposes and limits of compulsory public education.

Grotesque though it may be to see the KKK as defenders of the common school, the Oregon adventure in education merely exaggerated certain patterns prevalent in our social and educational history of the last century. Nativism, 100 per cent Americanism, anti-Catholicism, distrust of the rich and well-born, political and moral fundamentalism—these were hardly new. But in the 1920's, fundamentalists of all stripes felt a peculiar sense of urgency, of anxiety, of displacement. (The names of the days in the Ku Klux Kalendar suggest the mood: "Desperate, Dreadful, Desolate, Doleful, Dismal, Deadly, Dark."²).

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¹ Luther Powell, in preface to George Estes, *The Old Cedar School* (Troutdale, Ore., 1922), 9.

² *Constitution and Laws of the Knights of the Ku Klux Klan* (Atlanta, 1921), 87; John Higham, *Strangers in the Land: Patterns of American Nativism, 1860-1925* (New York, 1966), 61-62, Chap. x.

During World War I and its aftermath, public education became a focus of concern for the fundamentalists and a target for inquisitors and opportunists. For the duration of the war, schoolmen sought desperately to eradicate ideological and ethnic pluralism in the interests of 100 per cent Americanism. After the armistice and an upsurge of isolationism, uneasy patriots tried to use the schools to fight the enemies within. Were Darwinism and the higher criticism undermining traditional patterns of faith? Then forbid the teaching of evolution and require the reading of the Bible. Was the United States a nation of hyphenates? Then outlaw the teaching of foreign languages in elementary schools, especially that language of hell, German. Were Bolsheviks plotting to corrupt the minds of the young? Then weed out all teachers who could not prove their orthodoxy. Was a cynical spirit abroad in the land, fed by H. L. Mencken, Sinclair Lewis, and a host of muckraking historians and biographers? Then pass laws requiring textbook writers and teachers to be reverential toward folk heroes. The answer was clear: if society seemed centrifugal, schools must be forced to move in narrow circles of orthodoxy. Critics might ridicule the "booboisie," the tight-lipped conservatives who called for laws against petting and flirting, who enacted prohibition, who baited Reds, who demanded the pious re-writing of history, who disclaimed monkey ancestors, but the majority could and did enact its alarm into school laws. And the consequences of the crusade for conformity were no joke, however comical the actors.⁸

Not all children went to public schools where they could be shaped to fundamentalist specifications. Nativists wondered what went on in Catholic parochial schools, in German Lutheran classrooms, in elite academies. Here was a flaw, here the origin of the Oregon compulsory public-school bill. In the process of debate on the bill and subsequent legal action came a searching reappraisal of the ideology of the common school in a pluralistic society.

Oregon seems, at first glance, an unlikely state in which to open a campaign for public monopoly of education. In 1920 the state had only 13 per cent foreign-born inhabitants (one-half of them naturalized), only 0.3 per cent Negroes, only about 8 per cent Catholics. Almost 95 per cent of all

⁸ Walter Lippmann, *American Inquisitors: A Commentary on Dayton and Chicago* (New York, 1928); Bessie L. Pierce, *Public Opinion in the Teaching of History in the United States* (New York, 1926), Chaps. iv-vii; Howard K. Beale, *Are American Teachers Free?* (New York, 1936), Chaps. ix-xi; Willard Gatewood, *Preachers, Pedagogues & Politicians: The Evolution Controversy in North Carolina, 1920-1927* (Chapel Hill, N. C., 1966); Lewis Paul Todd, *Wartime Relations of the Federal Government and the Public Schools, 1917-1918* (New York, 1945).

children between seven and thirteen were in school; over 93 per cent of these students attended public schools. Only 1.5 per cent of people ten years and older were illiterate. The major city, Portland, had few slums and few of the social problems of the crowded, polyglot eastern centers; outsiders congratulated Portland for its "Teutonic," orderly, Americanized school-children.⁴ In Oregon private and public schools had peaceably coexisted since the first settlements; indeed, a sharp line between "public" and "private" education had not existed at all in the early years of the state.⁵ It was fanciful to assert that Oregon exemplified the perils of pluralism or that the private schools, steadily declining in the proportion of students they served, constituted a threat to public education. Perhaps it was because Oregon did approximate the nativist ideal that partisans like the Klansmen chose it as a test case for compulsory public education, for there the majority of citizens might be persuaded to support a state monopoly. A similar plan had failed in Michigan, but if the Oregon campaign were to prove successful, a dozen other states were next in line.⁶

The beginnings of the 1922 law for compulsory public education lie shrouded. The initiative measure required parents to send their children between the ages of eight and sixteen to public schools unless they were physically unable, lived too far from a school, had completed the eighth grade, or were allowed by the county superintendent to have private tutoring. For each day that a parent failed to comply with the law he would "be subject to a fine of not less than \$5, nor more than \$100, or to imprisonment in the county jail not less than two nor more than thirty days, or by both such fine and imprisonment in the discretion of the court."⁷ The initiative came before the voters in the general election of November 7, 1922.

⁴ Ellwood Cubberley *et al.*, *Report of the Survey of the Public School System of School District No. 1, Multnomah County, Oregon* (Portland, 1913), 71-74 *et passim*. Cubberley pointed out that only six other northern and western cities had a larger percentage of native-born than did Portland.

⁵ David Tyack, "The Kingdom of God and the Common School: Protestant Ministers and the Educational Awakening in the West," *Harvard Educational Review*, XXXVI (Fall 1966), 459-67.

⁶ The Lutheran Schools Committee kept a file of such attempts and a full set of newspaper clippings, correspondence, and publicity on the Oregon school battle; this file [hereafter cited as LSC] is deposited in the Oregon Historical Society and is the basic source of information available on the compulsory school bill. For sample discussions of using the Oregon bill as a precedent for similar laws elsewhere, see the following (all newspapers cited in the essay are in Oregon unless otherwise indicated): Dayton, Wash., *Dispatch*, Dec. 30, 1922; Portland *Journal*, June 10, 16, 1922; Marshfield *Times*, Oct. 28, 1922. In a letter to Rudolf Messerli, coordinator of the Lutheran Schools Committee, Arthur Brohm wrote on September 15, 1922, from San Francisco saying that petitions for a similar initiative (to force all children to attend public schools) had failed to win sufficient signatures in California. (LSC.) The Masonic view of the Oregon case as a precedent is stated in *New Age*, XXVIII (July 1920), 322.

⁷ *Proposed Constitutional Amendments and Measures (with Arguments) to Be Submitted to the Voters at the General Election, Tuesday, November 7, 1922* (Salem, Ore., 1922), 22.

The men who put the measure on the ballot claimed as inspiration a resolution of the Scottish Rite Masons, Southern Jurisdiction of the United States, May 1920:

Resolved, That we recognize and proclaim our belief in the free and compulsory education of the children of our nation in public primary schools supported by public taxation, upon which all children shall attend and be instructed in the English language only without regard to race or creed as the only sure foundation for the perpetuation and preservation of our free institutions . . . and we pledge . . . to oppose the efforts of any and all who seek to limit, curtail, hinder or destroy the public school system of our land.⁸

The Scottish Rite Masons were mounting a national campaign against an alleged effort of Catholics to sap the strength of the common school and against the specter of "Bolshevist" instruction in private schools. They claimed the antidote would be to teach children in public schools "along standardized lines, which will enable them to acquire a uniform outlook on all national and patriotic questions."⁹ But in Oregon the Masons split on the issue of outlawing private schools, and there is much evidence that the KKK was using the Scottish Rite as a front. A number of leading Masons, including two Masonic past Grand Masters, denied that their body was sponsoring the bill. One of the Masters gave this account:

The compulsory school bill has been foisted upon the voters by the Ku Klux Klan. . . . Indorsement of the school bill by the Scottish Rite Masons was accomplished at a special meeting of hand-picked members of that order in Portland last spring called by P. S. Malcolm and Fred L. Gifford, and attended only by delegates present at their invitation. Malcolm . . . has been closely identified with the klan movement in Portland since its inception, if he is not actually a member, and Gifford is Exalted Cyclops of the Luther Powell klan of Portland. The majority of those present when the compulsory bill was endorsed were members of that radical faction of the Masonic order that fell in with the Ku Klux Klan movement from the first.¹⁰

Organizers of the Klan often tried to infiltrate Masonic lodges in the 1920's, causing Grand Masters in a number of states explicitly to attack the KKK and to dissociate the Masonic orders from it.¹¹

Because of the secret membership and "invisible government" characteristic of the Klan, probably no one will ever know how fully it controlled

⁸ *Ibid.*, 22-24.

⁹ *New Age*, XXX (Oct. 1922), 549. Lloyd Jorgenson discusses the national background and consequences of the Oregon law in his essay "The Oregon School Law of 1922: Passage and Sequel," forthcoming in *Catholic Historical Review*.

¹⁰ *Eugene Guard*, Nov. 4, 1922; *Baker City Democrat*, Nov. 3, 1922; *Portland Telegram*, Nov. 2, 1922; W. C. Bristol, "The Position of Masonry Made Clear," LSC.

¹¹ *The Klan Unmasked* (n.p., n.d.), 8-10; *Ku Klux Klan: Secrets Exposed* (Chicago, 1922), 55-58; *Oregon Voter*, Oct. 7, 1922, 9-10; Higham, *Strangers in the Land*, 289.

the Oregon Scottish Rite Masons or other groups allied in support of the school bill, such as the Federated Patriotic Societies. But Mason William McDougal, speaking in favor of the bill, suggested that his sympathies at least went to the Klan, though he was not a member: "I will say this much, that the Klan is composed of Americanborn, and if it comes to a show down I would rather be aligned with 100 per cent American influences than with foreign influences."¹² (McDougal was a first-generation immigrant himself.) The *Salem Journal*, one of the few newspapers to attack the KKK openly, said in an editorial called "Masonry the Goat" that the state monopoly of education "was introduced into the campaign for the purpose of stimulating membership in the Ku Klux Klan in its appeal to religious prejudice and racial hatred."¹³ That may in fact have been the intent of the Klan leadership; in any case the school bill became the most heated and bitter issue in the election. The bill has "set the brush on fire and . . . rent asunder communities," said the *La Grange Observer*.¹⁴ The fact that the initiative passed with a substantial majority indicates that the KKK's appeals tapped deep public concern.

The Klan in Oregon had many faces and more masks. Many of the leaders and salesmen saw chances to make fortunes from anxiety and hatred. The KKK became a semiopen political party that ran its own candidates (candidates they endorsed won the governorship, the mayoralty of Portland, and a potential deciding vote in the legislature, as well as many of the spoils of office). In some local communities it became an underground and hooded police troop enforcing prohibition, marital fidelity, and fundamentalist morality; it also harassed minorities who insisted on their rights.¹⁵ But most of the Klan members were not the rural, violent night riders of the popular stereotype. Over half of the Oregon Klansmen lived in Portland; most of them were probably blue-collar fundamentalists, arrested in their careers at a menial level amid the contemporary ideology of success, troubled by assaults on the familiar certainties, looking for dignity and significance. Kenneth Jackson has characterized the appeal of the Klan to this urban group:

Fear of change, not vindictiveness or cruelty, was the basic motivation of the urban Klansman. He was disillusioned by the Great War and its aftermath, by

¹² *Marshfield Times*, Oct. 28, 1922.

¹³ *Salem Journal*, Oct. 26, 1922.

¹⁴ *La Grange Observer*, Oct. 28, 1922.

¹⁵ David Chalmers, *Hooded Americanism: The First Century of the Ku Klux Klan, 1865-1965* (Garden City, N. Y., 1965), Chap. XII; Eckard V. Toy, Jr., "The Ku Klux Klan in Tillamook, Oregon," *Pacific Northwest Quarterly*, LIII (Apr. 1962), 60-64; John M. Mecklin, *The Ku Klux Klan: A Study of the American Mind* (New York, 1963 [1st ed., 1924]), 43-51; E. Haldemann-Julius, *KKK: The Creed of the Klansmen* (Girard, Kan., 1924), 15-24.

the Senate rejection of the League of Nations, and by the economic recession which came in the summer and fall of 1920. He was aware of the Red Scare and of reports of "petting parties," "wild dancing," and other indications of a revolution in morals. Sensing that the traditional values, religion, and way of life of an older America were in danger, he donated ten dollars to a hypocritical secret society in a vague attempt to halt the forces of time.¹⁶

In elaborate rituals and offices Klansmen found an excitement and a bogus brotherhood often missing in their drab lives. The Klan's absolute versions of Kristianity and patriotism soothed troubled minds, while its assurances of the superiority of the native-born, white Protestant gave them status denied elsewhere.¹⁷

The Klan adapted the ideology of that traditional American institution, the common school, to its own purposes. Along with pure womanhood, white supremacy, the Constitution, uncorrupted religion, freedom of speech, and the common people, Klansmen were sworn to uphold public education: "I believe that our Free Public School is the cornerstone of good government," they recited, "and that those who are seeking to destroy it are enemies of our Republic and are unworthy of citizenship."¹⁸ Only bluebloods or men who placed church above state could oppose compulsory public schooling; in either case they were traitors to American institutions.¹⁹

In a proclamation to Oregon Klansmen, Fred Gifford, Grand Dragon and a chief sponsor of the school bill, embroidered on this theme:

The Klan favors. . .

A compulsory use of English as the language in the grammar grades. . .

Education of the alien population, by federal aid, not only in cultural and vocational subjects, but especially in the principles of American institutions.

The entire separation of church and state. . .

The American public school, non-partisan, non-sectarian, efficient, democratic, for all the children of all the people; equal educational opportunities for all.

The inculcation of patriotism, love of the flag, respect for law and order and undying loyalty to constitutional government.

Gifford went on to paint a dark vision of the human scum pouring into the nation: "somehow these mongrel hordes must be Americanized; failing that, deportation is the only remedy."²⁰

Lem Dever, a leading Klan publicist until his break with the organization

¹⁶ Kenneth T. Jackson, *The Ku Klux Klan in the City, 1915-1930* (New York, 1967), 242.

¹⁷ Lem Dever, *Confessions of an Imperial Klansman* (Portland, 1924); Jackson, *Ku Klux Klan*, 205.

¹⁸ Haldemann-Julius, *KKK*, 30.

¹⁹ Jackson, *Ku Klux Klan*, 205.

²⁰ Lem Dever, *Inside the Klan: Invisible Empire Revealed* (Portland, 1923), 29-30; a letter writer in the *Portland Oregonian* (Oct. 31, 1922) said that "waiting for Oregon to develop a real immigrant problem was like the traveller who warned a poisonous snake in his bosom until it had sufficient vitality to sting him."

in 1924, unwittingly expressed a basic contradiction in the KKK's position on public education. He wrote that the chief purpose of the Klan was to "keep our country from becoming a vast Mongrelia." Dever thought that the "selective draft disclosures during the world war" had proved the inferiority of the Southeastern European ethnic groups; loose immigration laws were "unwise and suicidal." "Vast masses of our population, in the congested centers, have no more pedigree than the street dogs and cats; they are the product of innumerable crossings with the mongrel hordes."²¹ The Klan believed in inherent WASP superiority and the inferiority of aliens, Negroes, Catholics, and Jews, yet somehow it had persuaded itself that to force all children to attend public schools would avert the ruin of the republic. Conflicting assumptions about heredity and environment sat side by side in mute antagonism. And even more incongruous was the argument that the public school should mix children of all the people—all ethnic groups, all economic classes—in order to produce social solidarity; at its most eloquent, the Klan rhetoric sounds like the plea of those integrationist liberals today who would make the public school a true "common school" by achieving a racial, ethnic, and economic cross section in each classroom.²² Nowhere in the proposals of the Klan for compulsory public education in Oregon was there even a hint that Negroes should have separate schools; rather, Klansmen simply ignored the anomaly.

In theory at least, abolishing religious pluralism was more plausible than eradicating ethnic inferiority. Dever thought that the Klan should not only "Americanize the mongrel hordes" but also Protestantize the Catholics by convincing them that they should require "their priests to marry and live normal lives." They should also "abolish the parochial grade school and join with other Americans in building up the Public School."²³

The Old Cedar School, the Oregon Klan's propaganda piece in favor of compulsory public education, mixed nostalgia, paranoia, anticlericalism, Populist egalitarianism, anti-intellectualism, and bitter fantasy. In his introduction to the pamphlet the King Kleagle began on a familiar Populist note, saying that the compulsory school fight was "a battle of the mass of humanity against sects, classes, combinations and rings; against entrenched privilege and secret machinations of the favored few to control the less favored many." (The KKK, which prided itself on its secrecy, was always quick to attack the covert conspiracies of its enemies.) He denied that the

²¹ Dever, *Inside the Klan*, 23, 25.

²² Estes, *Old Cedar School*, 22-24, 32-39.

²³ Dever, *Inside the Klan*, 10.

Klan was arousing religious hatred. That issue was injected, he said, by the opposition, which "included the Roman Catholic Church and many other religious sects, prominent public officials, powerful financial institutions and banking houses, most of the great newspapers and a considerable number of the ablest attorneys of the state." At stake was the fate of the public school, which was "being ground to atoms" by quarreling sects.²⁴ The republic itself ultimately faced extinction.

The author of the pamphlet, George Estes, cast the narrative in the form of a conversation between an old Oregon pioneer and his alienated and perverse children who chose to send their sons and daughters to parochial schools. In the dialect of the common man the father tells of building the school on a ridge east of Portland "so us children could learn to read an' write an' cypher a little so't we couldn't git beat out o' everything when we growed up an' maybe when it come time to votin' we'd know enuff to vote agin fool laws an' graftin' men." But his son Jim has become a snob who admires "the Hon. Ab. Squealright" and wants to send his children to an Episcopal school, "Oxford Towers where there's a hull lot of big bishops and fellers who wear their collars an' vests buttoned in the back an' . . . [don't] know pizen oak from ivy on the walls of an old English castle." Sally and Ryar married a Seventh-Day Adventist and a Methodist, and they, too, did not think the old cedar school good enough for them. But John was the real black sheep, for he married a Catholic and was going to send his children to the Academy of St. Gregory's Holy Toe Nail, where they would "master Histomorphology, the Petrine Supremacy, Transubstantiation and . . . thoroughly trace the original authority and ecclesiastical record of Peter's Pence, together with the beatification of Saint Caviar."²⁵

Estes' pioneer translated his family's apostasy into public apocalypse at the end. At the public meeting on the school bill, he said, after the opponents of the bill had spoken, a band of hooded men marched to the platform to hang up a picture of the old schoolhouse, with its American flag flying and the old teacher pulling the bell rope, a terrified expression on his face.

At the three corners of the old school house . . . stood a 'Piscopalyun bishop, an' a Seventh Day Adventist Minister, an' a Methodist Presiding Elder . . . a knockin' out the foundations from under our Cedar School House; an' there was a Roman Catholic Bishop runnin' out from the fir grove toward the school house, a wearin' a long black robe an' a manicurist's lace skirt. He was holdin' up the crucifix high above his head in one hand an' carryin' a flamin' torch in the other.

²⁴ Powell in Estes, *Old Cedar School*, 5-7, 9.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, 12, 16, 26. Estes was also the author of a bitterly anti-Catholic tract called *The Roman Catholic Kingdom and the Ku Klux Klan* (Troutdale, Ore., 1923).

Then the lights went out, and a new picture appeared:

our Old Cedar School House, next in my heart to Mother's grave, was tumblin' to the ground, in flames, the crushed an' shriveled form of old Silas Parker, its teacher for mor'n fifty years, lay dead with his snow-white head hangin' out of the open front door, his thin, bony old hand aholdin' tight to the bell rope, the swayin' bell pealin' its final call, and the burnin' flag on the tall spire, THE LAST TORCH OF LIBERTY, FADIN' FROM THE WORLD.²⁶

Thus spoke the Klan. How did educators feel? When educational leaders across the nation were asked to comment on the law, they attacked it. "This measure should be entitled 'A Bill to Make Impossible the American System of Education in Oregon,'" wrote Nicholas Murray Butler of Columbia University. Arthur Hadley, president of Yale University, saw the initiative as "an attempt to give the majority of the people a dangerous power to restrict the diffusion of truth which it wishes to suppress." "We are sure that the proposed legislation is unconstitutional," said the editor of the *Journal of Education* (a periodical of the educational establishment). The president of the University of Texas commented that "right thinking men" would welcome the cooperation of public and private education.²⁷ Later John Dewey would comment that "We have a constitutional amendment passed in Oregon a short time ago which to some of us who thought we were good Americans seems to strike at the root of American toleration and trust and good faith between various elements of the population and in each other."²⁸ In July 1924 the National Education Association resolved that "citizens have the right to educate their children in either public or private schools."²⁹

While newspapers gave wide publicity to such opinions, the public school-teachers of Oregon were mostly silent. But in the profession's semiofficial organ, the *Oregon Teacher's Monthly*, the editor departed from her usual apolitical approach to urge teachers to "study" the bill and then proceed only to plead for it. Compulsory public schooling was the only issue in question: Oregon already had an effective compulsory education bill that ensured that children would receive schooling either in public or private schools. Yet the editor interpreted any arguments against the bill as "a direct or implied arraignment of the public schools."³⁰ Look at "the Boss Crokers, who grew up without schools, and the Morgans who were splendidly but selfishly educated," she said; were not the most "hated, feared, caricatured" villains the

²⁶ Estes, *Old Cedar School*, 40-43.

²⁷ Quoted in an advertisement in the *Portland News*, Nov. 1, 1922.

²⁸ John Dewey, "The School as a Means of Developing a Social Consciousness and Social Ideas in Children," *Journal of Social Forces*, I (Sept. 1923), 515; see Jorgenson, "Oregon School Law," for national comment on the compulsory bill.

²⁹ National Education Association, *Addresses and Proceedings*, LXII (1924), 54.

³⁰ *Oregon Teacher's Monthly*, XXVII (Oct. 1922), 12.

class-conscious men who missed the "humanizing influences of the public schools"? In the next issue of the *Monthly* an anonymous teacher wrote an article defending the school bill, claiming that statistics in New York proved that parochial schools produced three to four times more criminals than the public schools.⁸¹ A convention of 133 teachers in Columbia County supported the bill.⁸²

It is natural that public schoolteachers should have been proud of the institution they served and vocal in defending it against unjustified charges. As educators they had a professional interest in the quality of schooling, whether public or private. But they chose not to attack specific faults of private schools in Oregon; instead they stated their argument for the bill in broadly ideological terms, totally neglecting the constitutional obstacles to the measure.⁸³ Hypersensitive, they seemed to assume that a vote against the compulsory school law was a vote against public education, while in fact opponents of the initiative were simply asserting the right of private schools to exist. Public schoolmen, in short, largely obscured rather than clarified the legal, moral, and religious issues involved in the bill.⁸⁴

The level of discourse in the campaign and the fact that the people of Oregon passed a law after being warned repeatedly of its unconstitutionality raised some serious questions about the quality of education. The Klan's appeal, said a writer in *The Survey* on October 15, 1922, was "not merely a childish outburst of anti-Jewish, and anti-Catholic and anti-foreign bigotry." Beneath the mumbo jumbo of the KKK, he said, "the essential fact seems to be that in our contemporaneous American education—both the formal education of the schools and the more pervasive unconscious education of the home, the church, and the social life as a whole—we are cultivating prejudice, planting seeds of intolerance and bigotry."⁸⁵ Despite all the talk of "Americanism" the schools in Oregon were "after all a very mechanical affair," wrote John Mecklin in 1924:

Her sons and daughters, as in her sister states, pass with measured tread through public school, high school and university assimilating the mechanical symbols of culture, and yet these symbols remain mere symbols, traditional, educational and cultural stereotypes. These prospective citizens have not been schooled to

⁸¹ *Ibid.* (Nov. 1922), 6.

⁸² *Clatskanie Chief*, Oct. 20, 1922. It is curious that among the hundreds of letters to the editor in newspapers on the school bill those stating the views of teachers or school administrators were missing; the Klan's candidate for state superintendent, who lost in the election, was a school principal in Eugene.

⁸³ *Portland Oregonian*, Oct. 30, 1922.

⁸⁴ In the December 1922 issue of *Oregon Teacher's Monthly* the American Legion's super-patriotic campaign for Americanization won the hearty endorsement of the teachers' magazine.

⁸⁵ Quoted in *Portland Telegram*, Oct. 15, 1922.

the critical analysis of their intellectual heritage. So long as one is clever enough to clothe his propaganda in the familiar dress of these stereotypes he finds ready and uncritical acceptance.³⁶

The Klan frame of mind on public education neatly coincided with a common school ideology that had become distorted by nativist prejudice and by the patriotism of the war years. The educational statesmen of Horace Mann's generation had hoped to make the public school so attractive that citizens would desire no other; they had hoped that a common core of Christianity would prove acceptable to families of different religious persuasions. As time passed, Americans generally agreed that some form of education should be made compulsory for all children. But, implicitly at least, both the ideology and practice of public education had acknowledged certain limits to the state's power to compel. Whether for religious or other reasons, parents could send their children to the schools of their choice. Now all that might change, said the editor of the *Portland Telegram*: "We, the majority, have decided what is necessary. . . . The public schools please us. Why not make them please the other fellow? Why not march him up to the school of our choice and say to him in effect: 'There, take that, it's good for you.'"³⁷ Another Oregonian said that if the bill passed, the next step would be clear: "Some self-appointed patriots calling themselves 100 per cent will come along with a petition requesting that all babes must be removed from the home from the mother's breast lest the babes hear some unpatriotic lullaby song, fed on Eagle Brand milk, and placed in a state institution."³⁸

Fear of immigrants and nervousness about "Americanism" were only part of the motivation behind the school monopoly bill. More powerful, though largely underground, was a resurgence of anti-Catholicism.³⁹ A cartoon against the initiative expressed this vividly: in the center is a pot labeled "compulsory education bill"; on the right are chefs named "class hatred," "Bolshevism," "Prussianism," "persecution," "hate," and "spite"; and on the left, dominating the scene and stirring the "devil's broth" is an ominous black figure called "religious revenge."⁴⁰

A citizen of Glendale put the matter with classic candor: the bill "is not a question of Catholic's [*sic*] having the right to follow the teachings of their Dago pope, but the right of protestants to educate their children by the best

³⁶ Mecklin, *Ku Klux Klan*, 50.

³⁷ *Portland Telegram*, Oct. 26, 1922.

³⁸ *Ibid.*, Nov. 2, 1922.

³⁹ A writer in the *Marshfield Times* (Nov. 6, 1922) said that the chief purpose of the bill's sponsors was "to get a lick at the Catholics."

⁴⁰ *Portland Telegram*, Nov. 1, 1922.

school system in the world. . . ." The majority has a right to rule, he said; after all, if the papists had a majority they would destroy our institutions.⁴¹ A Silverton man bought a half-page advertisement to warn that "our country is in danger. We need Americans, not mental surfs [*sic*] and one-man worshippers [*sic*]." Aiming at "the Roman Monopoly," he went on to say that thousands of children "are now being fitted to promote un-American ideals, and many of them will become subjects of a foreign prince, consciously or unconsciously, as his American agents—spies and traitors to the best interests of the United States." These "catechized monstrosities" intend to "destroy all of our public schools." Accusations flowed freely from his pen:

Young children in private schools have no defense against any private ideas antagonistic to our free institutions. We cannot afford to run this risk any longer, and we positively know that traitors are now at this deadly work. These traitors are often times trained to appear like polished gentlemen. They sometimes enter protestant churches and serve as ministers. Their agents are everywhere. Many of them are serving as public school teachers—all for one purpose, to build up their own organization by the destruction of American principles.⁴²

"Private schools" meant "private ideas": "private ideas" by definition were dangerous.

Before respectable audiences the bill's advocates "feel that their ordinary line of anti-Catholic talk would render them ridiculous," observed the *Catholic Sentinel*. "Before other audiences, however, and in their press the Kluxers uncover their real designs and indulge in the usual orgy of anti-Catholic calumny. Witness their patronage of ex-nuns, real and faked."⁴³ Since Maria Monk in Know-Nothing days, the renegade nun had been a favorite weapon against the Roman Church. The KKK revived this hoary hoax in its campaign for members.⁴⁴ Exhibit A was Sister Lucretia, who toured the state to vilify Catholicism in general and St. Vincent's Hospital in particular (her charges were stoutly denied by a group of non-Catholic doctors and nurses associated with the hospital). Lucretia was a willing pawn in the Klan's schemes for profit, observed a Catholic organization: "Their's [*sic*] is a campaign for revenue only. . . . Their moral leprosy they seek to veil under the cloak of patriotism and religion. Exponents of truth and social purity, they style themselves, but in reality they are peddlers of lies, vendors of filth, disseminators of hate and enmity."⁴⁵ The anti-Catholic stories of smut and conspiracy sounded familiar to the former governor of Oregon, T. T. Geer. He

⁴¹ Glendale News, Oct. 12, 1922.

⁴² Silverton Appeal, Oct. 13, 1922.

⁴³ Portland Catholic Sentinel, Oct. 12, 1922.

⁴⁴ Baker City Herald, Oct. 24, 1922.

⁴⁵ Oregon City Morning Enterprise, Nov. 5, 1922.

recalled that when he had cast his first vote fifty years earlier he had heard similar tales of a "Catholic menace." "I said as much to a man the other day, who is at this time certain that he is justified in destroying all other private schools in order that all Catholic private schools may be placed under the ban of law."⁴⁶

A Catholic priest said that "since this so-called compulsory school bill has been proposed, our people have rallied to the church with an intensity and unanimity that I have never known in all my experience."⁴⁷ But the lies of the Klan cut deeply into the feelings of many Catholics. One mother said that her daughter could not find work because of the prejudice stirred up by Lucretia and her kind: she almost had a job "until questioned what religion she professed. To her astonishment she was refused the place because of the name Catholic." Why, the mother asked, was a public-school auditorium opened to a hater of Catholics like the former nun? She would have to move from Oregon to give her daughter a fair chance in life.⁴⁸

In fighting the initiative for a public-school monopoly the Catholics were in a quandary. Clearly they were the chief targets of the bill, yet if the Church openly led the attack, it might reinforce popular worries about Catholic power and thus defeat its own purposes. Catholics, accordingly, muted their publicity against the measure and encouraged other groups to speak out.⁴⁹ The main public spokesman and private lobbyist for the Roman Church was the archdiocesan superintendent of education, the Reverend Edwin O'Hara. In his speeches before both Catholic and general audiences he applauded the public schools, but argued that religious schools had an ancient and honorable place in American society.⁵⁰ The fight against the school bill presented the spectacle of Catholics joining hands with Lutherans in ecumenical opposition to a common foe.

A sense of outrage united an otherwise miscellaneous collection of opponents of the school bill. Religious leaders—Catholic, Protestant, and Jewish—deeply resented the implication that "sectarianism" was "unpatriotic." Businessmen feared increased taxes for new schools and a lower rate of investment and population growth because of such "freak legislation." Minority groups, like Negroes, Jews, and the foreign-born, detected totalitarian

⁴⁶ Portland *Oregonian*, Nov. 2, 1922.

⁴⁷ Medford *Tribune*, Nov. 2, 1922.

⁴⁸ Portland *Oregonian*, Oct. 24, 1922. On October 16, 1922, the *Oregonian* gave an account of a fight at the anti-Catholic meeting held in one of Portland's school auditoriums.

⁴⁹ Portland *Catholic Sentinel*, July 20, 1922.

⁵⁰ Corvallis *Gazette-Times*, Oct. 10, 1922; J. G. Shaw, *Edwin Vincent O'Hara: American Prelate* (New York, 1957), Chap. ix.

undertones in the arguments of the bill's supporters. Private-school proprietors fought for their very existence. And citizens of many persuasions saw the tyranny of the majority in a law that threatened religious freedom, parental duty, and constitutional rights.

In the campaign against the bill in press, pulpit, and forum, opponents charged that promoters had secured the initiative by fraud and publicized it by deceit. The *Portland Spectator* said that advocates had won signatures by telling citizens that the purpose of the law was "to give every child an education."⁵¹ Many signers of the petition said later that they did not realize that the act would ban private schools. The measure bore the misleading title on the ballot "Compulsory Education" (devious because Oregon already had an effective compulsory schooling law).⁵² Leading spokesmen for the bill exposed themselves to charges of insincerity, for Klansman Gifford sent his son to Hill Military Academy; fellow Klansman William Woodward sent his daughter to another private school; and Walter Pierce, the candidate for governor who was endorsed by the Klan, had consistently voted for bills chartering such institutions while a member of the Oregon legislature.⁵³ A former Portland school board member observed that proponents of the measure had "been conspicuously absent from the list of those working sincerely to advance the welfare of the public schools."⁵⁴ A political observer waxed poetic:

SCHOOL BILLS

In killing a cat, 'tis a popular way
To coat with sweet sugar the pill,
So the kitty all purring and eager and gay
Will gulp it and get very ill;
In killing a school, it is sometimes the rule
To use not the brutal sand-bag,
But to make exhortation about education
And flap the American flag.⁵⁵

Several groups coordinated the attack on the measure: the Portland Committee of Citizens and Taxpayers (largely businessmen); the Lutheran Schools Committee, which had prior experience with a similar bill in Michigan in 1920; the Non-sectarian and Protestant Schools Committee (the central clearinghouse for speakers and newspaper publicity); and the Catholic

⁵¹ *Portland Spectator*, Oct. 14, 1922.

⁵² Catholic Civil Rights Association of Oregon, *Twenty-four Reasons Why You Should Vote 'No'* (Portland, 1922), 1.

⁵³ *Salem Journal*, Oct. 26, 1922; *Astoria Budget*, Oct. 21, 1922.

⁵⁴ *Portland Catholic Sentinel*, Oct. 12, 1922.

⁵⁵ *Aurora Observer*, Nov. 2, 1922.

Civil Rights Association of Oregon. In this highly emotional campaign, subtleties about constitutional law and religious liberty were less potent than arguments that the bill would raise taxes and invade parental rights.⁵⁶ Opponents as well as supporters wrapped themselves in the flag. The bill was clearly Prussian or Communist in intent, critics said, and a cartoon in the *Telegram* showed Lenin and a hooded Ku Kluxer upholding a placard bearing the message "State Monopoly of Schools Is an Absolute Success in Russia" ("The Wandering Boy," Walter Pierce, stood at their left).⁵⁷

The citizens who opposed the initiative argued that compulsory public education would reinforce autocratic tendencies already apparent in the schools. Hall S. Lusk, a Democratic candidate for the legislature, attacked the bill as "paternalism run mad."⁵⁸ A mother wrote that the measure "will only serve to give certain officials more power, which power they have already abused. The parents have precious little to say about their children now. There are teachers, principals, and officials of all kinds . . . so high and mighty that you feel like a serf at times."⁵⁹ "By degrees there is being built in our state a machine among the 'aristocratic' element of our profession," wrote a teacher, which "will make serfs, to be moved about at the will of a state superintendent of public instruction through his lieutenants, county superintendents."⁶⁰ Rigidity and stultification would result from a state monopoly, said one writer: "Outside the public school, therefore, are needed institutions which are absolutely free from any political dictation . . . from standardized curricula, from methods, and textbooks."⁶¹ Advertisements against the bill quoted Philander Claxton, former US Commissioner of Education:

I believe in the public school system. It has been the salvation of our democracy; but the private schools and colleges have been the salvation of the public schools. These private institutions have their place in an educational system; they prevent it from becoming autocratic and arbitrary and encourage its growth along new lines.⁶²

Minority groups other than the Catholics recognized that the majority could easily become tyrannical if public schools were compulsory. The Jewish community opposed the bill; even Jesse Winburn, a Jewish backer of

⁵⁶ See, e.g., *Portland Oregon Voter*, Oct. 7, 1922, 16-17, and the publicity against the bill in the files of LSC.

⁵⁷ *Portland Telegram*, Oct. 26, 1922.

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, Oct. 27, 1922.

⁵⁹ *Portland Journal*, Oct. 27, 1922.

⁶⁰ *Portland Telegram*, Oct. 23, 1922.

⁶¹ *Ibid.*, Nov. 6, 1922.

⁶² Non-sectarian and Protestant Speakers' Bureau, "Suggestions to Speakers," 5, LSC; *Proposed Constitutional Amendments*, 26-28.

Pierce for governor, inserted advertisements condemning the law in newspapers across the state.⁶³ The Portland Negro newspaper saw "too much Amerism [*sic*] of the Vardamanic type" in the measure and attacked "the diseased mental state caused by ignorant bigotry." It was the duty of all Negroes to "stand against it, knowing the methods of the public school system in the South. . . ."⁶⁴ A man signing himself "AN AMERICAN INDIAN" punctured the patriotism of "the white-robed gentleman of the klan that has 100 per cent Americanism for a motto."

Imagine what your red brothers think, . . . who have been vassals of the United States up to the present time . . . in the event that it becomes a law I will go elsewhere, for, Oregon, you have violated the sacred laws of freedom, and I will not want to stay here, for as a full blooded American I will not stay here under the dictates of a majority of hyphenated Americans for anything.⁶⁵

First- and second-generation immigrants, especially Lutherans of German background, attacked the initiative not only because they had numerous parochial schools to defend but also because they knew that their whole way of life was threatened.⁶⁶ One writer stoutly denied that private schools were unable to Americanize children:

The argument for the proposed bill, that State monopoly of education is necessary to Americanize the foreigner, and to secure a homogeneous citizenship without racial or class distinction is founded upon false assumptions and supported by unsound reasoning. Actual statistics will show that there are as many nationalities represented in the private schools as in the public schools; that the discipline and intercourse of the pupils are just as democratic . . . and that there is absolutely no difference in the tone and teaching of the private and the public schools in matters affecting American ideas and ideals. . . . In some respects and in many cases it is a fact that the private schools prove to be better Americanizers for children of the foreign-born, or who are themselves foreign-born, than the public schools. There is usually closer personal contact and a sympathy between the teachers and the pupils, and the parents of the pupils, than is practicable in most public schools. This becomes valuable when the pupils are unfamiliar with the customs, language, and methods of American life. Then, if the teacher be of the same religion as the foreign-born parents or pupils, and can speak the native language of both pupils and parents, it establishes a tie of sympathy and influence between them that contributes immensely to the Americanization of the pupils.⁶⁷

⁶³ Portland *Scribe*, Nov. 3, 1922; Salem *Journal*, Oct. 28, 1922.

⁶⁴ Portland *Times*, n.d., clipping in LSC. James Vardaman was a southern white supremacist; apparently the Portland Negroes did not agree with a speaker in Grandview, Washington, who said that "the better class of colored people of the South like the Klan." (Grandview, Wash., *Herald*, Mar. 2, 1923.)

⁶⁵ Portland *Telegram*, Nov. 6, 1922.

⁶⁶ Martin Anderson, "A Study of Bills and Resolutions for Curriculum Prescriptions Introduced at the Oregon Legislature, 1901-1939," master's thesis, University of Oregon, 1939, 27-28. As state senator in 1919, Pierce had expressed a widespread phobia when he declared in debate that a teacher of German had poisoned the minds of his two daughters.

⁶⁷ *Twenty-four Reasons*, 9.

To Lutherans and Seventh-Day Adventists as well as Catholics, the basic issue was freedom to educate their children in accord with their religious convictions. "This measure virtually involves a union of Church and state," said a spokesman for the Adventists. "The government that turns its citizens into subjects and makes them mere cogs in a wheel, without any rights of their own, is a government that is transforming itself into a tyranny."⁶⁸ The state was constricting religious pluralism and establishing a civil religion of homogeneous Americanism. The bill was based, said a group of Presbyterian ministers, "on the philosophy of autocracy that the child belongs primarily to the state; it is an unjustifiable invasion of family authority and threatens ultimately the guarantees of our American liberty."⁶⁹ American religious freedom, said the Catholic Civil Rights Association, means not "*toleration* merely, which implies privileges conferred or favors granted, that may be abridged or taken away by the State; but it is the principle of natural and inalienable right, recognized and secured."⁷⁰ The most conclusive reason for opposing the bill on religious grounds was precisely the golden rule, said Unitarian minister William Eliot.⁷¹ "Suppose the Catholic majority in Louisiana disregarded the rights of the Protestant minority in Louisiana, would we not call that tyranny?" asked a leading Congregationalist. "But if the Protestant majority in Oregon sets aside the rights of the Catholic minority, shall we call it patriotism?"⁷² Despite this widespread opposition to the initiative by religious leaders of all persuasions, a large number of Oregonians agreed with a citizen who wrote to the editor of the *Salem Journal* that "it is unpatriotic to flaunt our sectarian creeds, dogmas, and tenets if it is opposing civilized advancement either by word or garb."⁷³

While differing in motives, the opponents of the bill for compulsory schools generally agreed about the purpose and limits of public education. They had no quarrel with the principle of free state schools or with the need to create one people from many. They objected, rather, to a state monopoly that would violate their constitutional rights and that presumed peril in any departure from the views of the majority.

On November 7, 1922, the voters of Oregon approved the compulsory

⁶⁸ *Proposed Constitutional Amendments*, 29.

⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, 30.

⁷⁰ *Twenty-four Reasons*, 7.

⁷¹ *Astoria Astorian*, Oct. 31, 1922.

⁷² *Portland Telegram*, Oct. 21, 1922. There was, however, a split in Presbyterian ranks as a number of ministers, especially in smaller communities, supported the bill. (See *ibid.*, Oct. 23, 1922.) Protestant ministers were, in general, among the bill's most vocal advocates.

⁷³ *Salem Journal*, Nov. 6, 1922.

school initiative by a vote of 115,506 to 103,685.⁷⁴ The major parties split on the issue; many Democrats opposed the measure, and the Multnomah County Republican Committee endorsed it.⁷⁵ The vote was a political upset.⁷⁶ Prior to the election the *Oregonian* reported that betting odds on the school measure were ten to seven for its defeat. But in the postelection analysis the newspaper claimed that the school bill had passed largely because of anti-Catholicism and the "invisible government" created by the Klan and other secret societies, the school question being "the most upsetting factor in the history of Oregon since the agitation over slavery."⁷⁷ "It was impossible for us to overcome the ruthless activities of the Masons, the minor lodges, the Ku Klux Klan, the Federated Patriotic Societies, the Royal Riders of the Red Robe, etc. etc.," said a representative of the Lutheran Schools Committee.⁷⁸

Like prohibition, antievolution laws, and compulsory Bible-reading laws, the school monopoly bill was symbolically important, for it legitimized the values of a group through state action. But on occasion the monetary value of the campaign also became apparent. A man who claimed to represent the Masons appeared at a meeting of the Portland School Board in December to complain that the contract for a new high school was being awarded to a firm riddled with Catholics. Favors, he said, "should be given to men and firms in full sympathy with the public school system, and not to those who aided in the fight against the compulsory school bill in the recent election." He failed, as did attempts in the state legislature, to put churches on the tax rolls. The anti-Catholics did succeed in eliminating Columbus Day as a holiday (as a slap at the Knights of Columbus). George Putnam, editor of the *Capitol Statesman*, observed: "Politics is silly at best. But this sort of thing passes from the realm of foolishness to the

⁷⁴Portland *Oregonian*, Nov. 9, 1922. The split in votes was not rural versus urban on the bill; both Multnomah and Washington Counties, in which Portland was situated, voted for the bill by a sizable majority. (See Earl Pomeroy, *The Pacific Slope: A History of California, Oregon, Washington, Idaho, Utah, and Nevada* [New York, 1965], 226-28; Dorothy O. Johansen and Charles M. Gates, *Empire of the Columbia: A History of the Pacific Northwest* [2d ed., New York, 1967], 494-498. Johansen discusses Pierce's denial that he "had made a deal for Klan votes.")

⁷⁵Portland *Catholic Sentinel*, Oct. 19, 1922; George Turnbull, *An Oregon Crusader* (Portland, 1955), 134-39; Jalmar Johnson, "When the Klan 'Took Over' Oregon," Portland *Oregonian*, Apr. 2, 1965.

⁷⁶In 1922 there were 238,444 registered Republicans as opposed to 89,477 Democrats. Thus Pierce's victory over the Republican incumbent governor surprised many. The Klan had endorsed Pierce and attacked Olcott (who had issued a proclamation against the Klan in 1922).

⁷⁷Portland *Oregonian*, Oct. 29, Nov. 9, 1922. The Portland *Telegram* (Nov. 2, 1922) predicted defeat for the school bill. The Portland *Oregon Voter* (Nov. 11, 1922) expressed surprise at the outcome, attributing the upset to the "influence of the anti-Catholic vote, especially in Portland."

⁷⁸The Reverend Rudolf Messerli to the Reverend F. Pfotenhauer, Nov. 10, 1922, LSC.

realm of mental disorders. Politics has simply gone mad." In the meantime, Oregon was "getting some fine advertising" nationally.⁷⁹

After passage of the bill, representatives of church and private schools gathered to discuss how to test the law in the courts. "Since we have been defeated by a narrow margin, we feel that Oregon will have an ideal case to test out the constitutionality of such laws in the Supreme Court of the United States and thus through its defeat put itself into a position where it can be of service to our people in other states," wrote a Lutheran. "We are so confident of this that we look upon this defeat as a God-sent blessing in disguise."⁸⁰ The law was not to take effect until 1926, but the private schools acted immediately. Father O'Hara sought and obtained the services of the American Civil Liberties Union. Roger Baldwin of that organization recommended a judge "to handle the legal end of the attack on the Oregon law and perhaps to do some research."⁸¹ The National Catholic Welfare League and the Knights of Columbus helped to raise funds for the legal battle, believing that the "educational welfare of the Catholics generally may hinge upon" the result of the decisions.⁸²

The Society of the Sisters of the Holy Names of Jesus and Mary and the Hill Military Academy both filed bills of complaint against Pierce and the state and county district attorneys as agents responsible for enforcing the school law. Much of the legal argument perforce dealt with technical questions that had not arisen in the public debate before the passage of the compulsory public-school bill: Was the suit premature since the law would not take effect until 1926? What were the precedents for actions by the state that deprived private corporations (in this case schools) of their property rights? When does interference with the patronage of a business become arbitrary and unlawful? Both the lawyers' briefs and the decisions of the federal judges dealt with issues such as these, but they also probed the broader questions of public policy on public education. In so doing they revealed much of the educational ideology of the time.⁸³

The action of the state in requiring parents to send their children to public schools was not an abridgment of their privileges and immunities as citizens, said Wallace McCammant, an attorney representing Governor

⁷⁹ Turnbull, *Oregon Crusader*, 160-64.

⁸⁰ Messerli to Pfotenhauer, Nov. 10, 1922, LSC.

⁸¹ Shaw, *Edwin Vincent O'Hara*, 99-101.

⁸² Seattle, Wash., *Times*, Jan. 21, 1923; Spokane, Wash., *Chronicle*, Feb. 14, 1923.

⁸³ The lawyers' arguments and other information bearing on the Pierce case were collected in a booklet entitled *The Oregon School Fight: A True History* (Portland, 1924), esp. 28, 40-41, 43-45, 55-69.

Pierce and the other defendants. The state had undoubted right to compel all children to be educated; the compulsory school bill was simply a means of ensuring that this education would be standard and efficient. Thus the statute bore a reasonable relation to the welfare of the child and the preservation of the state:

the great danger overshadowing all others which confront the American people is the danger of class hatred. History will demonstrate the fact that it is the rock upon which many a republic has been broken and I don't know any better way to fortify the next generation against that insidious poison than to require that the poor and the rich, the people of all classes and distinction, and of all different religious beliefs, shall meet in the common schools, which are the great American melting pot, there to become . . . the typical American of the future.⁸⁴

McCammant's colleagues reiterated his argument by saying that the initiative had been passed by the will of the people and that the government was "one in which majorities rule."⁸⁵

J. P. Kavanaugh, attorney for the sisters, denied such charges in a searching discussion of the role of private education in American life and of the constitutional rights of parents. In Oregon as elsewhere, he said, private schools had a long and honorable history. "We do not deny the value of compulsory education nor . . . the right of the state to regulate standards in all schools; but no one has proved the inefficiency of private schools." The issue of patriotism "is only a guise . . . presented to deceive the people on this question." The right to conduct and patronize private schools had long been recognized as natural and inherent, subject to violation by the police power of the state only in cases of compelling necessity. But no such necessity could be demonstrated sufficient to warrant a breach of constitutional rights. Why should Oregon be the only state, with the exception of the Soviet Union, to undertake "to have a monopoly of education, to put it in a straitjacket, by the fixing of unalterable standards and thereby to bring their people and their citizens to one common level. . . ." The real danger, he commented, came not from the children who were the targets of the law, but from movements—here he was referring to the KKK and similar organizations—"whose avowed purpose is to defeat law and order, and where one may be the accuser, judge and executioner at the same time, defying the Courts and the authority and the law."⁸⁶

The attorney for the Hill Military Academy joined Kavanaugh in attacking the premises of the bill. The claim that the foreign-born must be

⁸⁴ *Ibid.*, 63, 110-11, 115.

⁸⁵ *Ibid.*, 118.

⁸⁶ *Ibid.*, 80-82, 88, 97-98.

assimilated through compulsory public schooling was a myth in Oregon; the number of unnaturalized citizens was small, and most children of immigrants were already in the public schools. And was it plausible that the public school could not survive unless made compulsory, that private schools would undermine public ones? Statistics in Oregon showed a 60.8 per cent increase in attendance in public schools over the seven years previous to passage of the bill, while private schools gained only 4.1 per cent.⁸⁷

Dan Marlarkey argued for the sisters that the claim "of mingling rich and poor" in public education was "all beside the point." In cold fact the public school was really neither a common school nor a melting pot:

You don't mingle the rich and poor. You have your schools established in districts; you have your school out here by Riverside, a public school that is as aristocratic an institution as ever existed anywhere. Why? Because the people that live in that neighborhood are people that are well to do. Their children go to the public schools. They don't mix with the poor. . . . The character of the children that go to the schools is determined by the neighborhood in which the school is located. You talk about foreigners. I haven't the figures but I will venture to say that there is less than five per cent of all the children that go to all the schools of this plaintiff who are foreign born. . . . Your foreign born children go, because they are ordinarily poor people, to the places where they get their education for nothing. You go up . . . to the Failing School, and there is where you will find your foreign born. There is where you will find your Italians and your Polish Jews lately over here, and they will be together just as much as they would in private schools.⁸⁸

No one could deplore class hatred more than the very people who opposed the bill, said Marlarkey, for "we have lately been made the victims of it." Such empty pieties came ill from the very people who in passing the school bill created "more class hatred" than ever existed in the state and by a majority were then compelling "parents to surrender this right that they have exercised since the dawn of history. . . ."⁸⁹

The three-man federal court found in favor of the plaintiffs in its decision handed down on March 31, 1924. They issued a preliminary injunction against enforcing the statute, denying that the suit was premature. The police powers of the state, they said, must not be "exercised arbitrarily and despotically" and could be justified only when "there exists a reasonable relation between the character of the legislation and the policy to be subserved." The school bill did not meet these criteria, for its purpose was "to take utterly away from complainants their constitutional right and privilege to teach in the grammar grades—and has and will deprive them of their

⁸⁷ *Ibid.*, 99-101, 103.

⁸⁸ *Ibid.*, 129.

⁸⁹ *Ibid.*, 131.

property without due process of law." The defendants showed no compelling necessity for the statute. "The melting pot idea applied to the common schools of the state, as an incentive for the adoption of the act, is an extravagance in simile," said the court. And if the purpose was political in origin, "then the assimilation idea is pointedly answered by the opinion rendered [by the US Supreme Court] in the Meyer case" (which ruled unconstitutional a law forbidding the teaching of foreign languages):

The desire of the legislature to foster a homogeneous people with American ideals prepared readily to understand current discussions of civic matters is easy to appreciate. Unfortunate experiences during the late war and aversion toward every characteristic of truculent adversaries were certainly enough to quicken that aspiration. But the means adopted, we think, exceed the limitations upon the power of the state and conflict with rights assured to plaintiff in error.⁹⁰

As the Pierce case went on its way to the US Supreme Court, the *Catholic Sentinel* was cautiously optimistic. "The plain implication of the decision is that freedom of education means freedom of education," it said. "This liberty of teaching guaranteed by the Constitution and now formally proclaimed by a federal court is a real liberty, not a pale simulacrum of liberty as conceived by the Ku Klux Klan. . . ." But already rumors flew that "the forces of intolerance will now shift their attack on private schools. Not being able to destroy these schools they will attempt to put them in a straitjacket of regulation governing textbooks and the minutiae of the curriculum."⁹¹

The Klan, meanwhile, had not given up the battle to outlaw private schools in the neighboring state of Washington. "The Oregon decision will make no difference in the fight we have started in Washington," said the KKK's Grand Dragon in Portland.⁹² A Klan newspaper attacked the decision as a violation of human rights in the name of property rights. In the higher court they expected "an entirely different ending." To them it was a self-evident American principle that "the first duty of a democracy is self-preservation of itself through the enforced education of individuals. . . ."⁹³ If the Supreme Court did not see the point, then it was time to change the Constitution.

On June 1, 1925, the United States Supreme Court gave its verdict in

⁹⁰ *Society of Sisters of the Holy Names, Plaintiff, v. Pierce et al., Defendants*, Nos. E 8662 and 8660 cons. (D. Oregon, filed Mar. 31, 1924) in *Oregon School Cases: A Complete Record* (Baltimore, 1925), 54; *Oregon School Fight*, 132, 136-37, 139, 143. The case was 296 F. 928.

⁹¹ *Portland Catholic Sentinel*, Apr. 3, 1923.

⁹² *Portland Oregonian*, Apr. 1, 1923.

⁹³ *Oregon School Fight*, 147-48.

the Pierce case. It had heard elaborations and refinements of the arguments presented in the district court together with briefs from *amici curiae*. Again the arguments pro and con probed the purposes and proper limits of public education in assessing whether the Oregon law had deprived parents of their liberty without due process of law.⁹⁴

The brief for Governor Pierce maintained that compulsory public schooling was necessary to avert "the moral pestilence of paupers, vagabonds, and possibly convicts"; it was no coincidence, it said, that an increase in juvenile delinquency attended the increase in students at private schools. Internal distrust and dissension resulting from the influence of nonpublic schools would weaken the nation in its fight against foreign dangers. Such schools might well become subversive:

If the Oregon School Law is held to be unconstitutional it is not only a possibility but almost a certainty that within a few years the great centers of population in our country will be dotted with elementary schools which instead of being red on the outside will be red on the inside.

Can it be contended that there is no way in which a state can prevent the entire education of a considerable proportion of its future citizens being controlled and conducted by bolshevists, syndicalists and communists?

Without firm state control children "may be intentionally mistaught as to the true character of the government and history of the United States. The extreme distortions of truth on these subjects which have been circulated throughout the United States in recent years would be ludicrous if they were not so tragic." In sum, only "a compulsory system of public school education will encourage the patriotism of its citizens, and train its younger citizens to become more willing and more efficient defenders of the United States in times of public danger."⁹⁵

The arguments that public schools would diminish crime and pauperism and would promote good citizenship and social unity had a familiar ring: they had been part of the common school ideology for almost a hundred years. But, said the brief for the sisters, in passing from persuasion to compulsion the advocates of the Oregon law had passed from democratic to totalitarian methods. Such compulsion belongs to Sparta or Plato's ideal commonwealth or Bolshevik Russia, but in America "the child of man is his parent's child and not the state's." Monopoly in education would mean standardization:

⁹⁴ The complete transcripts of record, briefs, and oral pleadings, court opinions, and other documents are recorded in *Oregon School Cases*.

⁹⁵ *Ibid.*, 97-98, 102-103, 115-16.

The young minds of the nation should not be cast in any such straight-jacket and their diversification and individual development dwarfed and prevented. . . . the excess of power which results to the state from such a device clearly serves to maintain and preserve despotism and checks the normal evolution of liberty.

It matters not whether the tyranny is exerted by a majority or a minority; it is tyranny nonetheless. Like other forms of pluralism, religious diversity would disappear in education. Either no religion could be taught or only that "religion prescribed by the state and dictated from time to time by a majority of 'the voters of Oregon.'" More was at stake than the survival of a few private schools, said Louis Marshall in a brief supporting the sisters:

Fundamentally . . . the questions in these cases are: May liberty to teach and to learn be restricted? Shall such liberty be dependent upon the will of the majority? Shall such majority be permitted to dictate to parents and to children where and by whom instruction shall be given? If such power can be asserted, then it will lead inevitably to the stifling of thought.⁹⁶

When the Supreme Court justices gave their opinion, they upheld the contention of the lower court that the private schools had been deprived of their property without due process of law under the Fourteenth Amendment and affirmed its injunction primarily on the grounds of property rights. But the Court went further to make general comments about education that have helped to define compulsory education in America:

No question is raised concerning the power of the state reasonably to regulate all schools, to inspect, supervise, and examine them, their teachers and pupils; to require that all children of proper age attend some school, that teachers shall be of good moral character and patriotic disposition, that certain studies plainly essential to good citizenship must be taught, and that nothing be taught which is manifestly inimical to the public welfare.⁹⁷

But it was clear that private schools "were engaged in an undertaking not inherently harmful, but long regarded as useful and meritorious." The compulsory public-school law clearly and unreasonably interfered with the right of parents to regulate the education of their children:

The fundamental theory of liberty upon which all governments in this Union repose excludes any general power of the state to standardize its children by forcing them to accept instruction from public teachers only. The child is not the mere creature of the state; those who nurture him and direct his destiny have the right, coupled with the high duty, to recognize and prepare him for additional obligations.⁹⁸

⁹⁶ *Ibid.*, 182-83, 275, 281, 285, 614.

⁹⁷ *Sisters of the Holy Names v. Pierce et al.*, 268 US 510 (1925); see also Sam Duker, *The Public Schools and Religion: The Legal Context* (New York, 1966), Chap. III; Robert F. Drinan, S. J., discusses some of the ambiguities of the Pierce decision concerning state finance of church schools in *Religion, the Courts, and Public Policy* (New York, 1963), 122-27.

⁹⁸ *Sisters v. Pierce*.

The Supreme Court's decision that the state had no right "to standardize its children" ended only one experiment of the "tribal twenties" to use the schools to arrest unwanted change and to coerce uniformity. As Walter Lippmann observed, this was a time of "American inquisitors" whose antics amused the sophisticated but whose desire to define and enforce orthodoxy undermined effective education. Fundamentalists in politics and religion, obscurantists who feared the free play of thought, racists who deplored the "mongrelization" of the American people—they shared a common distrust of pluralism, a common desire to revert to unexamined tradition. But by the 1920's the old unconscious conservatism was fast disappearing, and the pseudo conservative's chief recourse was an attempt to persuade the uncertain majority to force the minority to conform.⁹⁹ "Thus comes to an end the effort to regiment the mental life of Americans through coerced public school instruction," observed the *New Republic* on learning the Court's decision.¹⁰⁰ Thus did come to an end this chapter of coercion, but the schools would remain a ready target for those who saw peril in pluralism.

⁹⁹ For a perceptive discussion of the long-range historical importance of this decision, see Will Herberg, "Religion and Education," in *Religious Perspectives in American Culture*, ed. James Smith and A. Leland Jamison (3 vols., Princeton, N.J., 1961), II, 36-39; Willis Rudy, *Schools in a Mass Culture* (Englewood Cliffs, N.J., 1965), 202-205; for later manifestations of the "pseudo-conservative revolt," see essays by Richard Hofstadter and Seymour Lipset in *The Radical Right: The New American Right*, ed. Daniel Bell (Garden City, N. Y., 1964), 97-136, 373-446.

¹⁰⁰ "Can the Supreme Court Guarantee Toleration?" *New Republic*, XLIII (June 17, 1925), 85-87.

* * * * *Reviews of Books* * * * *

General

BIBLIOGRAPHY AND THE HISTORIAN: THE CONFERENCE AT BELMONT OF THE JOINT COMMITTEE ON BIBLIOGRAPHICAL SERVICES TO HISTORY, MAY 1967. Edited by *Dagmar Horna Perman*. (Santa Barbara, Calif.: Clio. 1968. Pp. viii, 176. \$6.00.)

THIS little book tells of the formation and activities of a Joint Committee on Bibliographical Services to History for which the AHA furnished the chairman, Professor Oron J. Hale. It contains papers prepared for the committee's consideration before and during its three-day conference at Belmont and summarizes the depressing results of a questionnaire conducted by the committee's staff.

Officials of the Library of Congress described important new services made possible by the new technology of information storage and retrieval, as did representatives of the Department of State's Office of External Research, the American Bibliographic Center, and the American Council of Learned Societies. Others surveyed past achievements and discernible new directions in historical bibliography.

The conference was engaged in exploration. The papers, descriptive, appraising, imaginative, and skeptical, provide a useful introduction to a critical problem now facing historical scholarship. Their purport is that electronic computers and related elements of automated information systems are already available to provide bibliographic controls essential to scholarship, but that the complex needs of historians can be met only if they are anticipated and provided for. Determination of what should satisfy the requirements of historians is their responsibility and cannot be left to computer technicians. It is already late, but there may be time to develop proposals for a long-range program and to test them in a limited project.

It may be a long time before a historian is able to order a grocery list of historical bibliography and abstracts of periodical articles on a subject for research named by him and receive the information in an early mail. It may not be quite so long before he can subscribe to a service that sends him abstracts and bibliographical data from an inclusive range of current publications pertaining to historical topics in which he has a known interest. It should sooner be possible for him to review a truly inclusive, current list of research projects in progress before embarking on one. When these and other services are at his disposal, there will still be plenty of work for the historian to do, but less of his energy should be wasted.

Washington, D.C.

GEORGE F. HOWE

LA LOGIQUE DE L'HISTOIRE. By *Charles Morazé*. [Les essais, Number 129.] ([Paris:] Gallimard. 1967. Pp. 327. 16.50 fr.)

La logique de l'histoire, Professor Charles Morazé announced in the opening lines of his preface, "is a work of pure theory but also the expression of a *cas de conscience*." The mounting pressure of events that have constituted the history of the past quarter century, he explains, drove him first to abandon a detailed study of the north of France in the nineteenth century in favor of an investigation of the nature of history and then, with the acceleration of our crisis, to the condensation of thousands of pages into the compass of this small volume. The result is unabashed, breathless revelation.

History, he begins, is not merely the sum of its parts, but rather the realization of the logic of human development; its analysis would involve "the essential articulation of a general theory of the sciences of man." From this awesome undertaking the author backs away with the recognition that its complete formulation would (or will?) take more time. He proceeds to treat history itself under four main headings: "the function of *historicité*, the exploration of the possible, encounters with the 'certain' and with essential history."

Morazé's obvious purpose is to define the relationship of history to evolution. From an initial feeling that history was a mere part of evolution, and therefore self-generating, he has come to recognize that it is actually made by men but that, in its turn, it forms human society. The confrontation of the "possible" and the "certain" provides the main drama of the book. Resolved to elude the toils of determinism, the author offers biology as an escape route that he never quite explains. He does, however, identify the development of scientific thought as the prime mover behind the historical process. Nature, including human nature, he states, tends to repeat patterns of events until unmasked and mastered by historical or scientific thought. History can thus be raised from the murderous level of mobs or states to the safe plateau of humanity if we do not miss our cue.

Or so I read the message, but it is not easy to decipher. The text struggles with too heavily distilled content and labors under the burden of unfortunate embellishments. In spite of chronic name-dropping, moreover, the author fails to place his own work in relation to other studies in the same field. Finally, the ideas are not quite new enough, the analysis not quite complete enough, the style not quite elegant enough to carry off the implicit sense of urgency, originality, and importance. *La logique de l'histoire* is a *tour de prétention manquée*.

Cornell University

E. W. Fox

ÉCONOMIE ET HISTOIRE. By *Jean Lhomme*. [Travaux de droit, d'économie, de sociologie et de sciences politiques, Number 55.] (Geneva: Librairie Droz. 1967. Pp. 200.)

THE area of study known as economic history has not, in France, been the common meeting ground for scholars trained in the distinct disciplines of economics and history, as in the United States, or the subject of a separate discipline, as in Great Britain and the Scandinavian countries. Instead, historians have been responsible for most of the best scholarly works in economic history. The

present volume, written by a professor of economics in the Faculty of Law of Paris, does not constitute a significant exception to this generalization. It consists of a number of loosely related essays, most of them previously published. The topics covered include "New Views [not really] on an Old Discussion"; "The Attitude of the Economist toward Economic History"; "Some Great Crises of French Society" (1848, 1871, 1914-1918, 1936, and 1940-1944); "Theoretical Lessons from a Study of Long-Term Wages"; "The State and [industrial] Concentration under the Second Empire"; and "On the Integration of Economic Concepts in Time."

No primary sources are utilized, and the level of economic analysis is not high. The volume provides a good illustration of the reasons why French economists, unlike those of the United States, have not made notable contributions in the field of economic history.

University of Wisconsin

RONDO CAMERON

ESSAYS ON HISTORY AND LITERATURE. By *Daniel Aaron et al.* Edited by *Robert H. Bremner*. ([Columbus:] Ohio State University Press. 1966. Pp. xi, 190. \$5.00.)

THESE four essays in honor of Foster Rhea Dulles, marking his retirement from Ohio State University, are interesting evidence of the interrelationship of certain constant historiographical problems that face historians and of the rhythm of generational change within the historical profession. Since the formation of the profession in the 1880's, there has been concern with the philosophical conflict between the dominant metaphor of scientism—an empirical approach to facts—and the alternative philosophy that the acquisition of knowledge is impossible without the prior imaginative creation of hypotheses. These moments of concern parallel crises in the national culture when new public attitudes are emerging which, in rejecting the *status quo*, must also reject the reading of the historical record by which the *status quo* justified its existence.

World War II marks the end of the domination of popular and historical thought by the Populist-progressive outlook, so hostile toward the growth of a new corporate-bureaucratic America, which held out a nostalgic hope for the restoration of Jeffersonian agrarian simplicity. Since the end of the 1940's, historians have begun to analyze the presuppositions of the Populist-progressive attitude both in its general expression and in that of the professional historians. They have also begun to rewrite the history of the nineteenth-century aristocracies, which the Populist-progressives hated so much. Accepting the corporate-bureaucratic world as a *status quo* that cannot be destroyed, many of the new historians can approach its beginnings in the nineteenth century from a very different perspective.

The first essay, Daniel Aaron's "The Treachery of Recollection: The Inner and the Outer History," describes the author's problems, technical and emotional, in writing a book about the Leftist exponents of Populism-progressivism in the 1930's, living men who are his acquaintances or friends or enemies.

Edward Lurie's "American Scholarship: A Subjective Interpretation of Nineteenth-Century Cultural History" is unintentionally ironic in its use of

Dewey's and Beard's historical relativism, which they had created to undermine conservatism, in order to undermine the Populist-progressivism that they had hoped to make the basis of the new intellectual establishment. Lurie wants us to break away from the views of Henry Adams, Mark Twain, Vernon Parrington, and Matthew Josephson to discover that the late nineteenth century was not a period of sterile materialism but a fruitful, dynamic period of bureaucratic corporate growth guided by an alliance of "public men of intellectual and academic power with analogous types from the world of business and finance." Another irony may be that the cultural historians dismissed by Lurie actually recognized this growth, but labeled it sterile materialism.

Stow Persons' sensitive and intelligent essay, "The Origins of the Gentry," uses nineteenth-century literature to suggest the existence of a class that differed from the eighteenth-century gentry and the nineteenth-century aristocracy and that disappeared at the end of the nineteenth century.

Finally, Russel B. Nye, in his essay, "History and Literature: Branches of the Same Tree," calls into question the whole tradition of scientific history that continues so strongly today. He clearly believes that more can be learned from the philosophy of history as human drama, as expounded by the mid-nineteenth-century literary historians, than from the scientism that in its modern form attempts to purge all drama from human history by reducing it to mathematical formulas to satisfy computers. He reminds historians that in writing they must be concerned with "metaphor, symmetry, and clarity of design," with "direct and concrete prose, progression and organization, and sympathy with the dynamics of language." He reminds them that the historian must be concerned with the internal as well as the external experience of men. And he reminds them that any and all writing is a creative act demanding the artistic and human responsibility of selectivity and interpretation.

University of Minnesota

DAVID W. NOBLE

THE IMPERIAL ORDER. By Robert G. Wesson. (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. 1967. Pp. 547. \$10.00.)

To examine "power where it is purest," a political scientist here sifts through the history of empires from Old Kingdom Egypt to tsarist Russia. His main conclusion is that by stifling pluralism imperial regimes make the societies that support them fatally passive. His information comes from approximately six hundred books and articles, primarily recent scholarly works in English but including some in Russian, German, French, Spanish, and Italian, as well as a few classical works in modern editions and a sprinkling of semipopular writings.

The many historians who are suspicious of excursions through world history in its entirety will be unhappy with this book. Foreshortening inevitably occurs. For example, to show how emperors manipulate culture Professor Wesson writes: "When Cyrus conquered Babylonia, he had his scribes compose a long poem on the evils of the previous king. . . ." This is true as far as it goes, but the fact remains that the previous king was Nabonidus, a queer and disruptive ruler who had been absent from the capital for years and had tried to change the established religion. Inevitably also, sources from a very mixed bag are cited with equal trust.

Those like myself who welcome historical studies on a grand scale (in hopes that man can understand what he has done) would tolerate these faults to learn something from the author's exploration of such themes as the equalitarianism of terror and the use of religion to entangle autocrats in an ethical system. On balance, however, a tactical mistake and two strategic errors spoil the book for everyone.

The tactical mistake consists of piling on clichés and truisms. Aesop is identified as "a sage observer of human nature." When sultans maintained harems, we are solemnly informed, "offspring were usually fairly numerous."

Evidently the author's intention was to analyze imperial power as the price paid for achievements. Somehow, though, the issue fades away unresolved, and the book becomes a straight discussion of the concentration of imperial power. This first strategic slip blurs what the achievements amounted to and why they were mentioned in the first place.

With concentration of power now the sole subject, the book undergoes another impromptu metamorphosis and becomes a study not of empires but of despotism. This is the second strategic error, for instances of despotism may as well be taken from tiny countries such as Dahomey, minor regions on the order of Calabria, or even single institutions like the German Army. By the end of the book, all the examples are of this kind, vaguely said to develop in the wake of empires. The over-all effect is one of assiduous confusion.

Harvard University

ROBERT ERWIN

THE PROBLEM OF RESTORATION: A STUDY IN COMPARATIVE POLITICAL HISTORY. By *Robert A. Kann*. (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. 1968. Pp. xi, 441. \$15.00.)

A RECOGNIZED authority in modern Austrian history, Professor Kann has so successfully enlarged his field of research through comparative studies that he now proves able to make a very substantial American contribution to the general history of Europe. Three-quarters of his new book consists of twelve essays on specific cases of "reestablishment of a state of political and social affairs that was upset by previous revolutionary change." This second part of the volume immediately attracts the reader. But perusal of the first, theoretical part on "the concepts" is indispensable for the understanding of the case studies. The introductory section also provides stimulating discussions of such issues as Marxian determinism versus indeterminate change, tradition versus progress, revolution versus counterrevolution.

I do not feel qualified to say anything about the first three case studies that deal with ancient history—Jewish, Greek, and Roman—except that they are as striking as the others and equally cautious in their conclusions. Charles Diehl would have welcomed the choice of the next case in the long-neglected field of Byzantine history and Kann's fairness in recognizing Justinian's real greatness although even he could not restore the greatness of a reunified Roman Empire. Equally fair is Kann's interpretation of the controversial personality of Otto III: opposing those who evaluate him as a realistic follower of power politics like Otto I, the author is fully aware that only during his short reign did the idea of

a truly universal *Renovatio imperii Romanorum* have a better chance to materialize than in either 800 or 962. Choice of the first Plantagenet king of England as an example of an attempt to restore earlier achievements under the Norman kings is surprising, but Kann considers this example merely "an imperfect illustration of the restoration process." In contrast, he provides a better example in the last of four medieval chapters; far from idealizing Emperor Frederick II, he, along with Oswald Redlich, praises Rudolf of Habsburg and rates "Christian ideals of peace and justice," even imperfectly materialized, higher than imperial—or rather imperialistic—universalism.

The chapter on the restoration of Catholicism in Austria is particularly instructive. It is the only one in which Kann turns to "a strictly ideological restoration process," showing its political and social implications. In view of the present ecumenical re-evaluation of the Reformation, it is gratifying that the author, quoting primary sources, objectively tries to reconcile the Catholic interpretations of Hugo Hantsch and those of Protestant historians.

The "classical" cases of Stuart and Bourbon Restorations are rightly de-emphasized, and the conclusions of the last two case studies had to be even more negative. Opposing such authorities as James Bryce, Kann shows very convincingly that the Second *Reich* of 1871 was not at all a restoration of the Holy Roman Empire. But he is also skeptical when he examines future possibilities of dynastic restorations; he sees a somewhat better chance for the Spanish Bourbons than for the Austrian Habsburgs.

In his "final reflection" the author explains why he excluded all cases of national restoration after foreign conquest. Let us hope that he will treat that separate problem in a companion volume to the present one, which is one of the rare books where all historians of whatever specialty will find indispensable information and inspiration for their own research.

White Plains, New York

O. HALECKI

MENSCHHEIT UND GESCHICHTE: UNTERSUCHUNGEN ZU ARNOLD JOSEPH TOYNBEE'S "A STUDY OF HISTORY." By *Manfred Henningsen*. [Schriftenreihe zur Politik und Geschichte.] ([Munich:] Paul List Verlag. 1967. Pp. 159. DM 19.80.)

ALTHOUGH this compact, very readable book tells us nothing really new about Toynbee—is that possible anymore?—its value lies in the author's genuinely historical approach to his subject, which is all too rare in the massive literature on Toynbee. Following Toynbee's own method of attempting to understand the processes of civilization in terms of "challenge and response," he seeks in the first part to identify the challenges that evoked the "sensitive responses" in *A Study of History*. These he finds on three levels: in Toynbee's personal commentaries, which illuminate the genesis of his great work; in the "configuration of contemporary political and spiritual tendencies" that Toynbee confronted during his career; and in Toynbee's relationship to a tradition of historiography that concerned itself with similar configurations and offered similar responses. He explores the first of these areas in highly interesting chapters entitled "Bibliography as Biography," "Education and Reality," and "Historism and History."

In exploring the second and third levels, he relates Toynbee to such figures as Proust and Mann, Herodotus and Ranke. What emerges in this first part is a sympathetic and successful synthesis of Toynbee the man, the historian, and the philosopher.

The second part, Henningsen's critique of Toynbee, is less successful in that it covers old ground. Even here, however, he is suggestive. In treating Jung's influence on Toynbee, especially, he shows that the critical issue is not that Toynbee indulges in metahistory—all great historians do to some extent—but that Toynbee's particular brand results in a "re-mythologization and dissolution" of history itself. If this tendency is what Henningsen means in calling the *Study* "symptomatic of the spiritual situation of our time," he may be right. But then we should not be surprised that Toynbee finds more favor with the reading public in general than with historians in particular, for historians cannot be expected to take flight from the very thing they study. Thus, while Toynbee emerges from these pages as an impressive carrier of the *Zeitgeist*, perhaps even because he is, he also seems, to me at least, even more remote from what most historians actually do or should do as historians. Anyway, once the reader has acquainted himself with Toynbee and his critics, I can think of no work better suited to enable him to consolidate his own views on this most interesting historian of our time.

University of Southern California

ROBERT ANCHOR

THE ORIGINS OF CHEMISTRY. By *Robert P. Multhauf*. [Oldbourne History of Science Library.] (London: Oldbourne. 1966. Pp. 412. 70s.)

THIS serious and scholarly book is devoted to an examination of those aspects of human activity that bear on the development of chemistry before the eighteenth century. The author therefore examines industrial chemistry, medical chemistry, magical chemistry (alchemy), and natural philosophy in so far as each relates to concepts of matter during various periods: antiquity requires nearly one-third of the book, the Middle Ages covers both East and West, and the modern period presents a detailed consideration of late medieval and early Renaissance workers and a sketchy appraisal of the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries. Dr. Multhauf, director of the Museum of History and Technology of the Smithsonian Institution, is best known among historians of science for his studies on fifteenth- and sixteenth-century chemistry, especially medical chemistry. His main concern here is with the antecedents to this interesting aspect of the growth of chemistry.

This is not a simple book. Multhauf is studiously thorough and impartial and has declined to commit himself to any possibly tendentious line of argument; he prefers to expose the facts rather than to use them as support for any thesis. He sees himself as following in the tradition of J. M. Stillman's *Story of Early Chemistry*, but Stillman's still-admirable work was more a narrative of chemical attitudes and accomplishments than this book, which devotes much attention to the authenticity and dating of sources and to the analysis of scholarly arguments on various points. It would seem that Multhauf instead follows the tradition of George Sarton and J. R. Partington, who obviously influenced him in many ways.

The two most interesting sections, at least for anyone who has not concentrated

on the fields, are the section on alchemy in antiquity (Chapter vi) and that on Islamic alchemy (Chapter vii). The tenth chapter on medical chemistry from the tenth through the sixteenth century also contains many novel suggestions. The two weakest sections are those on ancient natural philosophy and on seventeenth-century natural philosophy in relation to the development of scientific chemistry. The first seems too elementary for the reader who is to follow the remainder of the work, and it is somewhat labored; the latter is weakest when dealing with such prominent figures as Boyle, Hooke, and Newton. As his bibliography suggests, this is partly because Multhauf has not always kept up with the more recent literature in an intensively cultivated field and partly because he has concentrated on such "chemical" chemists as the not very original textbook writer Lemery. It is a pity, for the book thus ends flatly with chemistry not really taking definite shape. Many rather careless errors—misspelling of names, discrepancies between bibliographic and index entries, minor errors of fact—are curiously at variance with the generally high standard of scholarship. Anyone interested in the potentialities and preoccupations of chemical thought between A.D. 300 and 1600 is, however, strongly advised to read this book.

Imperial College, London

MARIE BOAS HALL

THE DEVELOPMENT OF MODERN SURGERY. By *Frederick F. Cartwright*. (New York: Thomas Y. Crowell. 1967. Pp. x, 323. \$6.95.)

THE author informs us in his preface that this book is intended primarily for the nonmedical reader, although he hopes physicians will not be deterred from using it. He states that he possesses "little French and no German" and that the references provided are taken from British or American journals. In one chapter he challenges the usual statistics on the mortality of those having amputations prior to the introduction of antiseptics and quotes "two books" that report series of such operations with a considerably lower death rate; yet neither author, title, nor other identification of these books is given, certainly a cardinal omission in a historical treatise.

The introductory chapter presents a confused and, in my opinion, a somewhat distorted picture of surgery prior to the introduction of anesthesia. The description of the education of the surgeon in England makes no mention of William Hunter and his schools and largely ignores the educational efforts of surgeons in the hospitals that ultimately became the earliest medical schools in London. Of John Hunter, he states, "He made no great advances or discoveries in surgery, but by correlating practice with comparative anatomy and physiological experiments, he placed surgery on a scientific basis." In this chapter there are many obvious errors that could so easily have been obviated. German-born Franz Anton Mesmer is referred to as "the Frenchman"; Pierre Franco, who was born in Provence, is called a Swiss; and Willy Meyer, the famous New York surgeon, is referred to as the "German Willi Meyer."

Chapters are devoted to anesthesia and to Lister, marking the two crucial contributions in the nineteenth century that made the development of modern medicine possible. The greater part of the book is taken up with the growth of the individual fields of surgery following the Listerian era. They consist of a

multitude of references to individual physicians, often obscure and unknown, who have pioneered in various operative procedures, or in the development of diagnostic or therapeutic instruments. This "worm's eye view," focusing on minute contributions by endless numbers of persons, fails to create the picture as a whole. The minutiae and their sources can be of no possible interest to the lay reader or to the historian. The principal criticism of this book is, however, that it is dull. The romance and excitement of the development of modern surgery during the past century are lost entirely. The story is told much better by others.

Chicago Medical School

LEO M. ZIMMERMAN

MAJOR PEACE TREATIES OF MODERN HISTORY, 1648-1967. In four volumes. Editor, *Fred L. Israel*. Commentaries by *Emanuel Chill*. With an introductory essay by *Arnold Toynbee*. (New York: Chelsea House Publishers in association with McGraw-Hill Book Company, New York. 1967. Pp. xxix, 717; 719-1533; 1535-2276; 2277-2880. \$110.00 the set.)

To begin a favorable review of a welcome and useful work on a critical note seems warranted when there is a discrepancy between title and content. The fact is that these volumes are certainly something more, and occasionally something less, than a collection of the "major peace treaties" since 1648. When one encounters, for example, the Perry treaty of 1854, the Treaty of Washington (1871), the Act of Berlin (1885), and the Algeciras Convention, he discovers that this collection offers much to the student of diplomatic history in addition to what are narrowly defined as peace treaties. On the other hand, such treaties as those of Fort Armstrong, Fort Sully, and the Little Arkansas are hardly major treaties; at least they are not more major than the absent Convention of Alexandria (1840) or the Treaty of Dorpat, and they are decidedly less significant than the omitted Treaty of Nystad (1721) and Act of London (1954). But with this caveat one moves to the unquestioned merits of this set of documents.

In four volumes the editor has assembled the complete texts, in English, of 101 treaties, beginning with Westphalia and concluding with the Tashkent Declaration of 1966. No fewer than seventeen, translated from Latin and French, appear for the first time in English. The work is organized into ten chronological-topical groupings, each introduced by a commentary that affords a conventional historical background for the individual selections. Other features, however, will be considerably more interesting for specialists, and this is essentially a specialist's reference work. The cross-referenced index is excellent; the forty colored maps, reproduced from Shepherd's *Historical Atlas*, are a great convenience; and the generous spacing and comfortably large print are a boon worthy of emulation by other publishers.

Few readers are likely to peruse such a work from start to finish, but to do so is to find that the whole is greater than the sum of its parts. One is impressed by the fact that the Treaty of Westphalia fills less than fifty pages; that of Vienna, less than one hundred; those of 1919 occupy more than a thousand; and the post-World War II settlement, fragmentary though it is, is relatively even more extensive. This says something about the changing style of diplomacy and the growing complexity of international relations. Only semifacetious is notation

of the apparent inverse correlation between the length of many of these peace treaties and the length of the warless periods they inaugurated. There may well be grist for the computers in this collection. It is left to Arnold Toynbee's introductory essay, however, to point to this documentary array as proof of the dangerously anarchic political state of affairs in which man now lives.

Because this is a work to which modern European diplomatic historians will want access and in which American historians will discover much that is helpful, they are indebted to its editor and publisher.

Pennsylvania State University

KENT FORSTER

L'ALLEMAGNE ET LE MAROC DE 1870 À 1905. By *Pierre Guillen*. (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France. 1967. Pp. ix, 991. 60 fr.)

MANY pages would be needed to do full justice to this detailed, thorough, objective, and at times fascinating study of the background of the century's first serious diplomatic crisis in Morocco. It is the author's thesis that Germany's interest, which began under Bismarck, was the political goal of seeking some check on France in case of war. The work is based on an unusually large mass of source materials, published and unpublished, and these materials come from the countries chiefly concerned, except for Morocco, whose archives were inaccessible. While the motivation of the German government was primarily political for the period covered, the author devotes much space to an account of German commercial, industrial, shipping, and banking interests in Morocco, with numerous charts and statistical tables to indicate growth and change. From virtually none in 1870, German interests just about equaled those of France by 1904, and they were surpassed only by England's. The author shows what geographic regions of Germany had interests in Morocco and describes at length the methods whereby Germany expanded its trade there and elsewhere. Despite their importance, these industrial and commercial interests did not determine policy; the government did that. It is clear that German opinion was seriously divided on such issues as the establishment of a German colony or naval base on Morocco's Atlantic coast. Despite much attention to detail, this study keeps the reader aware at all times of the general perspectives and significance of the policies being followed.

In his treatment of the actual crisis of 1904-1905, when the Germans saw that France had disregarded their interests in Morocco and was seeking to monopolize the area's economy, Professor Guillen gives a world-wide setting for the affair. Involved directly or indirectly were Japan, Russia, Turkey, Belgium, Italy, the United States, France, Germany, Spain, Britain, and Morocco. The landing of the German Kaiser at Tangier is described at length, from the earliest talk of warning France down to the futile conclusion of that effort. Despite the dissatisfaction of many people other than Germans with what the French were doing and despite the mistakes of French ministers, Germany still found it impossible to mobilize hostile opinion successfully against France's assumption of control in Morocco.

Yale University

HARRY R. RUDIN

THE UNITED STATES AND SWITZERLAND IN THE NINETEENTH CENTURY. By *Heinz K. Meier*. [Studies in American History, Number 1.] (The Hague: Mouton & Co. 1963. Pp. 208.)

PROFESSOR Meier's work provides a careful and wide-ranging study of nineteenth-century diplomatic, consular, and commercial relations between the United States and Switzerland. The many issues that arose between the two countries of unmatched size but of similar political structure and ideological orientation are analyzed with care and fairness. The study is divided into nine chapters and follows initially a chronological, later a topical, order. After a brief description of earliest contacts between the United States and Switzerland, the author analyzes events leading to the "Convention of Friendship, Commerce, and Extradition of 1850." He then describes the impressive diplomatic record of Theodore S. Fay, first United States minister to Switzerland, and the varied Swiss attitudes toward the American Civil War. Next the author discusses American diplomatic representation in Switzerland from 1865 to 1900 and gives a brief portrait of nineteenth-century Swiss emigration to the United States and of growing Swiss representation there. The last two topics deal with new agreements reached or attempted in the late nineteenth century and with the changing pattern of American consular representation in Switzerland.

Meier concludes that nineteenth-century official Swiss-American relations were characterized by more than usual friendship and by substantial success. The reaching of agreements rarely proved easy, however; such agreements emerged after much compromise and prolonged negotiations. The generally undisturbed cordiality between the two countries is explained as being the result of "mutual admiration and feelings of moral kinship." The United States considered Switzerland as the "one European state in which republicanism was properly understood and properly practiced," whereas the Swiss saw the United States as a modified, large-scale version of the Swiss political model.

The work's major merit is the fairness with which matters such as extradition cases, Swiss anti-Semitism, and the emigration of undesirables are discussed. A balanced critical attitude pervades the book. The major shortcoming is possibly its somewhat diffuse organization and the absence of a well-defined analytical framework in some chapters. This does not, however, seriously impair the value of this pioneering effort, which is the result of solid research. It should interest not only the diplomatic historian but also the student of immigrant history and, last but not least, diplomats serving the two countries.

Rutgers University, Newark

LEO SCHELBERT

ISTORIJA VTOROGO INTERNATSIONALNA [History of the Second International]. Volume II. Edited by *L. I. Zubok et al.* [Akademii Nauk SSSR, Institut Istorii. Biblioteka Vsemirnoi Istorii.] (Moscow: Izdatel'stvo "Nauka." 1966. Pp. 595.)

THE title of this volume is somewhat misleading; its focus is not so much the Second International as the world labor movement from 1900 to 1917. Over twenty scholars have contributed selections that present a history of labor in

the major countries as well as thumbnail sketches of the early history of working-class organizations in such less important countries as Finland, Norway, New Zealand, and Australia. Individual chapters are devoted to each of the congresses of the Second International, and the editor tries to fit all this material into the general history of the period. The scope is so broad and the writing is often so condensed that many sections read more like portions of an encyclopedia than of a work of history. The aim has been to synthesize, not to advance new findings.

The work is the most ambitious on the International to appear in Russia since the shift in interpretation of pre-1917 socialism that was first set forth in 1954. During the Stalinist era the entire socialist movement, with the exception of Lenin's followers, was written off as a reactionary force. Though the contributors to the present volume still criticize the leadership of the International for insufficient revolutionary zeal, they nevertheless acknowledge that in all countries there existed sizable non-Bolshevik groups that were "genuinely" radical. In fact, nearly every chapter emphasizes the struggle between the "revolutionary Marxists" and the "opportunists," the representatives of the growing "labor aristocracy," who allegedly benefited from the rise of imperialism.

Although the authors have been careful to adhere, at least formally, to the canons of scholarship by frequently citing sources, including a fair sprinkling of Western writings, the contributions can hardly be considered balanced and judicious. For one thing, on matters of interpretation Lenin is usually invoked as the ultimate authority, and he is quoted interminably throughout the volume. It is conceded that he once made a mistake by insisting on a boycott of the elections to the First Duma in 1906, but the reader is assured that the damage was negligible and that Lenin quickly rectified this "small mistake" by reversing his position. So much of the writing is polemical and censorious, moreover, that often theoretical arguments and supposed factual accounts of events are distorted. The volume should be read with caution.

Brooklyn College

ABRAHAM ASCHER

LA DEUXIÈME INTERNATIONALE ET L'ORIENT. Under the direction of Georges Haupt and Madeleine Reberlioux. (Paris: Éditions Cujas. 1967. Pp. 493.)

Division of colonial spoils among the Great Powers before World War I confronted European socialists with a host of frustrating dilemmas. Haupt and Reberlioux, who have already made significant contributions to the literature of socialism before 1914, have examined these dilemmas in this excellent collection of eighteen studies by both Western and non-Western scholars. The essays skillfully probe the crisis of conscience over the colonial issue within the Second International, the cleavages between Marxists and revisionists within its national parties, and its relationship to emerging revolutionary movements in the colonial world.

The work is divided into three interrelated sections. Part I covers the broad spectrum of colonial ideas and attitudes within the International, particularly as mirrored in debates and resolutions at the Congresses of Paris (1900), Amsterdam (1904), and Stuttgart (1907). Part II explores in greater depth the conflict

of opinion within the major socialist parties over the colonial policies of their respective governments. An analysis of the views of such major socialist figures as Bernstein, Kautsky, Luxemburg, David, Schippel, Jaurès, Kol, Hyndman, and Vandervelde is especially good, providing far greater detail than previous works on the International by such scholars as G.D.H. Cole, Julius Braunthal, Patricia van der Esch, and James Joll. Part III, which complements other recent works in this area, focuses on the development of socialism in Japan, China, Indonesia, India, the Philippines, and the Muslim world. The primary theme that ties these sections together is the clash of a traditional anticolonial dogma with a growing conviction that only a positive "socialist" policy could prevent capitalist exploitation overseas, alleviate international tension, and bring the benefits of European civilization to the ignorant and oppressed.

Contributors to this comprehensive study have drawn from a variety of sources, including the archives of the International Socialist Bureau, the socialist press, party congresses, personal correspondence, and contemporary writings. Many selections have included valuable primary documents. There is a good index, and, while footnotes are rich in both primary and secondary sources, a selective bibliography at the end would have been useful.

University of Delaware

JACK D. ELLIS

DEKOLONISATION: DIE DISKUSSION ÜBER VERWALTUNG UND ZUKUNFT DER KOLONIEN 1919-1960. By *Rudolf von Albertini*. [Beiträge zur Kolonial- und Überseegeschichte, Number 1.] (Cologne: Westdeutscher Verlag, 1966. Pp. 607. DM 59.)

As the First World War drew to a close and the far-flung possessions of the German and Ottoman Empires awaited division among the victorious Allies, it seemed as though European colonial imperialism were about to enter a new phase of consolidation and expansion. Colonialism was, however, already in decline. With the ideological transformation of the war into a crusade for national self-determination, the surviving colonial powers found that although they might control more territory than ever before, their grasp on it was being gravely weakened by rising nationalism and anticolonialism.

In a major work dedicated to Hajo Holborn, the Heidelberg historian Rudolf von Albertini has analyzed the responses of the colonial powers, particularly Britain and France, to the challenge of decolonization. He is not concerned primarily with colonial or Afro-Asian history as such, but rather with the European discussion, from 1919 to 1960, of the administration and future of the colonies. He begins with a forty-page definition of the problem in its international context, continues with two meticulously documented monographs of over two hundred pages each on British and French colonial policy, and concludes with four illuminating essays on America in the Philippines, the Dutch in Indonesia, the Belgians in the Congo, and the Portuguese in their African colonies.

Of particular interest is Albertini's carefully developed comparison between the English and French conceptions of decolonization. Although both affirmed the necessity of liberating the colonies, their approaches differed radically. The British were ultimately prepared, however reluctantly, to recognize the colonial

peoples' distinct national aspirations and to grant them not only autonomy but even sovereignty. Although a tenuous bond of association through membership in the multinational and multiracial Commonwealth was encouraged, even this was not compulsory. The French sought not to liquidate their great colonial empire, but rather to bring it to its alleged historical consummation by integrating the overseas possessions into a "Greater France" in which former subjects would become French citizens enjoying parliamentary representation in Paris. The integration of several older colonies, such as the Antilles and Guiana, was relatively successful, but categorical denial of non-French national aspirations led to armed rebellion in Indochina and Algeria. The Algerian crisis destroyed the Fourth Republic. The final cost of the struggle in Indochina, where Ho Chi Minh's republic of Vietnam was formally recognized by the French on March 6, 1946, remains to be seen.

Southern Illinois University

DONALD S. DETWILER

THE YEARS OF OPPORTUNITY: THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS, 1920-1926. By *Byron Dexter*. (New York: Viking Press. 1967. Pp. xxiii, 264. \$8.50.)

THIS book-length essay explains how the League of Nations failed to capitalize on its early "years of opportunity." The author, a former managing editor of *Foreign Affairs*, displays a ripe wisdom, but his work rests upon secondary material with a lacking of printed sources.

As historical perspective has lengthened, writers have been more charitably inclined toward the efforts of the 1919 peacemakers. Mr. Dexter accentuates this trend, arguing that the Versailles settlement was "fair and moderate," that its terms, including the much-maligned reparations stipulations are defensible, and that the League it established brought, for a season, the nearest thing to peace that our troubled world has known since Sarajevo.

The author does not feel that the defection of the United States did irreparable harm to this pioneer collective security organization. On the contrary, he emphasizes that the League enjoyed many advantages in its formative years that were later denied by circumstances to the United Nations. He traces the decline of the League to certain cardinal errors made at the time of Locarno in 1925, rather than to the collapse of global prosperity four years later. Geneva's deterioration, we are told, came because Whitehall decided to turn from an active role in European peacekeeping to become a mediator between Paris and Berlin. In addition, he stresses the failure at Locarno to guarantee the permanence of Germany's eastern boundaries.

This interpretation, central to the book, is open to question. Had Locarno protected the territorial integrity of the *Reich's* eastern neighbors on paper, is there any reason to believe that Hitler would have paid any more attention to this warranty than he did to other parts of the 1925 agreement? Furthermore, the Great Depression rather than the Locarno Pact set off the chain reaction that lured the Japanese into their Manchurian gamble, set the stage for the Nazi accession in Germany, and eventually destroyed the League in the fires of a new war. Dexter would reply to this caveat that the Manchurian affair was peripheral to the main fortunes of the League because Geneva was Europe oriented and not

prepared to counter a major thrust in the Far East. Collective security, he points out, worked in Europe so long as London and Paris were sufficiently agreed to underwrite the League's decisions.

The peace machinery designed at Versailles was capable of settling minor disputes between major powers and major quarrels between minor states. Whether any possible choice of policies on the part of leading European statesmen could have nursed the League to the point where it could handle serious rifts between the most important states is unknowable. To Dexter's credit, he has in this sprightly narrative kept such idle speculation to a minimum.

State University of New York, Buffalo

SELIG ADLER

AMERICA, RUSSIA, AND THE COLD WAR, 1945-1966. By *Walter LaFeber*. [America in Crisis.] (New York: John Wiley and Sons. 1967. Pp. xi, 295. Cloth \$6.50, paper \$2.95.)

THE first book-length, scholarly analysis of the cold war from a "revisionist" perspective since D. F. Fleming's two-volume study in 1961, this book defines most of the issues likely to provoke debate in the next decade as scholars re-examine postwar American foreign policy. The rise of the cold war, argues LaFeber, was neither surprising nor remarkable; rather, the rapid decay of US-Soviet relations in 1945, visible in the uneasy wartime relationship, was rooted in preceding decades of American hostility to the Bolshevik state. Though he seems ambivalent about whether different US actions might have allayed Stalin's fears of capitalist encirclement, LaFeber argues that American ideology and action were chiefly responsible for the cold war. The dominant concern of American policy makers, he contends, was the need to establish an international economic system that would provide expanding markets for American surpluses and contribute to international peace and prosperity.

There is ample evidence, both in the manuscript sources exploited by the author and in the *Department of State Bulletin*, of American efforts to reshape the world by imposing an "open door" beyond the United States' sphere of influence. American economic expansion, according to policy makers, required order and stability and entailed opposition to revolution, which was translated easily into anti-Communism. The United States, the author emphasizes, tried to use its overwhelming economic power to compel Russia to accept a multilateral economy and to open the satellites to American economic penetration. The cold war, he concludes, emerged directly from this conflict between the world-wide ambitions of American diplomacy and Stalin's determination to maintain control of Eastern Europe, which was vital to the Soviet economy and security. LaFeber denies that Russia was militantly expansionist in the postwar years and emphasizes Stalin's generally conservative policies, but he unfortunately never marshals enough of the available evidence to convince skeptical readers.

Perhaps because he focuses on the American "open door" ideology, he also overlooks the Roosevelt government's reluctant agreement in late 1944 and early 1945 to the division of Eastern Europe into spheres of influence. Rather than the Truman administration's struggling simply to roll back Communism in Eastern Europe, as LaFeber does argue, the government was in effect repudiating

this earlier understanding. He concludes that after Hiroshima the administration increased its efforts and turned to the practice of atomic diplomacy.

Upon establishing to his satisfaction the significance of the "open door" ideology, LaFeber seldom relies directly upon this interpretation in his discussion of foreign policy beyond 1948. (Indeed, he later deftly explains in other terms the anti-Communism of the liberal community, focusing upon Reinhold Niebuhr.) Many scholars will find that they can accept much of the later analysis without endorsing the earlier interpretation. Yet his arguments are not carelessly sandwiched together, as some critics may claim. Rather, he seems to believe that the earlier concern about the "open door" so influenced the shape of postwar history and the perceptions of policy makers that their original reasons for opposition to Communism were often obscured, and the United States government was often compelled by its anti-Communism to depart from the very multilateralism that policy makers had sought to establish. It is unfortunate that LaFeber does not clearly explain this, but, undoubtedly, that was part of the price of compressing into ninety thousand words an analysis of twenty-two years of foreign policy.

The harsh limits of space, dictated by the general format of the series, also mean that many events are treated in fleeting fashion and that some important questions are overlooked. For example, how fluid was the situation in Eastern Europe between Hiroshima and the Truman Doctrine, and why did Russian policy harden in 1947? Was the American nuclear umbrella credible in 1947? How clearly did American policy makers in 1946 and 1947 understand the importance of the German question to Russia, and did they simply accede to Clay's decision to break the Potsdam Agreement on reparations? Did the missiles in Cuba really change the strategic balance, or did the administration actually respond to a threat to American credibility?

Despite these limitations and some unfortunate errors, this volume is a judicious and impressive reassessment of the cold war. By defining so many of the issues, by boldly acknowledging the general continuity of postwar foreign policy, by skillfully integrating domestic and foreign policy, and particularly by concentrating upon the perils to the nation of Presidents conducting foreign policy largely independent of effective congressional restraint, LaFeber has produced a volume of contemporary relevance and scholarly importance.

Stanford University

BARTON J. BERNSTEIN

THE NATO INTERNATIONAL STAFF/SECRETARIAT, 1952-1957: A STUDY IN INTERNATIONAL ADMINISTRATION. By *Robert S. Jordan*. (New York: Oxford University Press. 1967. Pp. x, 307. \$9.60.)

THIS is a detailed account and assessment of one selected aspect of international history during the middle years of the 1950's. It describes, using public records and interview materials, the problems confronted by the first Secretary-General of NATO, Lord Ismay, as he sought to build and administer a viable staff organization that, in turn, would render more effective the political and military instrument of the Atlantic community. The task was impossible since real authority lay with the member nations, but Lord Ismay did his best and left behind a record of administrative accomplishment that enhanced the organization's prestige and enabled it to function as well as could be expected.

In other words, although this is not the central message that the author intended to convey, the main conclusion, to me, is negative: the historical significance of an international administrator is not and cannot be very great as long as the basic structure of the international system is founded on a dispersal of authority among sovereign states. He may be a distinguished, compelling, and dedicated individual, but the essential record of his years in office is compiled by other figures and shaped by forces beyond his control.

I was not aware, as a political scientist, that the null findings of historical investigation were publishable, and I am delighted to find that history is more up to date in this respect than my own discipline. The utility of null findings, however, is that they indicate subject matter that no longer needs prolonged investigation. Hence the prime lesson of this book would seem to be that the energy invested in probing the history of international administration can best be diverted to other aspects of the nation-state system.

Rutgers University

JAMES N. ROSENAU

THE AMERICANS AND THE FRENCH. By *Crane Brinton*. [The American Foreign Policy Library.] (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press. 1968. Pp. vii, 305. \$6.75.)

PROFESSOR Brinton has written this short book about France in an easy, conversational style addressed to Americans who have little prior knowledge of the subject. He thus offers a survey, in turn, of French geography and national characteristics, French history especially during the last half century, and the momentous economic, psychological, and cultural transformations of recent decades. At his best in the portrayal of attitudes, he grants that the American popular conception of France has long been tinged with scorn, while conversely, in France, a certain dislike of the United States has been largely confined to intellectuals.

The book is designed to disabuse ordinary Americans of their errors, and the tone becomes at times somewhat defensive of the French. The author does not share, for example, the ideas of his colleague Stuart Hughes regarding the tendencies to isolation and provincialism within French intellectual circles. His preferred emphasis is on the active new men who are remaking the country. It is explained that General de Gaulle is not really a dictator and that many French ideas and policies that Americans find objectionable would be much the same if he were not in office. French withdrawal from NATO receives considerable attention, but surprisingly little is said of the effects on French opinion of the war in Vietnam or the problems raised by American investment in French industry. It is understandable that the gold and monetary crisis, having culminated since the book was written, should be scarcely mentioned. More attention to the most perplexing issues might have strengthened the argument of the book, which concludes that American prestige has been falling not only in France but in the world as a whole, and that if the Americans cannot get along with the French, as a basically well-disposed people, they will have difficulty in maintaining their position in the eyes of others.

Princeton University

R. R. PALMER

Ancient

SCIENCE AND THE STATE IN GREECE AND ROME. By *Thomas W. Africa*. (New York: John Wiley and Sons. 1968. Pp. 128. \$4.95.)

SCIENTISTS of antiquity, a minuscule coterie of specialists and dabblers, were regarded with awe by contemporaries. Our information about their lives is largely anecdotal. Some of the most renowned are commonly referred to as "Alexandrian" scientists, but evidence of their actual sojourns at Alexandria is lacking. This book is "not a history of science but a study of scientists." The author has appropriate misgivings about his undertaking, realizing that the creative scientists he discusses were writing science and not autobiography and that the tidbits of late biographers are of dubious value. To attempt to interpret the role of scientists in ancient society is to compound the risk, but the author sees profit as we may soon be living in a scientific temple state.

A brief volume is inadequate for such a bold venture. The author first examines the managerial societies of Egypt, Mesopotamia, India, China, and Central America. The dominant position of priest castes there, holding monopolies on learning, warrants comparisons. In the Hellenistic Age, too, we find recurring patterns of scientists currying the favor of princes and of princes collecting and supporting scientists for their prestige value. Elsewhere in the ancient world generalizations simply do not apply. The reader is bewildered by pell-mell series of observations made out of context, the justification being that they vaguely come under the heading of scientists in society. On some pages as many as ten random statements occur, each concluded by a footnote. One gets the feeling that he is reading an entertaining guide to the literature on the subject. Those great figures handled with any degree of continuity are treated unsympathetically because the focus is upon their role in society and possible implications for us: Aristotle, oriented in geographical determinism, is a racist; Ptolemy, oriented in astral and ethnic determinism, appears more an astrologer than an astronomer; Galen's medicine is vitiated by his surrender to divine intervention.

Despite these strictures I would recommend this book to serious readers. Professor Africa is an adept and assiduous collector of materials. If, in reading in this area, one has overlooked a journal article or classical reference, he is apt to find it here. The book is also marked by brilliant flashes of perception that are bound to invite us to further thinking. The author has, however, chosen a subject that calls for rigorous and disciplined scholarship, and I find little evidence of it here.

Brooklyn College

WILLIAM H. STAHL

LECTURES IN MEMORY OF LOUISE TAFT SEMPLE. First Series, 1961-1965. By *Carl W. Blegen et al.* [University of Cincinnati Classical Studies, Volume I.] ([Princeton, N. J.:] Princeton University Press for the University of Cincinnati. 1967. Pp. viii, 365. \$10.00.)

THIS is a handsome tribute to Mrs. Semple, who, with her husband, encouraged classical studies at the University of Cincinnati, helping to make it one

of the most important centers for studies in this field in the United States. Of the eight contributors to this volume, only Professor Blegen was a member of the faculty, and their participation is a recognition of the Semples' contribution to a wide variety of studies in our discipline.

This is not a *Festschrift* but a collection of double lectures delivered at the university between 1961 and 1965, revised and expanded from the oral text, and documented with footnotes. They combine the clarity and interest of the lecture with the sound learning of the monograph, and they are both good reading and up-to-date surveys of the areas covered.

With propriety, the series is opened by Blegen who reviews the Mycenaean period, arguing incidentally for a later dating of the Knossos tablets than that of Evans: it is hard to understand the close similarity of the Knossos and Pylos tablets if they were far distant in time. Blegen would date the destruction of Troy VIIa at about 1265, and of the mainland palaces at about the end of the same century. With equal propriety, the series is closed by a review of the Homeric problem by Professor Else, who suggests plausibly that the creation of Achaean refugee groups about 1100 led to the creation of a (for them) national epic in order to preserve the memory of their ancestors' exploits. He withholds judgment on the circumstances under which the poems were actually written.

In between, dealing with later matters, are two excellent articles on philosophy: Santillana's article on Parmenides is rather technical; W. K. C. Guthrie's approach to Plato is historical. On various epigraphical matters B. D. Meritt argues, rightly, I think, for the "genuineness" of the Troezen decree, and in an article on sculpture Bernard Ashmole gives an explanation of the impact of the Elgin marbles on English taste in classical art. Finally, representing the late period, H. T. Rowell gives a welcome and penetrating account of Ammianus Marcellinus, and Romilly Jenkins presents the interesting idea that Byzantium perpetuated Greek culture, with its ability to absorb and Hellenize alien peoples, notably the Slavs and Albanians who settled in Greece in the eighth and tenth centuries.

Yale University

C. BRADFORD WELLES

PROGRESS INTO THE PAST: THE REDISCOVERY OF MYCENAEAN CIVILIZATION. By *William A. McDonald*. (New York: Macmillan Company. 1967. Pp. xx, 476. \$9.95.)

Now begins a period in which books celebrating centennials of great events in the growth of Aegean archaeology may come out, and this is an auspicious first example. The hundredth year since Schliemann first visited Greece and excavated at his first Homeric site was 1967. Between Troy (1970) and Knossos (2000), many other sites need celebration in their turn, and the work of other giants than Schliemann, Evans, and Blegen may soon be reviewed in the spirit in which McDonald has treated these pioneers. Schliemann and Evans have often been described in the romantic vein of their extraordinary characters, their incredible luck, and the novelty of their explorations. This is a rather critical examination of their work and a balanced estimate of their contributions to our knowledge. Better yet, the account of Blegen's accomplishments will give a taste

of the romance that belongs to the third generation as well as to the first, and it will show how worthily the legacy of Schliemann has been handed on.

In the narrative of a hundred years of increasingly intensive scientific inquiry a severe selection of facts and persons is inevitable, and the reader is frequently reminded that significant materials have been omitted. What is both essential and capable of notice in 350 pages seems to be well told and well judged here. The last chapter, describing the thorniest current problems in Aegean archaeology and prehistory, is more difficult to read, as it may well have been to write. It seems necessary as a continuation of the narrative and as a standard of present opinion by which to measure the errors of the past. But since it is naturally expository and forensic, rather than narrative and judicial like the body of the book, it may be left by many readers as an untouched postscript.

The great value of this history for the student and expositor of Aegean archaeology, aside from inspiration, is the reminder that the records of the excavators and the writings of their interpreters need to be read with constant reference to what was the contemporary state of the science and its terminology. In a science where up-to-date, exhaustive surveys of all that is known are rarely produced, and where, even with such surveys, the reports of the first scientists must often be re-examined, it is most satisfying that an incentive to the study of, and some guide to, the history of that science is available.

University of Wisconsin

EMMETT L. BENNETT, JR.

DIE TYRANNIS BEI DEN GRIECHEN. Volume I, DARSTELLUNG; Volume II, ANMERKUNGEN. By *Helmut Berve*. (Munich: C. H. Beck'sche Verlagsbuchhandlung. 1967. Pp. xii, 509; xii, 518-796. DM 85 the set.)

From the picturesque tyrants of early Greece, like the Cypselids of Corinth, to the *condottieri* of the Hellenistic period, tyranny was an almost continuous phenomenon in Greek history. Only in the fifth century B.C., when the political influence of those great powers, Athens and Sparta, effectively opposed tyranny, was there a break in the sequence. During that time the Athenian tragedians, in particular, drew the familiar picture of the tyrant: an absolute ruler who came to power by illegal, violent means, ruled harshly, and ultimately destroyed his state. In the fourth century and the Hellenistic period philosophers contrasted the evil tyrant with the good and wise king who was concerned for the welfare of his subjects. As the tyrant became a type, the significance of his role in Greek history declined. Early tyrants were striking examples of the individualism of their period and furthered the evolution of their states. Later tyrants were incidental by-products of social strife and war, often the tools of foreign powers. The word "tyrant" became a term of political abuse, applied to Macedonian kings and Roman dynasts.

Berve has written a systematic, thorough treatment of Greek tyranny from the seventh century B.C. to the establishment of Roman rule in the east by Augustus. Within each major epoch of Greek history he has organized his material by the regional divisions of the Greek world, from the Aegean motherland to the colonies and, after Alexander, to the Hellenistic kingdoms. Thus the reader may study individual tyrannies, compare their regional variations, and

trace throughout Greek history the changing character of tyranny and of views concerning it. The notes of the second volume contain extensive documentation from primary sources and scholarly interpretations, genealogical tables, and indexes. Berve's critical comment is necessarily succinct, in the form of judgments rather than elaborated discussion. His interpretation and the virtually complete treatment and documentation make the study a very useful handbook for the Greek historian.

The sections on the Greek historiography of tyranny, the clear writing, and the organization make it of general interest. Berve finds the essential difference between Greek tyranny and modern dictatorship in the totalitarian character of the latter. Greek tyranny was an assertion of a personal, individual power, and the tyrant was essentially antagonistic to the communal character and organization of the city-state. Presumably Greek individualism continuously produced tyrants, but the Greek community just as continuously rejected them. The reader may regret the sacrifice of more extensive discussion of some general problems to the desire for all-inclusiveness. For example, in discussing the rise of early tyrants Berve emphasizes the tyrant's use of his individual following (his *hetairia*) rather than his connection with the emergence of a class structure in the city-state. For Ionia the latter is virtually denied, and for Sicily the tyrant's aristocratic connections seem to be overemphasized. But the book is the first general treatment of Greek tyranny since that of Placc in the mid-nineteenth century.

Northwestern University

CARL ROEBUCK

THE IDEA OF PROGRESS IN CLASSICAL ANTIQUITY. By *Ludwig Edelstein*. (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press. 1967. Pp. xxxiii, 211. \$8.00.)

THIS volume is a torso, and a splendid one. When Ludwig Edelstein died in August 1965, he had completed approximately half of a projected work on "The Idea of Progress in Antiquity." Through the wisdom of Professor Cherniss and the Johns Hopkins Press the introduction and four chapters that Edelstein left behind have now been published. The book, admirably produced, constitutes a coherent and self-contained study of its theme down to 30 B.C. Documentation is relevant and full, and one regrets that there is nothing comparable to cover the period of the unwritten chapters (to the sixth century A.D.).

It is odd that until 1920 most writers on antiquity, apart from Auguste Comte and a few others such as Mill and Dilthey, were confident that the ancients had a concept of progress involving a constant expectation of better things to come. However, with the publication of Bury's *The Idea of Progress*, all this changed, and a dogma of the opposite kind arose. The notion that an idea of progress is alien to ancient thought reigns supreme in the writings and teachings of most contemporary dealers in large concepts. By precise and relentless analysis Edelstein has annihilated the present fashionable view. He begins with the famous fragment of Xenophanes (number eighteen in Diels-Kranz): "The gods did not reveal to men all things from the beginning, but men through their own search find in the course of time that which is better." Edelstein then conducts his readers with masterly commentary through the *querelles des anciens et des modernes* in both the fifth and fourth centuries. His exposition of

the Hellenistic Age includes an examination of the compatibility of the concept of progress with doctrines of Stoicism.

In controverting a popular, and often untested, view, Edelstein provides fresh assessments of many details: His discussion of the Greek words *epidosis* and *prokopē* answers the objection that the Greeks had no word for progress. His treatment of cyclic theories in Thucydides and elsewhere shows how they have been carelessly misinterpreted by observers of "linear" movements. His appreciation of the achievements of the fourth century shows that he has not been blinded by the fifth. Edelstein's work is a major contribution to the intellectual history of antiquity.

Harvard University

G. W. Bowersock

THE LAW CODE OF GORTYN. Edited with introduction, translation and a commentary by *Ronald F. Willetts*. [Kadmos, Supplement I.] (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter & Co. 1967. Pp. viii, 90, 13 plates. DM 128.)

RONALD Willetts is known for several books on ancient Cretan society and social institutions. In *The Law Code of Gortyn* he has published in elaborate detail and sumptuous form one of the most important documents for their study. The code, issued in the fifth century B.C., is a lengthy inscription in the difficult Cretan dialect, which tabulates the statutory laws of Gortyn on property and family rights. While the document was used extensively by scholars in the years following its first complete publication in the 1880's, it has been somewhat neglected since. Thus Willetts' thorough treatment may serve to reintroduce the material for more general use. Much of the book is necessarily for specialists: Willetts publishes a revised Greek text with critical apparatus, excellent photographs, and a facsimile of the twelve columns (about six hundred lines) of the inscription. He has made a careful translation and added a detailed commentary with considerable discussion of problems of interpretation. There are three indexes and a full bibliography. The introduction discusses the subject matter of the code in its historical context, with sections on the Cretan social system, on property, marriage, kinship, and the family, and on the administration of justice.

The Gortyn Code was conservative in character, as one might expect in Dorian Crete, akin to that of other Greek states of the seventh and sixth centuries B.C. Willetts considers that its original promulgation reflected the beginnings of change for the traditional aristocratic society under the pressures of a monetary economy. Coinage had been introduced into Gortyn about a generation before the code was issued, thus forcing the people to order their social life both to preserve older practice and to accommodate change. For example, provisions about marriage indicate that women were still regarded as tribal kinfolk; other provisions state that serfs might inherit the patriarchal farm in default of heirs in the kinship line. Yet chattel slavery was known in Gortyn, and fines were payable in money. The large sums stated and the right of serfs to hold money seem to indicate, rather surprisingly, that its circulation was extensive. As Willetts notes, interpretation of many points remains debatable, but the introduction is a useful preface to the study of urbanization in Crete.

The book is the first supplement volume in a new series published by the periodical, *Kadmos*, for pre- and early Greek epigraphy. It is extrafolio size, beautifully printed and edited, and extremely expensive.

Northwestern University

CARL ROEBUCK

FORM AND THOUGHT IN HERODOTUS. By *Henry R. Immerwahr*. [Philological Monographs, Number 23.] (Cleveland: Press of Western Reserve University for the American Philological Association. 1966. Pp. xv, 374. \$7.50.)

IMMERWAHR offers students of historiography the most enlightening study of Herodotus in recent years, despite the fact that much in his book is controversial. The author has undertaken two difficult tasks: first, determining what principles of organization were followed by Herodotus in writing his history, and, second; discerning what ordering forces Herodotus observed operating in history. In answer to these questions, Immerwahr analyzes Herodotus' paratactic style with the understanding that "it is a basic feature of early prose that the principles underlying larger units of composition are equally applicable to smaller entities down to a short phrase. . . ." An exhaustive discussion of the artistic character of the numerous *logoi* follows, in which Immerwahr points out various thought patterns used by Herodotus as bases of organization—change of fortune being the most important. Change (*metabolē*), says Immerwahr, is also seen by Herodotus as an ordering principle in history itself. For Herodotus, history is a sequence of action and reaction: "The result of such counteraction is a balance of world forces achieved through *metabolē*, thus assuring the continuity and indeed the permanence of history." According to Immerwahr, in the world of Herodotus as a whole there is order, but order based on a balance between unity and diversity. In concrete terms, the Persian Empire symbolizes unity, the states of Greece, diversity; the Persian Wars represent a redress of the imbalance between these two forces occasioned by the overexpansion of the unifying Persian Empire.

In a book containing so much valuable insight, I find only one area for serious disagreement. Immerwahr's introduction takes issue with the "genetic approach" to Herodotean criticism, sweeping aside the arguments of such scholars as F. Jacoby and J. E. Powell that have convinced many students that Herodotus began writing his Eastern *logoi* before he conceived the grander theme of East versus West. Instead, Immerwahr maintains that the work was conceived as a unity, but that "individual parts of the work must have undergone a long process of revision in oral delivery." From Immerwahr's lengthy analysis, however, no strong argument emerges for this notion of unitary conception and oral revision. The absence of forward references in Books I-IV to Books V-IX, in the face of at least eight back references from the latter books to the former, will still seem to many students convincing proof that Books V-IX were not planned at the time when the Eastern *logoi* were written.

University of California, San Diego

ROGER A. DE LAIX

THE ATHENIAN CONSTITUTION AFTER SULLA. By *Daniel J. Geagan*. [Hesperia: Supplement XII.] (Princeton, N. J.: American School of Classical Studies at Athens. 1967. Pp. xiii, 231, 8 plates. \$10.00.)

THERE was no written constitution in Roman Athens; nor was there one earlier. Aristotle, in his *Constitution of the Athenians*, recorded what he saw. Now, students must look to him not only for the structure of the constitution in his day but also for that of later Athens. The old names persisted in Roman times—council of the Areopagus, ecclesia, boule, and so forth—but functions and responsibilities changed. The changes that took place during the three hundred years or so after Sulla are observed principally in archival material inscribed in stone, and it is this extensive, if often fragmentary and intractable, body of evidence to which Professor Geagan addresses himself. As a result, he catalogues, summarizes, and describes inscriptions to a greater extent than he analyzes the constitution.

His method is to cite an officer or board and then to discuss, often in considerable detail, the sorts of evidence that can be used and the difficulties this use entails. Mostly the evidence consists of decrees, dedications, imperial rescripts, and other such documents, but from time to time the satirist Lucian inadvertently helps. Chapters are titled, to name just a few, "The Archons," "The Hoplite General," "The Areopagus," "The Boule and the Demos," and "Committees, Officers, and Servants of the Council." At the end of each chapter a brief conclusion enumerates what tendencies and changes in the constitution can be hypothesized. Of five appendixes, one is a useful catalogue of formulas with which various civic bodies registered approval of dedications; four are technical studies of particular inscriptions. In Appendix IV, for instance, new fragments are added to an inscription recording "Five Letters from the Emperor Commodus concerning the Gerousia of the Athenians." Study of this interesting document continues in J. H. Oliver's article in *Hesperia*, XXXVI (1967), 329-35.

Some of the best historians have published studies of the Athenian constitution in Roman times; a few have attempted to comprehend the whole; more have examined single documents or homogeneous groupings of documents. The present book, however, was needed, for American excavators in the Athenian agora have unearthed many new, relevant inscriptions that, to be of increased usefulness, had to be incorporated in a comprehensive study, along with an assessment of the stimulating, often fundamental contributions of scholars who have studied or published individual texts. The decree honoring Marcus Ulpius Eubiotos is a good example. Geagan also adds constructive analysis. To note a single instance, a catalogue of names from the Eleusinion at Athens (Appendix III) permits sensible speculation on the size and composition of the Areopagus on page fifty-seven. A sufficient number of similar instances add substantially to the value of a book that would have been welcome had it been no more than a mere compilation.

Brown University

ALAN L. BOEGEHOLD

THE CALENDAR OF THE ROMAN REPUBLIC. By *Agnes Kirsopp Michels*. (Princeton, N. J.: Princeton University Press. 1967. Pp. xvi, 227. \$7.50.)

PROFESSOR Michels has written a book that is extremely useful and surprisingly easy to read. Study of ancient calendars necessarily involves both technical terms and technical knowledge; it has also given rise to complicated and conflicting theories based on the slight and often ambiguous existing evidence. Michels, assuming no prior knowledge in her reader, moves step by step from the general problem of making calendars to the specific solution adopted by the Romans and a description of exactly how the late republican calendar worked, what was the meaning of its signs and terminology, and what problems it still presents for modern scholars.

The first section of the book is a detailed description of the pre-Julian calendar; the second, shorter section is an attempt to reconstruct its history; four appendixes treat in detail the thorny problems of "Roman Intercalation," "The Characters of the Days," "*Nundinae* and *Trinum Nundinum*," and "The Dating of the Calendar." Certain modern theories hardly noted in the main body of the book are treated here. In a work filled with eminently usable information perhaps the best feature of all is a pull-out sheet giving a schematic republican calendar and a reconstruction, in color, of a painted republican calendar based on the *Fasti Antiates maiores*. Together with photographs of two actual *Fasti*, they facilitate understanding of the discussion at every point. The only disappointment is the spare index, which ought to be supplemented in a later edition by an index of ancient passages and, in the absence of a bibliography, of modern authorities cited.

The book brings together the results of independent research beginning some twenty years ago, but makes full use of Degraffi's superb recent publications. By limiting the scope of her inquiry to the republican era and by a determined effort to "make as economical use as possible of the available evidence," Michels has produced a work that seems tidy but not superficial. Full of sensible remarks, as on the importance of the calendar for historians, on the *Lex Pupia*, and on the *Lex Acilia*, it will serve both as a reference handbook and as a mine of informative discussion for historians, philologists, and students of religion.

Harvard University

ZEPH STEWART

DIE ANTIKE KULTUR UND DAS CHRISTENTUM. By *Olof Gigon*. ([Gütersloh:] Gütersloher Verlagshaus Gerd Mohn. 1966. Pp. 181. DM 19.80.)

PROFESSOR Gigon's work is a welcome addition to the rather limited number of books dealing adequately with the complex intellectual issues, rather than the historical events, of the meeting of classical civilization and Christianity. An important premise underlying this book, stated in the introductory chapter and repeated elsewhere, is that history is not made by the common people but by influential minorities. Correspondingly, Gigon deems it historically significant that Christianity, rather than limiting its appeal to the common people, addressed itself to, and eventually won over, the educated elite.

Chapters II-VI give a general description of ancient civilization as Christianity encountered it, and particularly of those aspects that directly concerned Christianity. Gigon's account of ancient philosophy examines especially how the major schools related to each other and which doctrines, like Platonic teleology, were compatible with Christian teachings and which, like Platonic transmigration of souls, were not. In the general area of literature and science, Gigon says, Christianity's most urgent, reluctantly assumed, and never completed task was the development of a Christian interpretation of history. In his discussion of Greco-Roman religion, Gigon distinguishes, on social as well as intellectual grounds, between the religion of the common people and that of the educated. Christianity, almost from the beginning, largely ignored the former and chose to confront the latter; here Christian loyalty to the Empire was the most important issue. The mystery religions found most of their adherents among the common people, according to Gigon, but a certain kinship between them and Christianity made it necessary for the Christians to state the distinctions clearly.

In Chapter VII Gigon carefully reconstructs the three most serious intellectual attacks upon Christianity: those of Celsus, Porphyry, and Emperor Julian in the second, third, and fourth centuries, respectively. All three, it is important to note, were Platonists. In Chapter VIII the *De Civitate Dei* of St. Augustine is assessed as the final Christian answer and the last monumental confrontation; it, too, addresses itself particularly to the educated and marks the acceptance of the classical heritage by Christianity.

The last and longest chapter is a systematic study of the problem, as distinguished from the historical study of the preceding two chapters, under the three headings of the historical event: Christ's life, Christian theology, and the Christian organization of communal and private life.

This is an excellent book, well worth the attention of ancient, medieval, and ecclesiastical historians, classicists, philosophers, and theologians.

State University of New York, Albany

HANS A. POHLSANDER

BYZANTINUM AND THE ROMAN PRIMACY. By *Francis Dvornik*. (New York: Fordham University Press. 1966. Pp. 176. \$5.00.)

WITH admirable clarity, schematic argumentation, and a wealth of source material, Professor Dvornik of Dumbarton Oaks has attempted, for the first time in English, a synthetic presentation of the development of Roman claims to primacy as seen from Byzantium. The analysis, extending from the fourth to the early thirteenth century, begins by tracing the development of two dominant themes that underlie the problem: first, the principle of accommodation—the adaptation of the ecclesiastical organization to the political division of the Roman Empire (a theory favored from the start in Byzantium); and, second, the principle of apostolicity—the foundation of a see by an apostle (first developed as a full-blown theory in Rome, a city displaced by Constantinople as the imperial capital).

Showing the complex interplay of these two themes, their opposition and sometimes their coexistence, Dvornik skillfully demonstrates that they are opera-

tive in most ecclesiastical conflicts between East and West up to 1204, from the Council of Chalcedon on as revealed in events involving Acacius, Photius, Cerularius, and others. Dvornik maintains (contrary to Syropoulos, writing on the Council of Florence) that Byzantine prelates never denied that Peter was the prince of the Apostles. Dvornik believes that canon twenty-eight of Chalcedon was not an attempt to deny primacy to Rome. This canon was not introduced into the Byzantine canonistic collections until the sixth century since, as is not usually realized, apostolicity was not of immediate importance as a criterion for ecclesiastical rank; unlike the West, the East possessed many apostolically founded sees. The theory of apostolicity later developed in Byzantium, however, was based not only on what Byzantines believed to be the work of the apostle Andrew, which Dvornik feels was legendary, but also on Constantinople's inheritance of the claims of Ephesus, itself founded by the apostle John. According to Dvornik, the theory of the pentarchy, so important to modern Greeks, developed in response to the Roman defense of apostolicity. The author regards it as an exaggeration that the pentarchic idea is "very dangerous for Roman primacy." Though Orthodox theologians find in the pentarchy an essential equality of all five patriarchs, Dvornik has been able to marshal evidence that certain Byzantines seemed to accept papal primacy throughout the medieval period. The question, he agrees, is very complex and involves not simply a primacy of honor but also one of jurisdiction, including the right of appeal to Rome in disciplinary and other matters. Byzantine documents referring to papal primacy must therefore be analyzed carefully to determine in each case exactly the kind of primacy involved.

What changed prevailingly irenic ecclesiastical relations up to the eleventh century, according to Dvornik, was not the date 1054 but rather the developing claims of the Gregorian, German-influenced reform movement, which finally destroyed "Christian Hellenism" in the West and created a new ideology unknown to Byzantium: the superiority of *sacerdotium* to *imperium*. Byzantium did not fully comprehend this new ideology until after the Latin conquest of 1204. Henceforth, and especially during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, the Greeks usually denied the primacy of Peter not on older grounds, but, based in part on "nationalism," on the ground that the Filioque addition to the creed made the pope a heretic and thus invalidated his claims to primacy.

One regrets that Dvornik did not carry his profound analysis, with its many insights, beyond 1204 to 1453. Modern Greek views of Roman primacy are deeply influenced by the negative (apophatic) theology of these last two centuries, which was developed to combat aggressive Latin and papal claims. The book is absolutely indispensable reading for all church historians and "ecclesiologically minded" ecumenicists of both East and West, who, despite differences of opinion, should be grateful for this brilliant and conciliatory attempt to reconstruct the medieval history of the thorniest problem impeding a truly satisfactory rapprochement between Eastern and Western churches.

AUGUSTINE OF HIPPO: A BIOGRAPHY. By *Peter Brown*. (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. 1967. Pp. 463. \$10.00.)

THERE is a vast modern literature on Augustine ranging from pietistic and fictionalized biographies to technical articles on every detail of his thought. But hitherto there has been no adequate work of synthesis, no up-to-date scholarly account of Augustine's life available in English. (Van der Meer's well-known *Augustine the Bishop* is analytical and descriptive rather than biographical in its approach.) Peter Brown has chosen to write a sort of old-fashioned "life and times." It is exactly what was needed, and both the "life" and the "times" are splendidly handled in his book. The author's studies in late Roman institutions enable him to describe the background of fifth-century Italy and Africa in a vivid and convincing fashion. He brings sensitivity and discernment to the difficult task of delineating Augustine's complex personality. He is abreast of all the current literature, and he neither despises nor overstresses the insights of modern psychology.

There is not much technical philosophy or technical ecclesiology in this account, but the central concepts of Augustinian theology are set out with clarity and force. Augustine's thought is presented in relation to the growing and changing personality of the man himself as it developed in the course of the various struggles in which he was involved: first, a struggle with himself, then with the Manichees, the Donatists, and the Pelagians. The author gives a particularly good account of the Donatist schism and offers an analysis differing sharply from that of W. H. C. Frend. Altogether this is an excellent book, and it should be made available in a cheaper edition.

Cornell University

BRIAN TIERNEY

Medieval

MISCELLANEA MEDIAEVALIA IN MEMORIAM JAN FREDERIK NIERMEYER. (Groningen: J. B. Wolters. 1967. Pp. xxxix, 440. 49.75 gls.)

IN an age when most professors of history who have managed to teach for thirty or forty years, who have had some work published, and who have trained some graduate students can expect and often do receive a very mediocre *Festschrift* in their honor, it is a pleasant surprise to read one similar to those of old with articles of uniformly high quality written by accomplished scholars. This volume truly honors the memory of J. F. Niermeyer who taught with distinction at the University of Amsterdam, who was the moving spirit and principal editor of the superb multivolume *Algemene Geschiedenis der Nederlanden*, and who, shortly before his death in 1965, had completed the eleventh volume of his magisterial work, *Mediae Latinitatis Lexicon Minus*. It displays the erudition of European medievalists and shows what kind of history interests them. Of the thirty-nine articles, three-fourths concern social, economic, and institutional history; the remaining ones, except for two in intellectual history, deal with textual and diplomatic problems. This volume presents a spectrum of the research now being done by medieval historians.

Of the eleven articles on urban history ranging from town origins to fiscal policy, those of G. Despy approaching the urban origins of Dinant with the thesis that the word *sedilia* refers to plots of land rather than to docking space, of A. Gieysztor on the origins of Warsaw containing evidence substantiating the famous theory of Pirenne, of J. Kossmann-Putto describing the financial policies of the small Dutch town of Kampen in the fourteenth century, and of Mina Martens showing that *vestgeld* was an exaction levied on Brabançonne towns by the dukes to defray costs of fortification are especially valuable. Among six articles on various aspects of feudalism, J. Dhondt argues that individual ability and leadership were the decisive elements required for success as a feudal leader in eleventh-century France and that they were more important than personal bonds and fidelity. He likens the feudal lord to a *condottiere* and the vassals to adventurers. In a study of eleventh- and twelfth-century aristocratic families G. Duby asks what the members of these families regarded as essential marks of aristocracy and finds that they first regarded the status of *miles* as the mark of social superiority and that a sense of pride and an interest in family genealogy developed later when they could boast of a count, *châtelain*, or powerful feudatory in their family. L. Genicot, in an article on what men of the early Middle Ages regarded as their position in and their relation to society, contends that they thought only in terms of the concrete, in terms of men, of human collectivities, of personal relations. The early Capetian kings called themselves *rex Francorum*, not *rex Franciae*.

This is a volume for all medievalists, whatever their specialty. Those interested in medieval law should not miss F. L. Ganshof's study on the Frankish legal procedure that ensued when a person was apprehended in the act of committing a crime. Those concerned with diplomatic and the criticism of texts will be rewarded upon reading the studies of M. A. Arnould, C. Van De Kieft, W. Prevenier, F. Vercauteren, R. C. Van Caenegem, and F. W. N. Hugenholtz. For the numismatist the study of P. Grierson identifies the coins referred to in the Cely Papers. And for the economic historian there are the articles of C. Verlinden on the origins of the Portuguese slave trade in Africa and P. Wolff on the real and personal wealth of villagers in Toulouse during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries.

The committee responsible for this volume should receive the thanks of all medievalists for this "movable feast."

Brown University

BRYCE LYON

THE DEVELOPMENT OF MEDICINE AS A PROFESSION: THE CONTRIBUTION OF THE MEDIEVAL UNIVERSITY TO MODERN MEDICINE. By Vern L. Bullough. (Basel: S. Karger; distrib. by Hafner Publishing Company, New York. 1966. Pp. 125.)

THE author defines a profession as an occupational group possessing high prestige and considerable power of self-regulation. He infers that its purpose is a self-seeking altruism; under the guise of protecting the public it advances its own social and economic power. This rather harsh estimate will doubtless give joy to the detractors of the medical profession. Mr. Bullough admits that medical

observation, research, and writing arose within this framework, but he does not adequately consider the powerful influence exerted on physicians by the opinion of their peers.

Bullough believes that the professionalization of medicine is the gift of the medieval university to modern life. He defends his thesis by giving us a rapid review of the history of medicine. Despite what others have assumed, he believes that the true professionalization of medicine did not begin with the Egyptians and the Greeks. While he admits the high status of the Egyptian physician, he maintains that the Egyptian physician was regulated not by his peers but by royal authority. Despite some adherence to the Hippocratic code and loose association as members of the Aesculapian cult, there was no trend to potent self-regulation among the Greeks, either. Such men as Plato and Aristotle believed, furthermore, that medicine was readily understood among all educated persons.

Salerno exercised some slight control over its graduates and assembled medical knowledge, but not until the rise of such universities as Bologna, Padua, and Paris did the professionalization of medicine advance and its study become arduous. As an intellectual discipline, using Latin as its medium, it grew apart from mere craft such as surgery. The medical public thus created was prepared to judge the new ideas of later centuries. The medical faculties of the medieval universities exerted varying control over the practice of medicine locally and sometimes over larger areas, thereby setting the stage for the modern medical profession. Bullough believes that the successful professionalization of medicine provided a model for similar efforts in other fields such as real estate.

The author defends his ideas well and produces a good résumé of the history of medicine through the Middle Ages. There are many minor typographical errors, a few of which may confuse the unwary reader. The work contains a bibliography and an adequate index.

Fredericksburg, Virginia

GORDON W. JONES

THE MEDIAEVAL ARTIST AT WORK. By Virginia Wylie Egbert. (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press. 1967. Pp. 93. \$7.50.)

ALTHOUGH many works of art were produced in the Middle Ages, there are few contemporary references to the circumstances and methods surrounding their creation, and even these few are apt to tell us little more than that the works were miraculously wrought by the angels of God, the great artificer. In medieval chronicles, commentaries on the Bible, saints' lives, and sermons, as well as in secular stories and poetry, when the supernatural explanation does not suffice, there is an occasional statement that a work was made "with great care," but there is no information whatever concerning the artistic process. There are a few manuals written by medieval artists, but even the most famous—Theophilus' twelfth-century *De diversis artibus* and Cennino Cennini's fourteenth- to fifteenth-century *Il libro dell'arte*—limit themselves to recipes for grinding and mixing colors, to descriptions of contemporary techniques, and to practical advice about such things as apprenticeship.

Thus far little attention has been paid to the artists' own pictorial conceptions

of their profession. The present book examines medieval representations of sculptors, painters, goldsmiths, and wood and ivory carvers actually engaged in their work. The seventy-odd examples known to the author are listed alphabetically by location at the end of the book, while the thirty-one chosen for illustration and comment are presented chronologically from the sixth to the fifteenth century.

The illustrations (themselves admirable examples of the photographer's and photoengraver's art), the discussions, and the twenty-three additional smaller plates tell us much about the surroundings in which the artists worked and the materials that they used. The illustrations reveal a lively interest in the artistic process and enlarge our knowledge of the medieval artist's tools, methods, and attitudes. To show the realism of the works represented in the illustrations, our author compares it with that of actual pieces of medieval sculpture, painting, metalwork, and carving.

Three small points are worthy of note: First, most of the artists shown are not simply didactic illustrations for texts. They are represented for their own sake. Second, as G. G. Coulton has maintained, only a few of the artists are monks. Third, a palette is first represented in 1402.

The author is a member of the research staff of the Index of Christian Art at Princeton University. In so far as one can judge, she has covered her subject well, organized her discussion carefully, and presented it effectively.

Point Reyes Station, California

LESLIE W. JONES

LA GÉOGRAPHIE HUMAINE DU MONDE MUSULMAN JUSQU'AU MILIEU DU 11^e SIÈCLE: GÉOGRAPHIE ET GÉOGRAPHIE HUMAINE DANS LA LITTÉRATURE ARABE DES ORIGINES À 1050. By *André Miquel*. [École Pratique des Hautes Études—Sorbonne. VI^e Section: Sciences économiques et sociales. Centre de recherches historiques. Civilisations et sociétés, Number 7.] (Paris: Mouton & Co. 1967. Pp. 1, 420.)

STUDENTS of Arabic geography of the pre-Islamic and Umayyad periods are aware of its unorganized beginning and its practical nature. Early records remained scattered in government bureaus, historical accounts, and private papers. The early Abbasids first gave Arabic geography, particularly in its physical and mathematical branches, a formal literate status. Court-sponsored scholars drew increasingly on Indian, Persian, and Greek practice and theories and initiated the translation of non-Arabic geographical literatures. The author devotes an introductory chapter to the influence of foreign geographic lore and theories on Muslim geographers. Extant formal geographical works, written in Arabic by Arabs and non-Arabs, date from the early ninth century onward. They center at first on individual cities and provinces, expand rapidly to include the vast Abbasid Empire, and progress to a world view. At no time do their authors neglect the humanistic approach that centers on the life and culture of people in their own homelands.

The author introduces us to a long list of writers whose geographical works he classifies, analyzes, and compares as to method, type of content, and each writer's particular bent for matters political, religious, or cultural. Despite ex-

panded and intensified interest in the subject, Arab geography did not develop into a unified discipline in its own right.

The rest of this book can be said to be a thoroughgoing effort to explain why this was so. The central factor was that the diversified geographical literature of the period was produced by writers who were not professional geographers as we understand this phrase. Some were better known as state secretaries serving as heads of the bureau of taxation or of the postal service. Others were polygraphs better known for their historical or religious books or for their linguistic and literary output. Adventurous voyagers, empire trotters, and traveling merchantmen with lively imaginations and great curiosity were also included. Most were well-rounded men of culture (*udabā*), and their culture (*adab*) was Arabic and Islamic regardless of their race or denominational affiliations.

This view of humanistic Muslim geography is not new. But the great emphasis placed upon it and the thoroughness with which it is presented in all its complexity, happily aided by tables and diagrams, render the work a welcome contribution to the understanding of human geography under the aegis of Islam. The emphasis on *adab* as the central factor in the character of Arab geography provides greater depth in the layman's concept of Islamic humanistic culture itself.

University of Chicago

NABIA ABBOTT

SUD'BY SVOBODNOGO KREST'IANSTVA V GERMANII V VIII-XII VV.

[The Plight of the Free Peasantry in Germany in the 8th-12th Century].

By *A. I. Neusykhin*. [Akademiia Nauk SSSR, Institut Istorii. Issledovaniia po Istorii Krest'ianstva v Evrope.] (Moscow: Izdatel'stvo "Nauka." 1964. Pp. 330.)

THIS study results from Neusykhin's extensive research on the history of the peasants in medieval Western Europe. Three earlier works by the author have explored the transition from free large families toward a dependent peasant class during the sixth through the ninth century. This volume carries the research and the synthesis to the times of the Ottonians and the Hohenstaufens. It analyzes collections of ecclesiastical and secular charters reflecting changes in the ownership of landed property in some selected and geographically distinct areas of Germanic Europe: Allemania and Raetia, Tirol, and Frisia with Saxony.

Mr. Neusykhin begins with an extensive survey of the literature dealing with rural settlement and early forms of ownership (large family, village communities). Much of his study is based on sources, mainly charters of the monasteries at Saint Gall, Bolzano, and Werden, as well as on collections of charters for the city and district of Zurich. Because all of the sources cited by the author are available in printed form, checking his conclusions poses no problem. His erudition is strengthened by reference to many monographic studies in Russian, German, and French. The reader interested in special aspects of the history of peasantry in medieval Germany will be guided by an index of specific topics and terms, as well as one of personal and geographic names. There is also a bibliography of sources and monographs.

This study investigates the formal aspects of the transition from the alodial

family or communal ownership of the free peasantry toward tenant ownership. Neusykhnin interprets the trend in ownership rights in terms of class struggle: the free peasant is forced into submission, and his dependency eventually leads him to serfdom. The conclusions seem to be convincing, but only if "freedom" is analyzed in total isolation from the position of the individual in society. The large family, an economic and sociopolitical entity of the tribal stage, lost coherence as economic and sociopolitical interrelations grew. Dissolution of the large family paralleled the consolidation of the feudal society and of the state. The deeds of conveyance, more frequently than is assumed by the author, were steps to bring the free peasant—free, indeed, from any legal protection—into a legal system extending protection over families and village communities unable to exist alone. Rental payments and services were no more than taxation for services rendered by the seignorial authorities. The relationship between the free peasant and his protector was contractual, as shown by the charters, even though the agreements were frequently violated. The "Beschwerden" (complaints) brought by the peasants to the courts and quoted here by the author illustrate exceptions to the rule rather than proof of a trend.

Neusykhnin presents new ways to approach the study of social transformations in medieval society. Many of his observations will remain valid contributions to our knowledge of large-family and peasant communities. Future studies by this author that are devoted to problems of the peasantry in Germany might well contain substantial German summaries.

University of Washington

IMRE BOBA

MENSCHEN IM MITTELALTER: GESAMMELTE FORSCHUNGEN, BETRACHTUNGEN, BILDER. By *Wolfram von den Steinen*. Edited by *Peter von Moos*. (Bern: Francke Verlag. 1967. Pp. 352. 48 fr. S.)

THIS book gathers into a single volume fifteen articles and lectures by the distinguished Swiss medievalist, Wolfram von den Steinen. The oldest essay dates back to 1931, and, while the bibliographies have occasionally been expanded, the text substantially reflects the state of scholarship at the time of the original printing. Von den Steinen is probably best known to American medievalists for his publications on medieval cosmological ideas and for his study, edition, and translation of the sequences of Notker Balbulus, poet of Saint Gall. This collection faithfully reflects the author's lifelong interest in medieval literature, especially Latin poetry. His approach to cultural history is fundamentally biographical.

Ten of these essays examine, under various aspects, the careers and works of kings, poets, and philosophers—Charlemagne and his court scholars, Notker, Bernward of Hildesheim, Abelard, Bernard Silvestris, Francis of Assisi, Frederick II Hohenstaufen, and others. Von den Steinen handles his biographies with extraordinary sensitivity, and he effectively uses his subjects to illuminate the literary and religious culture of their age, neither obliterating their personalities nor isolating them from their cultural surroundings. The biographical approach is clearly most effective when he examines such great personalities as Francis of Assisi, but even figures of less exalted stature come to life at his hands. Von den

Steinen represents a particular method of cultural history that is highly literary, highly biographical, less concerned with popular culture or with broad social attitudes. We read much today, in medieval cultural histories, of collective "mentalities," which seem at times to spring more from the imaginations of modern scholars than from the minds of medieval men. This collection, in addition to honoring Von den Steinen, also gives historians a chance to recognize that this older, traditional biographical and literary approach can still enrich our appreciation of the medieval world.

University of Wisconsin

DAVID HERLIHY

KARL DER GROSSE: LEBENSWERK UND NACHLEBEN. Volume III, KAROLINGISCHE KUNST. Edited by *Wolfgang Braunfels* and *Hermann Schnitzler*. Volume IV, DAS NACHLEBEN. Edited by *Wolfgang Braunfels* and *Percy Ernst Schramm*. (Düsseldorf: Verlag L. Schwann. 1965; 1967. Pp. 590; 484. DM 68 each.)

THE scope of this monumental work on Charlemagne is indicated in my earlier review of Volumes I and II (*AHR*, LXXIII [Oct. 1967], 115). The third volume, on Carolingian art, consists of twenty studies that vary greatly in merit and length; sixteen are written in German, three in French, one in English. The subject matter is divided into "figurative expressions of art"—illumination of manuscripts and objects made of precious metals, bronze, stone, and clay—and into architecture in its broadest sense.

Florentine Mutherich summarizes in magisterial fashion what we know about illumination of books at the court of Charlemagne and pays homage to the lifework of the late Wilhelm Köhler on *Carolingian Miniatures*. Jean Porcher deals with illuminated manuscripts in the eastern part of the Frankish Empire, and Kurt Holter describes those from southern Germany and northern Italy and acknowledges the importance of E. A. Lowe's *Codices Latini Antiquiores*. Liturgical utensils made of metals are investigated by Viktor H. Elbern; Charlemagne's bronze workshop, by Wolfgang Braunfels; ornamental stone sculptures, by Erika Doberer; and Carolingian ceramic products in Central Europe, by Hermann Hinz. Some controversial subjects in art history are explored in John Beckwith's discussion of the "Byzantine" influence on art at the Frankish court and in Peter Bloch's paper on the Apsis-Mosaic of Germigny-des-Près.

The studies on architecture center on Charlemagne's royal *Pfalz* and chapel at Aachen and elsewhere in the Empire and as such are somewhat repetitive. Thus, Edgar Lehmann and Mme. Vieillard both write on architecture at the time of Charlemagne. Günther Bandmann deals with the prototypes of the Palatine Chapel; Felix Kreusch covers "Church, Atrium, and Porticus of the *Pfalz*"; and Leo Hugot offers an extensive topographical and archaeological investigation of the *Pfalz*. Albert Mann contributes a map of the secular and ecclesiastical *Grossbauten* from Carolingian and earlier times. All the Frankish *Pfalzen* in Germany are scrutinized by Walter Sage, who also writes on early wooden structures. Lehmann outlines the arrangement of the altars at Centula, while Honoré Bernard reports on excavations conducted there in recent years at

Angilbert's Saint-Riquier. Willy Weyers discusses the restoration of Cologne Cathedral.

Volume IV offers sixteen studies: two in French, one in Italian, the rest in German. It deals with the impact of Charlemagne's person and work on legends and literatures, on art and architecture, and on artistic creations and historical research from the Middle Ages, through the Renaissance and the baroque periods, to the modern frescoes of Alfred Rethel, which are critically analyzed by Von Einem. While Helmut Beumann deals specifically with the tomb and the throne of Charlemagne, K. F. Werner investigates the first eight generations of his descendants, and Karl Hauck writes on the Ottonians and Aachen. Aachen's charter, issued in 1166 by Frederick I, is covered by Erich Meuthen. Robert Folz discusses certain aspects of the cult of the sanctified Charlemagne in France, and Matthias Zender describes the Emperor's veneration throughout the medieval Empire. Dietrich Kötzsche deals with the architectural imitations of the Palatine Chapel; E. G. Grimme, with a variety of monuments that express the King's popularity. Myths and legends surrounding Charlemagne and concerning Roland are competently disentangled by Rita Lejeune and Jacques Stiennon; those of the German legend, by Von Pfeil; the Italian ones, by Gina Fasoli. Gerhard Lohse shows how they influenced German medieval literature. Paul Schoenen analyzes paintings, frescoes, and sculptures from Albrecht Dürer to the present. A most attractive historiographical survey is presented in Arno Borst's well-reasoned critical evaluation of the ideas concerning Charlemagne's person and work from the humanist Bruni to the exhibition of the *Europarat* in 1965.

Both volumes are lavishly supplied with facsimiles of miniatures and artistically executed initials drawn from manuscripts. There are illustrations of liturgical utensils, of bronze work, stone sculptures, mosaics, and vases, as well as numerous charts and maps. A special *Registerband* will contain the general index for the work's four volumes.

University of Illinois, Urbana

LUITPOLD WALLACH

CHARLEMAGNE'S COUSINS: CONTEMPORARY LIVES OF ADALARD AND WALA. Translated, with introduction and notes, by *Allen Cabaniss*. ([Syracuse, N. Y.:] Syracuse University Press. 1967. Pp. vii, 226. \$7.50.)

PROFESSOR Cabaniss has skillfully performed the intricate task of rendering into modern English the ornate Latin, much embellished with quotations and allusions, of the Carolingian monk-theologian Paschasius Radbertus. Besides his works on theology, Radbertus wrote biographies of two of his recent predecessors as abbots of the Picard monastery of Corbie, and these biographies are now for the first time translated into English, accompanied by a succinct but informative introduction. Even in English, these monkish *Lives* make difficult reading. Radbertus' style is loquacious, and his narrative meanders at such a leisurely pace and in such an intricate manner that the reader is in constant danger of losing track altogether of its course. Every literary artifice known to the author of those days is pressed into service: pseudonyms, puns and alliteration, passages from Job, from the comedies of Terence, and from Vergil, and countless allusions

punctuate the text. Moreover, the *Life of Wala* takes the form, unusual for a biography, of a dialogue. But there can be no question of the historical value of these works, particularly the *Life of Wala*. Not only are we given an insight into Carolingian monasticism, but, because of the court or palace connections of Adalard and Wala, we learn much about Carolingian history in the reigns of Charlemagne and, more particularly, of Louis the Pious.

This book thus forms a most valuable addition to the source material on Carolingian history already available in English, part of which has been contributed by Cabaniss himself. The notes, essential for an understanding of both introduction and text, are tucked away at the back of the book. This means that direct reference, from introduction to text, is impossible. Instead, one has to search the back of the book to discover where to look in the text. Whatever may be said about straightforward, popular histories, surely in a work of this kind the place for notes is at the foot of the page.

University of Hull

RICHARD VAUGHAN

A MEDITERRANEAN SOCIETY: THE JEWISH COMMUNITIES OF THE ARAB WORLD AS PORTRAYED IN THE DOCUMENTS OF THE CAIRO GENIZA. Volume I, ECONOMIC FOUNDATIONS. By S. D. Goitein. [Published under the auspices of the Near Eastern Center, University of California, Los Angeles.] (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. 1968. Pp. xxvi, 550. \$12.95.)

THIS book, by a distinguished historian and philologist, is based on the study of over six thousand documents in the Arabic language and in Hebrew characters. These and other documents were discovered at the end of the nineteenth century in the Genizah of an old Cairo synagogue. Following in the pioneering footsteps of Elkan N. Adler, Solomon Schechter, and Jacob Mann, the author displays superb erudition and skill in mastering the variegated and heterogeneous material now dispersed in libraries all over Europe and America. These Genizah documents "appear in a trickle during the second part of the tenth century and become a flood for the subsequent two and a half centuries," and they are a primary source for social and economic Islamic history during the Fatimid and Ayyubid periods. The book is thus about the Mediterranean scene during the High Middle Ages (969-1250).

There are a lengthy introduction, a historical survey, and discussion of such wide-ranging subjects as social classes, craftsmen, wage earners, main industries, agriculture, fisheries, professions for women, slaves and slave girls, merchants and their employees, business procedures, practices, commodities, trade routes and prices, money, banking and finance, travel and seafaring, commercial overland mail service, river traffic, the economic importance of seafaring, types of vessels, the organization of shipping, piracy, war, storage, and cost of transport. Appendixes comprise valuable details on dates, names, coins, weights and measures, exchange rate of gold and silver money, and industrial partnerships. There are a sizable scholarly apparatus and a general index, but no bibliography. A map of the Mediterranean in the eleventh century precedes the title page. This is a most readable book, written in nontechnical language; its beauty is

enhanced by photographs of handwritten Genizah letters, papers, and coins. A companion volume of translations of many of the Genizah texts is to follow. Through this rare combination of philological and historical methodological mastery of unique, highly illegible material, which has hitherto remained largely untapped, a new vista of research has opened for the student of history of Mediterranean countries during the Middle Ages. Historians will therefore anticipate the second and third volumes that are to be published later.

The author is to be complimented on his success in providing "a fairly complete inventory of the Geniza, thus conveying an idea of the topics and types of information to be found in the Geniza documents." It is an outstanding accomplishment.

New York, New York

HARRY L. POPPERS

GODIVA OF COVENTRY. By *Joan C. Lancaster*. With a chapter on the folk tradition of the story by *H. R. Ellis Davidson*. [The Coventry Papers, Number 1.] (Coventry: Coventry Corporation. 1967. Pp. ix, 114, 17 plates. 12s.6d.)

THE story of Lady Godiva's ride, naked on a white horse through Coventry market, is known to everyone as a piece of folklore. But how far is it folklore, and how far is it history? That is the question the authors of this little book set out to answer in the nine hundredth year since Godiva's death. Mr. Davidson uses his knowledge of folklore to show that the story is not characteristic of religious or magical folklore, but rather is similar to other stories with a historical basis, embroidered in the course of time. Miss Lancaster, who has written most of the book, places Lady Godiva in her historical setting and shows how the story grew and was popularized by public celebrations in modern times.

The story itself can be traced back to the thirteenth century, coincident with a romantic revival of interest in Anglo-Saxon history and persons, of which the canonization of Edward the Confessor was a product and the rebuilding of Westminster Abbey in his honor was the chief monument. But there is nothing impossible in the story that an eleventh-century earl would promise to free the market at Coventry of tolls if his wife would make a spectacle of herself. It is rather earthy, but the eleventh century was earthy. In any case, the story was told by monastic chroniclers because she was said to have made her ride unseen and accounted it a miracle. Only later was this aspect of the story explained by her order to the people to stay indoors and not to peep, leading to the further embellishment of Peeping Tom. The lengthy bibliography shows that the story remained chiefly in English possession until the last century but that it has now entered into the romantic heritage of all Western European civilization. Eighteen plates, chiefly of works of art inspired by the story, prove that the story is very much alive.

Unfortunately, from a historian's point of view, the book may add to the legend. Its hypothesis, that what Godiva won from her husband was freedom from heregeld, is based on the assumption that Coventry was Godiva's property in her husband's lifetime, for which there is no evidence; on the contrary, the evidence is strong that what she won was freedom from tolls in the market.

In compiling the genealogy of Godiva the latest and best secondary sources have not been used, and some blunders have been made, especially in regard to Lucy, countess of Chester. The currency of the story in the twelfth century is moot, for Roger of Wendover wrote his version, the earliest extant, in the thirteenth century. But these are minor blemishes in an interesting contribution both to the history of eleventh-century England and to the folklore of modern Europe.

University of Connecticut

FRED A. CAZEL, JR.

THE LETTERS OF PETER THE VENERABLE. In two volumes. Edited, with an introduction and notes, by *Giles Constable*. [Harvard Historical Studies, Number 78.] (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press. 1967. Pp. x, 450; vi, 427. \$35.00 the set.)

As abbot of Cluny from 1122 to 1156, Peter the Venerable corresponded with many private and public figures, some of them great. Certain of the letters sent and received were grouped by Peter and his secretary into an epistolary collection, a recognized literary genre; as the collection grew and was revised, several redactions took shape and were copied. The final redaction, in a now-lost Cluny codex, was printed in 1522 (text *C*); it contained 197 letters. The first redaction, in a Douai manuscript (text *A*), included 110 letters; in between there were others, some represented by surviving codices. Several printed editions, including Migne's, derived at various removes from the *editio princeps* of 1522, have made the text generally available, but also corrupt; the present edition (in Volume I) is therefore welcome. The existence of a number of redactions, differing to be sure chiefly in point of completeness, posed a difficult problem for Mr. Constable. He might have reconstructed the original text of *C*, with significant variants noted in the apparatus; instead, he has chosen to follow *A* as far as it goes, *C* for the rest, with variants noted according to a system that allows the useful to mingle with the otiose. This defect, if it is one, is not serious enough to affect the value of the edition, which is complete, except for three long letters that are really tractates (*Contra Petrobrusianos*, *Contra Iudaeos*, *Contra eos qui dicunt*) and will shortly be edited by others.

The second volume includes a useful study of medieval letter writing and epistolary collection, a chapter on the text tradition, historical and bibliographical notes to the letters, and a series of miscellaneous appendixes devoted to episodes of Peter's life, special problems of identification and dating, and background information about Cluny and other foundations. There are also guides for the reader: a statement and defense of the principles of the edition, indexes, a concordance with earlier editions, and a map. All in all these two volumes are impressive embodiments of much hard work, guided by an admirable breadth of learning judiciously applied.

University of Washington

HOWARD KAMINSKY

BYZANTIUM CONFRONTS THE WEST, 1180-1204. By *Charles M. Brand*. (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press. 1968. Pp. x, 394. \$12.50.)

THE period between the death of Manuel I in 1180 and the capture of Constantinople in 1204 by the crusaders no doubt marks the beginning of the definite

disintegration of the Byzantine Empire. The principal events and the salient features of the internal situation of the Empire during that period are well known. Cognasso devoted a monograph to the political struggle that followed the death of Manuel and another one to the reign of Isaac II. Danstrup has examined the internal policy of Andronicus I, while Diehl has drawn a brilliant portrait of the same Emperor. Chalandon and others have described in detail the Norman expedition against the Empire in 1185. The policy of Pope Innocent III toward Byzantium has been repeatedly discussed. The conditions of Attica during this period have been analyzed more than once. The loss of Cyprus and the revival of the Bulgarian Empire have been treated in detail as has Frederick Barbarossa's crusade, the relations of Henry VI to the Empire, and, of course, the Fourth Crusade. Brand's book, however, is the first attempt to treat the period as a unit and to treat it in detail on the basis of a thorough examination of the sources. It is more extensive in its coverage than the title implies, and it may be best described as a study of the Byzantine Empire from 1180 to its destruction by the crusaders in 1202. Of the twelve chapters that compose it, five relate to the Byzantine Empire itself; seven to its relations with the West. The number of pages devoted to the Empire far exceeds those devoted to relations with the West, however.

This is a good book, but in one important respect it is a little disappointing. In omitting any discussion of the problem of the diversion of the Fourth Crusade, Brand may have heeded the plea made by a distinguished scholar years ago that scholarship has more important things to do than to discuss indefinitely a problem that is in fact insoluble. The problem, however, is not without interest, and a discussion of it is by no means useless. That the diversion of the Fourth Crusade was a premeditated affair cannot be asserted as a fact, but the basis for the suspicion that it was a fact is strong indeed. I would have liked to see Brand express himself on the matter. The short appendix he devotes to the date of Prince Alexius' arrival in the West, which, of course, bears on the problem, is not enough.

Rutgers University, New Brunswick

PETER CHARANIS

A HISTORY OF MEDIEVAL IRELAND. By *A. J. Otway-Ruthven*. With an introduction by *Kathleen Hughes*. (New York: Barnes and Noble. 1968. Pp. xv, 454. \$10.00.)

THIS long-needed and impressive book supersedes at every point the only other general account, that of Edmund Curtis (1923; 2d ed., 1938). Its greatest value lies in incorporating the results of recent important work by a number of scholars, notably Richardson and Sayles, J. F. Lydon, and, most importantly, Professor Otway-Ruthven herself. Most of the book is a detailed political narrative; it inevitably becomes laborious at times, but on the whole it provides a clear and reliable guide to the tangle of Anglo-Irish politics, especially in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. It is enlivened by the author's fresh and sensible remarks on a host of matters, from the spirit and purposes of the Statutes of Kilkenny to the supposed "degeneracy" of the Anglo-Irish lords. She puts particular emphasis on the constant financial difficulties of the local government, which began with

the demands made on Irish resources by Edward I and Edward II for their other adventures, in Scotland and on the Continent. Later kings displayed intermittent interest in Ireland, but their efforts to recoup authority required far more consistency of policy and personnel than they were able or willing to provide. These points are most clearly reflected in the change from the thirteenth-century justiciar as royal alter ego to the fifteenth-century lieutenant as glorified mercenary captain, trying to re-create royal authority by force but undercut by local rivalries and by the failure of the crown to follow through with additional supplies. Clearly, the colonists were on the defensive from the late thirteenth century; this was exacerbated by partition and absenteeism, but more significant was the fact that Anglo-Irish lords, in the absence of effective centralized control, accommodated themselves to native patterns of warfare and self-help and sought to cut their own losses through indentures or other agreements with Irish chieftains.

The narrative is broken by three analytical chapters on social organization, the Church, and the structure of government. These are handled with characteristic sureness of touch, although at times clarity is blurred by reference to persons or events not yet covered in the narrative. The chapters are, nevertheless, full of illuminating and suggestive remarks: colonization below the level of the tenants in chief as part of the Pan-European phenomenon responding to (and allowing) rapid demographic growth; the spread of the parish system; the comparative constitutional positions of the Anglo-Irish lords and the marchers of Wales. The section on the Church is perhaps less satisfying than the others for it confines itself to institutional structure and makes little mention of such things as monastic education or popular piety. This reflects the fact that, as the author herself states, an "infinity of work" remains to be done on these and on many other subjects, including almost all aspects of Gaelic Ireland. There is an excellent introductory chapter by Kathleen Hughes on early Irish tribal organization, the spread of Christianity, and the segmentation of political power. These lines of approach need to be applied to the postconquest period as well, for, without them, medieval Ireland can only be treated from the viewpoint of the colonists. This, however, in no way detracts from the intent and the solid achievement of Otway-Ruthven's book; within its limits, it will unquestionably stand as the definitive treatment of its subject.

Case Western Reserve University

MICHAEL ALTSCHUL

THE CARTULARY OF DALE ABBEY. Edited, with an introduction, by *Avrom Saltman*. [Historical Manuscripts Commission, JP 11.] (London: H.M. Stationery Office; distrib. by British Information Service, New York. 1967. Pp. 423. \$21.00 postpaid.)

AFTER the failure of three earlier attempts to settle canons in southeast Derbyshire, Dale Abbey was successfully established about 1200 with the arrival of Premonstratensian canons from Newhouse Abbey in Lincolnshire, the first English house of White Canons. Dale is the only Premonstratensian abbey for which a contemporary chronicle of its founding exists. The cartulary adds little to this account since with few exceptions all the charters are of the thirteenth century,

almost no twelfth-century ones having survived. Dale, as the cartulary makes clear, was and remained an abbey of modest endowment, and it seems evident that the earlier efforts to found a house of canons failed because of insufficient income. The introduction sketches the origins and foundation of the abbey and then gives a genealogy of the two families primarily responsible for adequately endowing this fourth group of canons. There is a convenient résumé of the charters by areas, most of them concerned with holdings in the counties of Derby and Nottingham. Since Dale was founded about 1200, after the enthusiasm for giving parish churches to canons had declined, it is not surprising that the canons received only one church and that most of their revenues came from rents and services. Some consideration is given to social and economic characteristics of the locality as revealed by the charters, the most interesting being a discussion of the practice of substituting the abbey as a feudal tenant. While the lords, indeed, could not resist this substitution before the statutes of mortmain and *Quia Emptores*, the cartulary shows that they could force the canons to pay before they allowed entry.

The cartulary is a valuable addition to sources for local historians. The editor has markedly increased its value by his inclusion of supplementary documents from other sources and by his use of the original texts of the charters wherever possible, with differences from the cartulary copies indicated in footnotes.

Kenyon College

ROBERT L. BAKER

PARIS AND OXFORD UNIVERSITIES IN THE THIRTEENTH AND FOURTEENTH CENTURIES: AN INSTITUTIONAL AND INTELLECTUAL HISTORY. By *Gordon Leff*. [New Dimensions in History. Essays in Comparative History.] (New York: John Wiley and Sons. 1968. Pp. viii, 331. \$3.50.)

THIS study is a fine example of well-known material handled with a sure and subtle touch. The comparative examination of these two outstanding studia highlights and places in meaningful juxtaposition familiar elements. It lends novelty to the evaluation of traditional facts, while making vivid and clear the author's carefully resolved conclusions. Leff has complete command of the new material that has appeared since Rashdall and D'Irsay published their basic surveys of university life. He has also gone back to the major printed sources, a procedure that permits perspicacious judgment of the secondary works. If he disagrees fundamentally on certain points with Rashdall, he is equally quizzical of Rashdall's editors. It is at least of passing interest to note how much American scholars have contributed to our knowledge of Paris and Oxford and to observe Leff's acknowledged dependence on the studies of Paetow, Haskins, Kibre, Post, Gabriel, and other American writers.

The medieval universities were set apart because they were centers in the pursuit of learning where knowledge was professionalized and not a mere extension of the Church. Leff insists on the international character of Paris, the real center of European learning and intelligence. It was strategically situated, but, unlike Oxford, lived in the shadow of royal and diocesan authority. If never so important as Paris, Oxford enjoyed greater freedom. It had no king or bishop

too near at hand. It was, however, local rather than international in character, and this isolation was often advantageous. In Part One of his study Leff surveys the institutional and academic aspects of life in both institutions. He is fine in delineating the growth, nature, and mentalities of the nations and the faculties at Paris, a procedure essential for understanding what became an inevitable contest between the arts faculty and the theologians. Even seasoned scholars will read with profit and enjoyment the author's analysis of the struggle between the university and the friars in Paris. Many problems that have not always been fully comprehended are cogently presented in this section. In examining internal developments of the universities, proper attention is given to the development of the nations and the rector, questions pertaining to benefices and fees, the position of the colleges, and the important question of university rights and privileges.

Part Two of this book is a perceptive study in medieval intellectual history. Possibly the most important, and certainly for many the most interesting, pages of this section deal with the impact of Aristotle on medieval university minds. "This search for new learning—or rather rediscovery of the old and unknown—was one of the most remarkable episodes of the Middle Ages. It deserves to be put in the forefront of the historical events of the epoch. . . ." The Aristotelian impact on the schools was shattering, culminating in the condemnation of 1277 with the reaffirmation of theology as the queen of the sciences, the eclipse of Thomism, and the rise of Ockhamism (with its challenge to both theology and metaphysics). Leff considers at some length the implications of mendicant poverty and evaluates the brilliant work of Grosseteste and the Oxford school of the thirteenth century. Seven interesting but poorly reproduced illustrations are scattered through the book. Though these are identified as to subject, it is regrettable that no indications of their origins are given. This book is without question a major contribution to university studies.

Northwestern University

GRAY C. BOYCE

HERESY IN THE LATER MIDDLE AGES: THE RELATION OF
HETERODOXY TO DISSENT C. 1250–C. 1450. In two volumes. By
Gordon Leff. (New York: Barnes and Noble. 1967. Pp. x, 407; v, 411–800.
\$15.00 the set.)

GORDON Leff has set himself a major task: a comprehensive study of later medieval heresy on a scale not attempted since Lea. He operates, moreover, with a conceptual model. He regards the long procession of dissident movements from the Spiritual Franciscans to the Hussites as an essentially logical progression from heterodoxy through heresy to sectarianism, a process made inevitable by the overriding rigidity of medieval society.

In his first volume Leff has a sure touch. He is scrupulously exact in his use of sources, he has mastered the literature, and his judgments of major figures are eminently sane. As a prominent example of his technique, one might cite his speculations on the real nature of the controversial heresy of the free spirit. He first carefully isolates it from the surrounding corpus of Beghard and Beguine

doctrine and then proceeds to argue most convincingly that the free spirit was not doctrinal in nature, but was characterized rather by an internationalization of the newly popular Neoplatonism, thus no more than a sometimes vague state of mind.

The second volume is devoted to an equally painstaking examination of the increasingly politically oriented heterodox movements of the fourteenth century and to the eventual outbreak of a religious revolution. Here there are arguments, perhaps more, shadings, that will not meet with universal agreement. It may be true that Marsilius of Padua was not "a calculating exponent of *raison d'état*" but rather a "Christian moralist outraged by the abuses within the Church"; that Wyclif and his opponents were more concerned with theological than with sociopolitical questions; and that Lollardry was essentially an aberration which, in its later and more radical phase, Wyclif himself would have disowned. But one may still wonder whether the rather neat distinction between learned and popular heresy that Leff makes always took the form of a politicization of initially theological opinions by those unable to follow their subtleties. This question deserves to be raised, particularly with reference to Leff's treatment of the Hussite movement. Although he is very careful to establish the native roots of Hussitism, and to distinguish it from Lollardry, he for the most part emphasizes its religious and national character to the detriment of its social moments. This may well be the result of a not entirely felicitous choice of sources. On the whole, Leff follows the older literature in Western languages here and does not make use of more recent Czech work. As Howard Kaminsky has lately demonstrated, questions of ideological *parti pris* aside, there is a deep-seated element of social radicalism in the Hussite revolution and among some of its principal leaders.

But this last should not detract from the genuine merit of Leff's book. He has produced a remarkable synthesis and established the actual nature of relationships that are frequently assumed without close investigation. This is an important book.

Colorado College

PAUL P. BERNARD

EARLY VENETIAN LEGISLATION ON AMBASSADORS. By Donald E. Queller. [Travaux d'Humanisme et Renaissance, Number 88.] (Geneva: Librairie Droz. 1966. Pp. 149.)

STUDENTS of the history of diplomacy as well as students of the history of Venice will find this book of great interest. It is divided in two parts. The second part presents previously unpublished archival source material about the development of Venetian diplomatic institutions, beginning with a document from the year 1268 and ending with documents from 1500. The first part might be characterized as a very lengthy introduction evaluating the material published in the second part. This introduction does not amount to a survey of the history of Venetian diplomacy in the *trecento* and the *quattrocento*; this the author did not intend. He is aware that, because of the fires that have destroyed parts of the Venetian archives and because of the dispersal of documents on diplomatic

administration among a great variety of fields, there is no guarantee that his source material is complete. Nevertheless, many significant facts emerge from the author's analysis of his documents.

Expenses for diplomatic purposes consumed most of the Commune's money. Thus, much of the Venetian diplomatic legislation consisted in regulations intended to keep expenses down and to force exact bookkeeping and accounting on Venetian diplomats. In 1466 the Senate even passed a law that the author describes as "significant of a sweeping change coming over diplomatic administration and making a sharp contrast between the medieval and modern diplomatic machinery": the law forbade the Venetian orators or *nuncii* to receive expenses either in money or in kind from the court where they were accredited. The Venetian patricians showed a limited inclination toward selfless political service. Because ambassadors received unsatisfactory payment, the Venetian nobility used every possible means to avoid being sent abroad, and, if they could not escape office, they tried to combine diplomatic service with private business. The material from the *trecento* and *quattrocento* gives little indication of a particular excellence of Venetian diplomacy. A law of 1268 provided that on their return from a mission abroad ambassadors must make a written report; there is, therefore, a long tradition behind the much-admired *relazioni* of the Venetian diplomats. The study of the early development of Venetian diplomatic institutions also provides a striking example of how, in the later fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, political leadership gradually shifted from the Great Council to the Senate.

Briefly, this is a valuable book because it penetrates beyond the Venetian myth to the concrete working of the Venetian government machinery.

Institute for Advanced Study

FELIX GILBERT

A MEDIEVAL SOCIETY: THE WEST MIDLANDS AT THE END OF THE THIRTEENTH CENTURY. By R. H. Hilton. (New York: John Wiley and Sons; New York: Humanities Press. [1967.] Pp. x, 305. \$8.00.)

THE medieval western Midlands comprised the counties of Gloucester, Worcester, and Warwick, once politically combined as the Anglo-Saxon kingdom of Hwicce, ecclesiastically almost coterminous with the diocese of Worcester, and geographically joined by the Severn and Avon Rivers. Professor Hilton considers the reign of Edward I a period of stability, with Western European expansion reaching its limits and England at peace after the baronial wars of the thirteenth century. The documentary sources used for this description of western Midland society reveal conditions and relationships as they in fact existed and, in doing so, show that Edward's legislative and military activities had little direct effect. The most striking result of "looking from the bottom upward" rather than "from on high," as Hilton expresses it, is the discovery that, in both rural and urban local affairs, the local landholders, not the King, were dominant.

The book begins with a discussion of the powers and possessions of the lay and ecclesiastical lords, the knights, and the lower clergy. Then follows a particularly full account of the peasants: legal and economic differences among them, their holdings, their obligations, their activities in their village communities, and

even their houses, their chattels, and their diet. Considerably less attention is given to the townsmen, presumably because too few sources survive. The emphasis is on trade and industry, including rural industry. The cursory survey of town life is largely limited to discussing the degree of self-government in the chief towns and the part played by merchants in town affairs. The last chapter, on social control, summarizes the evidence concerning the power of the landholding class, including proof of the King's inability to exercise effective control even over his forests. It concludes with some examples of the violence found in the society and a consideration of the clergy's failure to curb it.

This work, which the author describes as setting the stage for a future study of changes in this society during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, is an admirable synthesis of sources and studies. It demonstrates clearly that, important as Edward's legislative and parliamentary developments were, their effects were hardly noticeable in the lives of most men. It is also a book that can be profitably used by the beginning student since the unfamiliar, whether in words or conditions, is always defined or explained.

Kenyon College

ROBERT L. BAKER

DE GESTIS CONCILII BASILIENSIS COMMENTARIORVM LIBRI II.

By *Aeneas Sylvius Piccolominus (Pius II)*. Edited and translated by *Denys Hay* and *W. K. Smith*. [Oxford Medieval Texts.] (New York: Oxford University Press. 1967. Pp. xxxviii, 268. \$8.80.)

THIS is an excellent critical edition and translation of Aeneas Sylvius' *Commentaries on the Proceedings of the Council of Basel*, with a useful introduction by Professor Hay. No history, this, if we apply classical or early Renaissance canons for this genre. The future pope (Pius II) announces in his preface that he intends to give an account of the proceedings of the long-suffering, long-sitting Council of Basel. Instead, he concerns himself with the conciliar discussions of the year 1439. Book One covers some of the debates held just before the deposition of Eugenius IV, whereas the next book treats the election of the antipope, Felix V. (The remote possibility exists that there was a middle book, now lost, dealing with intervening events.) Aeneas concentrates upon the world of the spoken word, and his narrative unfolds through the grace and gracelessness of the orators. Here we have orations pro and contra, with appropriate editorial asides as to the motives and alignments of the speakers. No aesthetic blend of public message and private personality is proffered. The interest of the author is in the word per se, and, frequently, this enthusiasm is not misplaced. The value of these commentaries does not rest in the portrayal of the tired activity of a council that only four years before had risen to cruel greatness. At that time the members had reformed the *Curia*, abolished annates and chancery fees, while declaring *Sacrosancte* (conciliar supremacy) an article of faith. Instead, these commentaries present a rhetoric of ecclesiastical discourse redolent with Ciceronianism. The fathers are enjoined to recall the sacrifice on Thermopylae as well as on Calvary. Aeneas was himself a notable orator who had successfully addressed the council earlier, inviting them to meet next in his natal city Siena. His confidence is in the spoken word, and he seeks to make literature

out of a meeting of an ecclesiastical council—no easy task. The year 1439 is one of "spiritual contest"; prelates come to resemble Achilles and Hector, and the historical analogue of the Trojan War or even the Catilinarian conspiracy tumbles to mind. Antiquity furnishes image and metaphor but not historical ordering principles.

Such borrowing lends a dignified frame to proceedings that Aeneas realizes are sometimes shoddy and even obscene. The future pope understands that men possessed of "more soul than eloquence" are hopelessly disadvantaged. He himself approaches his fortieth year without patrimony or prospects. His friends have chided him about his devotion to the muses of poetry and history, and so he resolves to put aside these frivolous pastimes and get on with the serious business of career building. But, like the proverbial moth before the flame, this humanist-jurist must write. To those who would understand *quattrocento* spirituality, this text provides language and syntax worthy of literary analysis and emotional exploration. We know so much about conciliar theory and the politics of Basel, but so little of the personalities and the rhetorical masks they felt were required.

University of Rochester

MARVIN B. BECKER

LETTERS FROM THE ENGLISH ABBOTS TO THE CHAPTER AT CÎTEAUX, 1442-1521. Edited by C. H. Talbot. [Camden Fourth Series, Volume IV.] (London: Royal Historical Society. 1967. Pp. 282.)

THIS volume presents in printed form the extant letters from the abbots of the Cistercian houses in England to their superior, the abbot of Cîteaux, during the years from 1442 to 1521. Of the many more that are missing, the author believes most of these were destroyed in 1636 by the army of Emperor Ferdinand II that pillaged the abbey of Cîteaux. Others disappeared during the period of the French Revolution. No responses from the abbot of Cîteaux have survived, which leads one to suspect deliberate destruction by Henry VIII's commissioners lest these and other documents disprove, at least to subsequent generations, the validity of the charges brought against the English Cistercians.

The editor confesses that the "content of the letters is in some way less revealing than we should have liked." He traces this lack of information to the preference of abbots to entrust important matters to messengers who could be depended upon to keep them confidential, when this was advisable, or to discuss them at greater length than would be practical by letter. A more obvious reason for the failure of these letters to reveal more information is their small number. Only 140 have survived, and almost 75 per cent of these deal with the years between 1479 and 1500.

What information the letters do provide the editor considers of "immense importance" since this is "the sole material we have for judging the state of the Cistercians in England during the fifteenth century. . . ." That this is an overstatement is evident from Jeremiah O'Sullivan's treatment of England in *Cistercian Settlements in Wales and Monmouthshire, 1140-1540* (1947). These letters do, however, relieve the generally gloomy picture that other sources paint of the condition of the English Cistercians, and they make it clear "that most of the houses, though depleted in numbers and burdened with debts, sheltered many

men of the highest ideals. . . ." The editor could have enhanced the value of the letters by providing more informative introductions. His long index will aid the scholar interested in identifying proper names.

Pennsylvania State University

JOSEPH DAHMUS

MARIE DE BOURGOGNE: TÉMOIN D'UNE GRANDE ENTERPRISE
À L'ORIGINE DES NATIONALITÉS EUROPÉENNES. By *Yves Cazaux*.
(Paris: Éditions Albin Michel. 1967. Pp. 374. 24 fr.)

For those concerned with the dynastic politics of late medieval Europe, the career of Mary of Burgundy has an understandable interest. Heiress of the last Valois duke, Charles the Bold, wife of Maximilian of Habsburg, and grandmother of the future Charles V, she is perhaps archetypal of that system of family alliances so characteristic of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. One welcomes, therefore, this new study of her life.

Cazaux's book will, nevertheless, disappoint scholars, for it is designed more for the general reader than for the specialist. Indeed, Cazaux himself is not a historian; rather, his career has been spent in the French governmental bureaucracy. It is not surprising, then, that his approach should frequently betray the outlook and attitudes of the amateur. He has an especial fondness for the purely narrative and the colorful detail. While the institutional and financial structure of the Burgundian state hold little interest for him, he lovingly describes such things as the room where Mary was born (hung in green satin and silk, with two beds and a chair embroidered in gold) and the condition of Charles the Bold's body when discovered on the field at Nancy (nude, mutilated, and frozen to the ground). Since there are neither footnotes nor bibliography, the sources for these little tidbits remain obscure.

Within the limits Cazaux set for himself, however, he has done an adequate job. The narrative is detailed and generally accurate, and Mary's skill in countering the ambitions of Louis XI is made everywhere apparent. If Cazaux does not succeed in answering the questions that a scholar might raise, that was not his intention; hence, he should not be judged too harshly for his silence.

Dartmouth College

CHARLES T. WOOD

Modern Europe

THE CAMBRIDGE ECONOMIC HISTORY OF EUROPE. Volume IV, THE
ECONOMY OF EXPANDING EUROPE IN THE SIXTEENTH AND
SEVENTEENTH CENTURIES. Edited by *E. E. Rich* and *C. H. Wilson*.
(New York: Cambridge University Press. 1967. Pp. xxxii, 642. \$14.50.)

THIS is the first of two projected volumes on the creation and nature of the world economy that was brought into being and given a lasting coherence by the European discovery of the world. It is frankly dedicated to the proposition that the resulting world economy was essentially as European in its institutions and concerns as it was in its origins.

A chapter on demographic history by Karl F. Helleiner is the first synthesis offered. Based on the standard works of Karl J. Beloch, Günther Franz, Albert

Girard, and Roger Mols, it summarizes for the first time in English the latest judgments on the effects of the Black Death upon population decline in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, on the inexplicable demographic advance of the sixteenth century, on the dramatic population losses suffered by seventeenth-century Germany and Spain, and on the background and course of the "vital revolution" of the eighteenth century. While Helleiner discourses on certain of the causal factors behind population change, he pays too little attention, in my view, to the possible relationships in the eighteenth century between an increased and stable food supply and population advance.

A. Rupert Hall next writes learnedly on the relationships between theoretical science and technology. He concludes that in the main they evolved independently until the latter half of the eighteenth century when an effective liaison between the two helped to produce inventions fundamental to the Industrial Revolution. He considers that the empirical technician was socially more useful through the inventions and techniques that he contributed to business, industry, and trade than was the rationalistic scientist. While it might seem farfetched to include an essay on the history of science in this volume, it should be welcomed as a useful extension of the definition of "economy."

In his chapter on transport and trade routes, J. H. Parry gives the best general statement in English, based on Braudel's superb work, on the Mediterranean as a trading center. In discussing the Northern European commerce, he makes incisive comparisons between the products and problems of the northern and southern regions. Parry has an unequalled and detailed knowledge of the history of sailing vessels and other means of transport, and his treatment of this subject will clarify many technical problems that have long been ignored or misunderstood by both the general historian and the specialists on expansion.

European economic institutions, especially the chartered companies, are the subject of the chapter by E. L. J. Coornaert. His presentation, in contrast to that usually advanced by English writers, stresses the decline of Italy rather than the rise of the Atlantic seaboard states as one of the most fundamental results of the discoveries. He emphasizes particularly the relationships of the chartered companies to their feudal backgrounds. Their charters, medieval documents in themselves, required that they accept the suzerainty of the state and fulfill obligations as vassals; they also empowered the companies to grant fiefs. In analyzing the membership of the chartered companies he throws new light on the role of the aristocracy in their foundation and administration, and he also makes some clear distinctions between the regulated companies and the joint-stock companies that should illuminate this complex problem for future writers of textbooks.

G. B. Masfield provides a tantalizing account of the introductions into Europe, Africa, and Asia of crops and livestock from the New World. He also makes a gallant effort to examine the economic effects of crop dispersal upon European life. But nowhere in this chapter, or indeed in this book, is the effect of the introduction of new crops related to the "vital revolution," except coincidentally. It might be worthwhile in the next volume to study comparatively the effect of an increased and stable food supply upon the population advances experienced by Europe and China during the eighteenth century.

E. E. Rich examines problems of colonial settlement and labor. He correctly

asserts that population pressure was not a significant factor in early colonization. He is especially good on the slave trade and on the role of slave labor in the economic and social development of the Americas. In considering Asia he concerns himself primarily with the Spice Islands and Java, and he has but little to say about the Spanish Philippines, a colony where an altogether unique series of labor problems began to appear late in the sixteenth century.

F. P. Braudel and F. Spooner collaborated to write a survey of price history from 1450 to 1750. Spooner provided the calculations and the thirty-five maps, graphs, and charts; Braudel wrote the interpretive text. The dean of the *Annales* school begins with a sermon to the heirs of Georg Wiebe, François Simiand, and Earl J. Hamilton, which advises them to refrain from bickering about statistical analysis and detail and to address themselves to the problem of making price history more meaningful for general interpretation. Aside from presenting a brilliant summary of the relationship between currency and price trends, Braudel gives the complete historiography of his subject, an area that is neither well understood nor sufficiently appreciated by nonspecialists.

The final chapter, by C. H. Wilson, treats trade, society, and the state. The author makes good sense in contemporary terms of the rationale behind bullionism and mercantilism, subjects that have been debated from Adam Smith to Keynes. Wilson, unlike many commentators and critics, has read the mercantilist writers himself. He successfully rehabilitates the reputation of Thomas Mun and other early English authors who have too often suffered from the unjust attacks of critics. From study of writings, edicts, and contemporary economic practices, he pictures the mercantilists as being neither malevolent nor naïve. Rather, he sees them as serious men who believed that material change could be brought about by organizing human energy rationally and with due regard for the local circumstances, the times, and the commonweal.

Each chapter in this volume stands on its own as a fine synthesis of its subject. All the writers range over the period from the sixteenth to the eighteenth century, thus going far beyond the chronological limits set by the title. Too much concentration on European relations with America leads to a slighting of the role of Asia. A summary chapter that relates the subjects explored here to one another is badly needed; let us hope that the editors will supply one as a conclusion to their second volume.

University of Delhi

DONALD F. LACH

INDIVIDU ET SOCIÉTÉ À LA RENAISSANCE. COLLOQUE INTERNATIONAL TENU EN AVRIL 1965 SOUS LES AUSPICES DE LA FÉDÉRATION INTERNATIONALE DES INSTITUTS ET SOCIÉTÉS POUR L'ÉTUDE DE LA RENAISSANCE ET DU MINISTÈRE DE L'ÉDUCATION NATIONALE ET DE LA CULTURE DE BELGIQUE. [Université Libre de Bruxelles, Travaux de l'Institut pour l'étude de la Renaissance et de l'Humanisme, Volume III.] (Brussels: Presses Universitaires de Bruxelles. 1967. Pp. 303. 320 fr. B.)

HISTORY journals may need some release from the strict imposition of positivistic models of demonstration upon every type of investigation. Also, some profit

might accrue from challenging the notion that each inquiry must say something new on a topic, no matter how trivial, before meriting publication. There is a need for periodicals devoted to research in progress and emerging ideas. To exchange insights and hunches about the past might even dispel some of the pomposity of scholarship and restore the joy. To secure a place for the essayist, the amateur, and, above all, the young scholar, the man of new directions or even forgotten paths is essential. Sharing our doubts and misgivings might well establish the values in uncertainty.

Over the last fifteen years French and Italian publications have recorded many open-ended discussions on medieval and Renaissance themes. This volume, an outstanding example of this genre, concentrates upon problems of sixteenth-century history and thought. The papers and the ample discussion of them resulted from an international meeting held in Belgium in April 1965; the contributions, both formal and informal, are of the highest quality. Disagreement spurs the reader to seek his own answers. The range of the presentations includes a polemical piece by Jean-Claude Margolin on Dürer (so frequently the evidence of art history is ignored by Renaissance specialists); a paper by Hyacinthe Brabant on "L'homme malade dans la société de la Renaissance" (syphilis, of course); and two massive studies by Pierre Mesnard and Roland Mousnier on aspects of humanism. Claude Backvis' work on Poland in the Renaissance is intriguing for the possibilities it suggests, as are the contributions of Guido Kisch, Hans Thieme, and John Gilissen on the law and lawyers. But it is the record of discussions held on each of three days that deserves the highest tribute Renaissance scholars can pay to the Renaissance—imitation. *Une petite remarque* is frequently more telling than the grand discourse. The quotation of Henri Busson used by one of the commentators in opposition to the august opinion of Lucien Febvre on the spiritual milieu of the sixteenth century is worth the price of admission: "L'incrédulité est aussi naturelle à l'homme que la tuberculose." The characterization of Erasmus as a "mystique légère," expressions of disdain for Aretino, and frank admissions of ignorance are refreshing. Has anyone taken Wilhelm Fraenger's criticism seriously for years? What fun to be made angry or to hear that a historian is an "unbeliever" who goes to church nowadays to see the art. There is hope for us all.

University of Rochester

MARVIN B. BECKER

THE RUTTERS OF THE SEA: THE SAILING DIRECTIONS OF PIERRE GARCIE. A STUDY OF THE FIRST ENGLISH AND FRENCH PRINTED SAILING DIRECTIONS, WITH FACSIMILE REPRODUCTIONS. By D. W. Waters. (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press. 1967. Pp. xv, 478. \$25.00.)

RUTTERS (a corruption of the French *routiers*) were books of sailing directions that guided British mariners in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Sailing directions were one of the cornerstones on which the science of navigation was built, and they played a significant role in nurturing the sea power that helped to establish and maintain those great European colonial empires so recently liquidated.

The origins of rutters can be traced, somewhat tenuously, to the peripli that were used by the pilots of classical Greece in navigating the Mediterranean Sea. They evolved, more directly, from notes recorded by shipmasters and supplemented through discussions with other mariners in salty portside taverns. After printing was perfected, some of the compilations were issued in book format. That rutters, and other sailing directions, were needed is apparent from the many editions that were issued. Surviving copies of sixteenth- and seventeenth-century guides are exceedingly rare because, as the author of this volume observes, they were "compiled for practical use by men who were trading, fishing, or fighting in sailing ships on seas that were often wild and bitter."

The Rutters of the Sea includes facsimiles of three printed sailing directions and one manuscript; they are the earliest known French and English navigation guides. The *Rutter of the See* (1557) is presented first "since, from the point of view of the development of the art of navigation in England . . . [it] is of the greatest interest. . . . It is followed by *Le Routier de la Mer* [1502-10], and that by the text of the fifteenth-century English manuscript [1461-83]; the text of . . . *Le Grant Routier* [1521] comes last."

Admiral Waters, the author-editor of this large and handsome volume, is curator of navigation and astronomy at the National Maritime Museum, Greenwich, England. In an authoritative introduction and a series of appendixes he summarizes "the origins of sailing directions . . . , describe[s] how they were compiled in medieval times . . . , show[s] some of the directions which certainly have a common source, . . . compare[s] the arrangements of the sailing directions here printed with those in modern pilot books; clarif[ies] obscurities relating to depth, distance and direction caused by nautical techniques and terminologies of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries; explain[s] the object and scope of the glossary and its related chart of the area, and . . . outline[s] the medieval methods of determining and expressing time."

We are also indebted to Henry C. Taylor, who is interested in studying and collecting early sailing guides and directions. He supplied the originals for two of the facsimiles used in the book and supported its preparation and publication. For the benefit of scholars, Taylor notes in his foreword that "all my early navigation and Americana books either have been deeded to Yale University or will be willed to Yale, and the rutters referred to in this book will, therefore, be known as the Taylor-Yale copies."

Library of Congress

WALTER W. RISTOW

STORIOGRAFIA UMANISTICA E MONDO BIZANTINO. By *Agostino Pertusi*. [Istituto Siciliano di Studi Bizantini e Neoellenici. Quaderni, Number 5.] (Palermo: the Istituto. 1967. Pp. 128. L. 3,000.)

THIS volume, written by one of the foremost Byzantine historians, deals with the origins and development of the study of Byzantine history in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. It marks a significant advance over earlier books by Gerland and others because, for the period under consideration, the author makes a resolute, sustained, and successful attempt to see the development of Byzantine

historiography as part of general European intellectual history and to relate it to the great issues of the humanist period.

The factors that, according to Pertusi, explain the interest in Byzantine history in early modern Europe include: the Turkish danger, the discovery of the Greek and Byzantine worlds by the humanists, the incipient concern for world history, and the attention paid by reformers and counterreformers to the Eastern Church. He shows that, as late as the Italian *quattrocento*, Byzantine history was generally neglected because Italian humanist historians disliked the providential theme prevailing in Byzantine historiography, as well as the idea of empire that reminded them of the Northern European masters of Italy. In the North, the desire to strengthen imperial authority led humanists affected by the ideas of Erasmus, for example Cuspinianus, to use historical materials about Roman, Byzantine, and Western emperors to preach the reconquest of Constantinople from the Turks by the German emperor. It was an interest in German unity in the face of the Turkish danger that inspired the Fuggers to finance and Hieronymus Wolf to conceive of and begin work on the *Byzantinæ Historiæ Corpus* in 1562. In Germany the effects of this great enterprise remained limited to learned circles, but in Italy, profoundly affected by the spirit of the Renaissance and involved in the struggle against the Turks, translations, popularizations, and even dramatizations of Byzantine historical materials were published in rapid succession. The Counter Reformation then led to a new interest in the traditions of the Eastern Church in the spirit of the "positive theology" that was cultivated, especially in Jesuit circles, first in Italy and later in France. Under the patronage of education by French kings and because of Henry IV's anti-Turkish policies, Jesuits, notably those at the College of Clermont, played a leading role in editing new texts of Byzantine historians and in trying to demonstrate the harmony of Catholic dogma with Byzantine tradition. The crowning achievement of the French school was the great *Corpus Parisinum*, conceived, according to Pertusi, by J. M. Suarez rather than by Philip Labbe and published in thirty-two volumes between 1645 and 1711. The completion of this monumental task was due largely to the Benedictine scholars of Saint-Germain-des-Prés, especially to Ducange and Montfaucon. The Louvre edition also provided the impetus for the genealogical, numismatic, and topographical publications of Ducange. Pertusi's book concludes with a general evaluation of the progress made by Byzantine studies during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries—publication of the principal historical sources and development of the auxiliary disciplines—but it was not until the eighteenth century that general histories of the Byzantine Empire and civilization, notably those of Lebeau and Gibbon, were written.

This important contribution to the general intellectual history of early modern Europe should interest many historians. Specialists in Byzantine history will find in it an explanation of the origins of their field within the general framework of the political and intellectual situation of the humanist world, as well as both substantive and bibliographical information on the founders of their discipline.

University of California, Berkeley

PAUL J. ALEXANDER

DER REGENSBURGER KURFÜRSTENTAG VON 1636/1637. By *Heiner Haan*. [Schriftenreihe der Vereinigung zur Erforschung der Neueren Geschichte E. V., Number 3.] (Münster: Verlag Aschendorff. 1967. Pp. xix, 304. DM 54.)

THE electoral meeting that Emperor Ferdinand II called at Regensburg in 1636 to procure the election of his son, the King of Hungary, as King of Rome has significance beyond the immediate problems of imperial politics in the Thirty Years' War. Shortly before the meeting took place, the open entrance of France into the war in May 1635 had internationalized the conflict, while the Peace of Prague, concluded in the same month, seemed to prepare the way for a resolution of the religious and constitutional issues within the Empire. The time appeared opportune for an assertion of what Heiner Haan calls "the idea of Austrian Reason of State." Five Electors attended the meeting, including Saxony, who had just joined the Emperor's side (the archbishop of Trier was in imperial captivity and was excluded; the King of Bohemia was, of course, the very man for whose election the college was being convoked). Discussions among the Electors and their advisers, and negotiations between Electors and Emperor, covered the entire chain of issues that now defined the European and German struggle: relations with France, Sweden, England, and the Estates General of the Netherlands; problems arising from papal attempts to bring an end to the war, such as whether the *Curia* would negotiate with Protestant Estates (a point of importance after Prague); the question of amnesty (also acute in the light of Prague); military matters, including undermanned regiments, corrupt officers, lack of discipline, and spoliation of the population; the recognition of the college of Electors as agent of the Empire; and, of course, the election of the future Ferdinand III.

The outcome has, as stated by C. V. Wedgwood, usually been seen as "a decisive demonstration of imperial unity in Germany" and "the highest point of Austrian imperial power." When one looks at events in greater detail, however, he finds the interpretation often blurs. Haan's study, originally a Bonn dissertation under the direction of Max Braubach, attempts a sweeping reassessment of the generalization through an examination of all relevant archival and printed materials. The results oblige us to adopt a somewhat less positive view of Habsburg policy and its consequences. Hopes for achieving peace in Europe were frustrated, while negotiations with the English proved fruitless. If it had really been Ferdinand's object to convert the Empire into a true monarchy on the Spanish model, as claimed by Adam Wandruszka and Fritz Dickmann, the attempt was a failure. Ferdinand's own conduct at the meetings betrays no such ambition: "in confronting the Electors he acted hesitantly and seemed unsure of himself." Not only was Ferdinand dependent on the Electors on this occasion; the imperial concept itself was also lacking. "Imperial politics were carried on in the absence of any coherent principles of action." There was no trace of any design to make the crown the center of the Empire's will and purpose. The Electors, for their part, showed the usual reluctance to abandon their special interests in favor of a common constructive initiative when coping with the great external and internal questions facing the Empire, its territories, and its cities. It is, in other

words, the same old story, and Haan's new study documents it abundantly and tells it well.

Indiana University

GERALD STRAUSS

THE EXPANSION OF EUROPE IN THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY: OVERSEAS RIVALRY, DISCOVERY AND EXPLOITATION. By *Glendwr Williams*. (New York: Walker and Company. 1966. Pp. x, 309. \$6.50.)

Dr. Williams' specialized works on the Northwest Passage and on Anson's voyage have already contributed substantially to the recent, rapid advance in the study of European expansion during the eighteenth century. Having thus helped to make a general restatement of the subject necessary, he has now produced, and students and teachers at all levels will welcome the appearance of, a clear and compact account that successfully incorporates the findings of a wide range of modern research. Here, to cite only a few examples, they will find the modern and more convincing interpretation of Dupleix's career in India, an infinitely better treatment of Iberian America than would have been possible ten years ago, and, as might be expected, an expert chapter on the opening of the Pacific. The difficult problems of the peace negotiations of 1762-1763 and 1782-1783 are judiciously handled in the light of recent studies; modern views also help to set the abolitionist movement in its economic and political context. The book's arrangement is broadly chronological, and, as the author frankly admits, its perspective is European, with the emphasis falling decisively on the Anglo-French struggle for world power. This approach unifies the various themes and makes the book eminently readable, both because of the strong narrative current and the detailed treatment of the successive wars. Such an approach does not perhaps fully reflect the trend of modern work on eighteenth-century colonialism, and some readers may regret that Williams has not permitted himself any extensive discussion of the character of the colonial societies or of the economic and cultural interactions of Europe and the wider world. Such major topics are subordinated to the main account of imperial rivalries, as are the structural aspects of the colonial empires themselves. The book does, however, contain a description of the empires at the end of the seventeenth century and illuminating passages on mercantilism, sea power, and imperial administration.

Judged, as it should be, according to its intention, it is a reliable and thoughtful survey. The descriptive bibliography, arranged according to the chapters of the book, will be particularly useful for students, and both author and publishers are to be congratulated on the admirable quantity and quality of the illustrations.

University of Hull

K. R. ANDREWS

ZUM DEUTSCHEN RUSSLANDINTERESSE IM 19. JAHRHUNDERT: E. M. ARNDT UND VARNHAGEN VON ENSE. By *Günther Wiegand*. [Kieler historische Studien, Number 3.] (Stuttgart: Ernst Klett Verlag. 1967. Pp. 282. DM 43.)

Russia's important role in early nineteenth-century Europe naturally attracted the interests of Germans when their destiny was intertwined with their eastern

neighbor. The noted publicist Ernst Moritz Arndt was no exception. He initially used Russia as a minor vehicle of pet theories of race and history: the influence of the desire for seaports, the effect of climate, and the need to keep within "natural boundaries." Before 1811, Russia was to him an example of barbarism. Later, however, he increasingly saw it in the light of German *kleindeutsch* interests. During the wars of liberation he had his sole personal experience with Russia; for five months in 1812-1813 he was in the pay of Alexander I and saw the Tsar as the liberator of Europe. From the first Treaty of Paris Arndt's attitude changed, and it became bitterly hostile toward the end of his long life. None of these conclusions are surprising and, at best, deserve summary in an article. That the idiosyncratic Arndt's critique was "typical" of the educated of his time and "exemplary" of their view of Russia is asserted by Wiegand, but not proven.

Unlike Arndt, Karl August Varnhagen von Ense knew the language, but never visited Russia. As a promoter of its literature, he was more interested in the country and knew more of its inhabitants for a longer period of time. But why he, whose view of Russia was determined by his liberal and democratic preconceptions, is selected over others for a very brief comparison with Arndt is never made clear.

Wiegand has shown great industry in going through the varied published sources, and he often produces a shrewd *aperçu*. He was not, unfortunately, given sufficient editorial advice. For example, discussion of Arndt's views, the author's methodology, sources of Arndt's thought, his bibliography, and the historiography of Peter the Great follow one another helter-skelter; no attempt is made to distinguish what belongs in text, preface, footnotes, or appendices; quotations are often repeated within a page or two of one another; long lists of Russians Arndt met are given with little attempt to relate them to his ideas. The author's discursive style is not made more palatable by the frequent use of "I" and "We."

In short, this reworked dissertation has little to offer the scholar.

Duke University

FREDERIC B. M. HOLLYDAY

EUROPA E ITALIA NEL 1855-1856. By *Ennio Di Nolfo*. [Istituto per la Storia del Risorgimento Italiano. Series 2, Memorie. Volume XXV.] (Rome: the Istituto. 1967. Pp. xii, 543.)

THIS book will probably be recognized as the most authoritative and definitive study of the Italian question in European diplomacy for the Crimean War period. While it devotes 450 pages to just the two years of 1855 and 1856, it more than replaces Valsecchi's earlier excellent study of the *Alleanza di Crimea* because it carries the treatment into the war and beyond the peace congress and utilizes all the new European archival collections and published monographs of the last twenty years. Di Nolfo's elucidation of the policies and plans of Cavour and Napoleon III is particularly valuable. At this early stage Cavour was trying to feel his way toward a cautious and moderate policy for liberating Italy under Sardinian auspices. The author likewise discerns why Napoleon III wanted

national self-realization in Europe: he could thereby revise French boundaries of 1815 and remove Austrian influence in Italy. The theme naturally revolves around Cavour and his negotiation of the alliance, as well as his efforts to make Sardinia's voice heard during the war, in the peace preliminaries, and in the peace congress. Sardinia's influence rose and fell in inverse ratio to Austria's, and Cavour devised elaborate plans for territorial acquisitions in northern Italy and for reforms in the legations, only to have to settle finally for a congress session devoted to Italy and for ineffective protests to Rome and Naples. The overall story is not changed too much, but the new details and insights provided are invaluable. While Di Nolfo's interpretation is clearly pro-Italian and pro-Cavour, it is convincing in the light of the widely gathered evidence he uses. His thorough treatment of the views of each of the congress delegates on the Italian question is just one example of the many contributions made by this study. Everyone, even the Austrians and the French secretary of the congress, Benedetti, was critical and scornful of Walewski, the president of the congress. Cavour remarked: "Il est impossible d'avoir à faire à un ministre plus faux, plus léger, plus inepte que lui. Sa conduite au Congrès a révolté tout le monde. . . ."

The appendix contains fifty-three previously unpublished documents drawn from the official and private archives of four different countries. French quotations are not translated into Italian, but those in English and German are. There are two small disappointments in an otherwise outstanding historical work: there is no bibliography except in the scattered footnotes, and there is no initial list of his well-chosen documents in the appendix.

University of Pennsylvania

LYNN M. CASE

EUROPE, 1880-1945. By J. M. Roberts. [A General History of Europe.] (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston. 1967. Pp. xv, 575. \$7.95.)

THIS is the eleventh volume in a series, edited by Professor Denys Hay of the University of Edinburgh, that deals with the history of Europe since the decline of the ancient world. Not only does the book cover political affairs; it also surveys cultural attitudes and social changes, including such phenomena as films, radio, modern art, literature, and philosophy. These of necessity are brief presentations; they are at times little more than enumerations. The chapters dealing with economic matters, particularly problems of demography, are among the best. The author does not deal with the small states except as they impinge on the Great Powers since, so far as general trends are concerned, "their history recapitulates that of the major states." While not everyone will agree with the allotment of space, each author does have the privilege of writing his own book.

In a volume that at times becomes rather encyclopedic and then again abounds in generalizations, there are sure to be some debatable points. This work apparently is designed not only for the general reader but as a text. Should students not be given a word of explanation as to why the numerical wartime strength of the Russian Army was smaller than that of Germany? Were the Russians really surprised by the German lease of Kiao-Chow? Did Spain and Italy rank next in importance to Great Britain and France among the constitutional states

of Europe after 1880? "Björko was the outcome of impulse and sentiment," but there is no explanation of the incident. Germany cannot be classed as a constitutional state, but Bülow's "fall was the high-water mark of German parliamentarianism." There is no mention of the Serbian-Bulgarian alliance of 1904, and one would like to know more about the secret treaty between Austria and Bulgaria after the annexation crisis. Various points made by the author in regard to the outbreak of World War I provoke comment: Austria had no reason to believe that Italy would not come to its aid; Russia mobilized only those forces that were to be used in a war with Austria-Hungary; Germany encouraged Austria after the Serbian answer to the ultimatum had been received. Surely the occupation of the Ruhr was as much a defense of the peace settlement with arms as the incident at Chanak, which, by the way, is never adequately explained. Regarding Nazi Germany, is it accurate to say that the labor front did nothing or that the historic subdivisions of Germany were abolished in 1933? Five sentences suffice to cover the church struggle in Germany, which seems inadequate in view of the fact that the churches were the only organizations to resist successfully Hitler's *Gleichschaltung*. To write that "only in 1944 were some soldiers and a few relics of the Centre party to act against Hitler" seems indeed incredible.

The volume has helpful, brief chapter bibliographies, although many readers will question some of the choices and the evaluations. The eight maps are simple and clear; the one on page 317 needs revision as to "territories passing to states existing before 1914." The book presents in some cases novel points of view and good analyses, but it does not satisfy the needs of either of its audiences. It is not sprightly enough reading to fascinate the general reader, and as a text it assumes a wider knowledge than most undergraduates have.

Bowdoin College

E. C. HELMREICH

DIE PREUSSISCH-DEUTSCHE POLENPOLITIK, 1885/87: EINE STUDIE ZUR HERAUSBILDUNG DES IMPERIALISMUS IN DEUTSCHLAND.
By *Joachim Mai*. [Veröffentlichungen des Historischen Instituts der Ernst-Moritz-Arndt-Universität Greifswald, Number 1.] (Berlin: Rütten & Loening, 1962. Pp. 231. DM 12.)

MINORITY problems in the pre-1914 European empires attract perennial interest. They display the ironic aspect of nationalism as the basis of civic agreement: the oppressed minority and the "sovereign majority" appeal to the same political principle. This does not bother the East German author, whose Marxist-Leninist outlook enables him to consider the Polish national struggle simply a stage in the higher struggle for working-class emancipation.

Professor Mai concentrates on two episodes in German-Polish relations: the Prussian measures for expelling illegal Russo-Polish and Austro-Galician migrants in 1885-1886; and the background and immediate consequences of the Prussian land settlement law of April 26, 1886. This law authorized a royal commission to buy out Polish landowners in an effort to colonize Prussia's eastern provinces with more German settlers. Other anti-Polish measures enacted in 1886-1887 also come under brief scrutiny. These included school and language regulations

to ensure that a wholly German corps of teachers gave German-language instruction in all subjects, including religion. Supplementary ordinances strengthened the German bureaucracy by excluding Polish professional men (doctors, particularly) from public appointments, while a calculated increase in the number of circle administrations multiplied the resident German officeholders.

The narrative oscillates between crude Marxist-Leninist generalizations and absorbing details gleaned by patient research in four major archives. By overlooking the ideological banalities, an informed reader can profit from the details. Bismarck's compelling political interest, that is, his personal indifference to nationalistic motives, comes through clearly. It is also instructive to learn about his deliberate effort to subordinate the evangelical-Protestant aspects of the Prussian monarchy's struggle with its Polish subjects. And it becomes evident how Bismarck intensified the bureaucratic effort by shifting responsibility from the Ministry of Cults to the Ministry of the Interior. Police reports analyzed by the author also yield substantial information about the beginning of the Social Democratic movement in the eastern provinces, particularly in Posen.

These gleanings do not offset the major flaws. The author builds a false case by persistently overestimating the effectiveness of the Prussian government's repressive measures. Its colonization effort proved very disappointing, an outcome to which the author alludes but which he ignores in reaching his ideological conclusions. No hint is given that Germans living in the eastern provinces did not agree about the propriety of the land acquisition measures. Nothing is said about the gains registered by Polish townsmen as storekeepers and craftsmen. This omission is surprising since the author does survey Polish countermeasures—the savings societies, cooperatives, protest assemblies, and press campaigns. All were countermeasures save one, that being the solidarity assured by a common religion. These omissions, together with a persistent effort to form issues and events in an ideological mold, limit the book as history. At best it provides a gloss to be used selectively.

Hunter College

WILLIAM O. SHANAHAN

AN ECONOMIC HISTORY OF WESTERN EUROPE, 1945-1964. By M. M. Postan. (London: Methuen and Company; distrib. by Barnes and Noble, New York. 1967. Pp. 382. Cloth \$7.50, paper \$4.00.)

PROFESSOR Postan's new book should be called a survey rather than a history. The main emphasis is upon the last decade, and, if used in conjunction with the UN's *Economic Survey of Europe since the War* (1953) and Ingvar Svennilson's *Growth and Stagnation of the European Economy* (1954), it provides the basic empirical materials of an economic history.

This is hardly a criticism of Postan. Indeed, I recommend this book to any interested reader. The author provides a concise survey of the main results of research in areas that have interested economists: growth of GNP, productivity, industrial production, changes in industrial organization, entrepreneurship, income distribution, wage levels, class structures, government programs in agriculture and industry, and much more. It would be difficult to do a better job.

The detailed analysis concentrates on Britain, although the other countries of Western Europe, especially France and Germany, are treated adequately. A great variety of background material is covered, and the main results stem from monographs, papers in the learned journals, and publications of governments and international institutions. That which is treated lightly—details on monetary matters, institutional changes associated with the Common Market, and so forth—can be easily acquired elsewhere.

As is to be expected from Postan, there are both originality in the discussion and subtlety in the selection of subject matter. Postan's canvas is wide, and he has dared to draw conclusions. I found the book fresh and enlightening.

Northwestern University

J. R. T. HUGHES

LONDON CONSISTORY COURT WILLS, 1492-1547. Edited by *Ida Darlington*. [London Record Society Publications, Volume III, for the year 1967.] ([London:] the Society. 1967. Pp. xxv, 206.)

THIS volume is composed of one register drawn up by the Consistory Court of London, containing wills made between 1492 and 1520, and a group of separate wills dated between 1508 and 1547. The dates given are a bit misleading, however; only 3 of the 95 wills in the register, labeled Palmer, were written before 1513, and 128 of the 151 separate wills, between 1538 and 1545. Most of the testators in the first group were priests; nearly all in the second were laymen. They did share one quality, however: they were not rich, celebrated, or powerful. A few were able to dispose of goods of considerable value—one priest made bequests worth about £150 in 1517—but most left estates that were modest or meager. Little real property is referred to, and many testators had only their bedding, a few articles of clothing, and odd bits of household goods to give away. One looks, largely in vain, for familiar names, though there are minor bequests to Matthew Parker, William Roper, and a daughter of Sebastian Cabot. Still, the wills often reflect the style in which the early sixteenth-century Englishman lived, much about his manner of dress, his customs in furnishing his house and cooking his food; even his habits of thought can be constructed from the things he left behind. A few wills include detailed inventories of household goods that prove very interesting. It is noteworthy, considering the time period into which most of the wills fall, that few reflect Lutheran influence, and the language of most dedications, to Almighty God, the Virgin Mary, and the holy company of heaven, is conspicuously conservative. The later wills do show a marked decline in the number of gifts for prayers for the safety of the soul and a growing interest in charitable bequests. The most interesting single will is that of a wandering Spaniard who provided for both a legal and a slave wife and children by each.

The volume has been carefully edited, although explanatory notes on obsolete terms are scanty. An excellent introduction summarizes the history of the documents and assembles something of a composite picture of the testators.

George Washington University

ROBERT W. KENNY

THE SECULAR CLERGY IN THE DIOCESE OF LINCOLN, 1495-1520.

By *Margaret Bowker*. [Cambridge Studies in Medieval Life and Thought, New Series, Volume XIII.] (New York: Cambridge University Press. 1968. Pp. xi, 253. \$7.50.)

THIS is not the narrow monograph its title suggests. Instead, it is a study in depth of the condition of the English Church on the eve of the Reformation. Through a careful and detailed analysis of diocesan and local records, Mrs. Bowker provides essential material support for conclusions based hitherto on the more general evidence of the humanist critics, the diatribes of polemicists like Simon Fish, and isolated cases such as that of Richard Hunne, to explain the lack of popular opposition to Henry's course of action and the well-nigh unanimous acceptance of the religious revolution by the secular clergy.

Reform was long overdue. The poverty of vicar and curate was acute, their education minimal, and the fabric of the parish churches sadly deteriorated. Yet the wealth of the diocese, indeed the wealth of the Church as a whole, was there for all to see. While lay interests, including the crown, were often at fault, as was true later under Elizabeth, for these pre-Reformation years, the regular clergy must shoulder the greater blame. In the diocese of Lincoln religious orders controlled nearly half the patronage. And, like their lay contemporaries, they regarded such patronage as a source of income rather than as a pastoral responsibility. Equally serious was the condition of the Church courts. Absentee bishops, with no pastoral experience themselves, delegated judicial functions to men well trained in civil and canon law but wholly ignorant of pastoral needs, legalistic rather than spiritual in their view of office and duty. An impoverished and ignorant clergy and a people without religious instruction worthy of the name could hardly be expected to react strongly against the changes that came in the 1530's.

Unfortunately for the English Church, constitutional changes and later doctrinal changes were not accompanied by economic, judicial, or pastoral reform. What so deeply concerned the Elizabethan reformer Edmund Grindal were the same conditions that existed in the diocese of Lincoln in the years 1495-1520.

The author has avoided the common mistake of assuming that her readers are fully acquainted with ecclesiastical organization and administration. Her lucid treatment of the collegiate churches, and especially the vast establishment that was the cathedral of Lincoln, should be extremely enlightening to the lay historian. Indeed a major value of the book may be precisely here. While it is a study in ecclesiastical history of vital interest to the author's colleagues in the field, it will be equally useful to students of social, economic, and institutional history.

Denison University

W. M. SOUTHGATE

HENRY VII: THE FIRST TUDOR KING. By *Eric N. Simons*. (New York:

Barnes and Noble. 1968. Pp. xiii, 322. \$7.00.)

BURGHLEY: TUDOR STATESMAN, 1520-1598. By *B. W. Beckingsale*.

(New York: St. Martin's Press. 1967. Pp. x, 340. \$10.00.)

THE difficulties in writing sixteenth-century biography are legion. If the sources, or lack of them, do not defeat the biographer, characterization almost surely will. These two biographies, one concerning a Tudor king, Henry VII, the other,

a Tudor statesman, William Cecil, lord Burghley, provide examples of both failure and success. Mr. Simons writes well, but he is not familiar with the important periodical contributions of Professor J. R. Lander on the Council and attainder and of Dr. B. P. Wolfe on economics and administration. He does not, moreover, footnote, and such odd statements that John of Gaunt, the father of Henry IV, had no male heirs until he married his third wife mar his text. Until a modern, scholarly biography is written, students should consult the more solid translation of Wilhelm Busch, *England under the Tudors: King Henry VII* (1895; reprint, 1967), not Simons' romantic characterization of Henry's "vigorous and arresting personality."

It is a measure of Mr. Beckingsale's success that the voluminous materials on Cecil, both printed and manuscript, neither engulf the author nor threaten to submerge his subject in complicated foreign affairs as is partly the case in the late Conyers Read's two volumes, *Mr. Secretary Cecil and Queen Elizabeth* (1955) and *Lord Burghley and Queen Elizabeth* (1960). Cecil emerges as a believable human being, a conservative in his politics and his policies, more Protestant than his Queen, a good family man who raised two sons, Thomas and Robert, and a collector and patron of the arts. The portrait is one of a statesman acutely aware of the ideological nature of the Catholic-Protestant confrontation whose sympathies were pro-Protestant, of a man not quite a politique, who reconciled his religion to his policy, but did not thereby sacrifice his religious principles. Fortunately for Cecil, he could usually advance England's diplomatic objectives through supporting continental Protestantism and opposing its Catholic kings.

In achieving his sympathetic characterization Beckingsale is well served by an easy style, liberally sprinkled with Cecil's *bons mots*, and a slightly new type of organization, affected by some texts, that alternates narrative with critical analyses. For example, the four concluding chapters analyze Cecil as statesman, administrator, patron, and dynast. Obviously these analyses permit a more balanced view and help the author order and compress his materials, but a work that is just as obviously quarried for the most part from printed works cannot uncover much that is new. The author also occasionally finds himself trapped by the terminology of the trade. On the one hand, he accepts Elton's bureaucratic revolution under Thomas Cromwell, and, on the other, he maintains that Cecil, working a generation later, lacked a bureaucracy. Nor has he added much to our knowledge of the workings of the Exchequer and Cecil's patronage there, a subject that needs much investigation. This is of little importance, however, for Cecil's loyalty, patriotism, humanism, and pet enthusiasms emerge to demonstrate Beckingsale's mastery of the biographical art.

State University of New York, Buffalo

MELVIN J. TUCKER

THE ELIZABETHAN COURT OF CHANCERY. By W. J. Jones. (New York: Oxford University Press. 1967. Pp. xvii, 528. \$14.40.)

THE history of the judicial activity of the Chancery before the late seventeenth century is substantially unwritten. Professor Jones's book represents a significant advance. Certain faults of structure and manner qualify, but by no means destroy, its usefulness.

To say that the history of Chancery law—that is, equity—is unwritten does not mean that it has not been written about. The point is that reconstruction of what the court actually did with the cases before it, in various periods and in each of many fields of law, has made only a scant and scattered start. Unlike the history of the common law, the history of equity cannot be reconstructed from reports. It is necessary to turn to a body of records whose vast and refractory nature Jones is uniquely able to appreciate. No single general book could possibly *be* the history of Elizabethan equity. Jones's work neither is nor pretends to be. But by not doing more than he does with substantive law, Jones confronts himself with the problem of writing *Hamlet* without the Prince of Denmark. I do not mean to suggest that the reader will not learn much about the substantive activity of the court. He is not, however, supplied with exact, technical legal history in a single area of that activity, including those selected for special attention. Though the book is on a much larger, and therefore in its terms more useful, scale than that of any previous work, Jones is still writing around his subject. I think he could have done that more successfully if he had pursued a few topics more exactly, if only as "case studies" informed by his general ideas.

The core of the book is concerned with Chancery procedure. That section is informative, and the decision to concentrate on procedure is legitimate. The discussion is not, however, pitched at a meaningful level. A reader lacking basic knowledge of the English legal system and of characteristic issues in the field of civil procedure will have trouble making sense of Jones's account. On the other hand, a reader possessing that basic knowledge will be disappointed by a lack of rigor. Jones too often cites cases only accessible in the Chancery Proceedings without explaining concretely what the case was about or tracing its connections with other cases on the same point.

My qualifications about Jones's manner of writing legal history do not imply dissent from many of his general judgments or a lack of admiration for his general historical sensibility. Jones is at war with the right enemies. He is concerned to put down the jejune habit of polarizing law and equity and associating the latter with "prerogative" in a loose and pejorative sense. He brings out well the many ways in which law and equity were cooperative components of one legal system. Perhaps occasionally he goes too far. But whatever the truth at points of controversy, Jones has taken a challenging stand. He has not written a definitive book on Elizabethan equity, but he has written an important prolegomenal one. He has provided a foundation for further work in the records, both by furnishing much new information and by advancing suggestions that scholars will have to consider.

University of Chicago

CHARLES M. GRAY

HOUSEHOLD AND FARM INVENTORIES IN OXFORDSHIRE, 1550-1590. Edited by *M. A. Havinden*. [Historical Manuscripts Commission JP 10.] (London: H.M. Stationery Office; distrib. by British Information Services, New York. 1965. Pp. 365. \$20.00.)

A MAJOR untapped source for Tudor-Stuart history is inventories of goods and chattels drawn up in connection with probate of wills or grant of administration

upon intestacy. The source is likely to remain largely untapped for some time because, while the inventories preserved by the principal probate court (the Prerogative Court of Canterbury) were with the other records of that court moved from the fastness of Somerset House to the Public Record Office a few years ago, they are not yet fit for production. Mr. Havinden's excellent transcription and edition of surviving inventories of the Elizabethan period from diocesan and peculiar jurisdictions in Oxfordshire demonstrates how valuable inventories are for social and economic history. While this collection does not permit the construction of a calculus for measuring personal-property wealth with respect to social gradations (I tried this, unsuccessfully), the inventories do provide valuable insight into the levels of material well-being in a rural county and the general improvement in material conditions over the last half of the sixteenth century. Havinden is admirably restrained in his conclusions as to the extent of this improvement, but the documents themselves provide unusually clear evidence of the change. As the editor makes clear, the inventories touch the estates of only five gentlemen or gentlewomen (I would make it seven) and, with one exception, are well down the scale of that group.

More than one-third of the known occupations of the minor testators, predominantly from the northern part of Oxfordshire around Banbury, were artisan, not agricultural, in nature. Havinden demonstrates that the average of the artisans' personal estates was measurably smaller than that of the farmers, accounted for in part by the absence of livestock in the artisans' inventories. Oxfordshire, in common with other counties in the Midlands and the West, experienced sporadic rebellions or risings between the 1580's and the outbreak of the Civil War, often connected with enclosure and generally occurring at times of grain scarcity and high food prices. Prominent among the leadership and providing most of the following of the rebellious "companies" were the artisans. Inventories such as these provide much novel evidence of a quantitative nature to advance the study of this large nonagricultural element in rural society, which played a major role in the erosion of authority and order in early Stuart England, provided the religiously articulate "mechanic preachers" of the Interregnum, and comprised the specific social element that the Levellers sought to enfranchise.

The transcription is a model of careful editing; the glossary of archaic terms is invaluable; the introduction is ample in analysis and tabulation, clear in argument, and a perceptive essay in its own right concerning the various kinds of information furnished by the inventories; and technical slips are few. Some statements in the introduction are unsupported and are at least arguable: what, for example, is the evidence that "many craftsmen and also labourers had a few strips of arable land . . . as well as common grazing rights . . . and pursued a way of life in which the pursuit of their craft in the winter alternated with farm-work in the summer"? The farmer-artisan is, I suspect, largely a myth that blinds us to the fact that the artisan was almost wholly dependent on his labor production in his craft for his sustenance, and he was terribly susceptible to high food prices. Farming he did not and grazing rights he had not, though he might well have put out beasts on common. Enclosure and disafforestation in the Midlands and the West went far toward spawning the violent reactions of the

artisans in the 1580's, the first decade of the seventeenth century, and the early 1630's.

University of California, Berkeley

THOMAS G. BARNES

ELIZABETHANS ERRANT: THE STRANGE FORTUNES OF SIR THOMAS SHERLEY AND HIS THREE SONS, AS WELL IN THE DUTCH WARS AS IN MUSCOVY, MOROCCO, PERSIA, SPAIN, AND THE INDIES. By *D. W. Davies*. (Ithaca, N. Y.: Cornell University Press. 1967. Pp. xv, 337. \$7.50.)

THE Sherleys—Sir Thomas and his three sons—were wealthy Elizabethan gentry who took to careers of adventure at the close of the Queen's reign. The father, who became Treasurer at War when Leicester went to the Low Countries, did his best to fill his pockets out of his office, failed, and ended his life in James I's reign, having bankrupted the family fortunes. The eldest son, another Sir Thomas, pursued a career that mixed piracy with semiprofessional warfare and court intrigue; he finished off the ruin of the family estate begun by his father. The other sons, Anthony and Robert, followed much more exotic careers; both went to Persia, both entered the service of the Habsburgs, one ended his life a pensioner in Spain, and the other died in Persia. Anthony Sherley was an example of the most unscrupulous kind of Elizabethan adventurer: totally unprincipled, ready to turn his hand to anything—espionage, diplomacy, company promotion—filling his pocket by any kind of confidence trick, cheating his way through the world as best he could. Robert Sherley was a man of more honor and more consistency and a fairly faithful servant to the Shah, in whose service much of his life was expended.

Mr. Davies has been diligent in his research and has gathered his material from a variety of archives, English and continental. There have been previous books on the Sherleys, but Davies has garnered far more material than any predecessor. His task is difficult since their adventures led them into so many parts of the world and into so many different and complicated political situations, and, since most of their ventures were not successful, the evidence often is not complete enough to reveal the full outlines of their actions. The author has done his best with rather unpromising material and gives as full an account of their actions as he can, but frequently the result is not really very interesting. Except for Robert Sherley their activities were seldom more than peripheral in historical importance. The author has been almost too conscientious in his scholarly attention to detail and to presentation of the fullest possible evidence. As a result he loses much of the excitement and melodrama of their careers. While the subjects hardly deserve a full-scale historical treatment, their careers might well have held some romantic interest for a wider and more popular audience. The book would be more readable if there were maps to assist the reader in following the journeys of these gentlemen over half the world.

Haverford College

WALLACE T. MACCAFFREY

ENTERPRISE & EMPIRE: MERCHANT AND GENTRY INVESTMENT
IN THE EXPANSION OF ENGLAND, 1575-1630. By *Theodore K. Rabb*.
(Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press. 1967. Pp. ix, 420. \$12.50.)

THIS book is significant since it is the first major attempt to apply computer techniques to the study of a topic in early modern European history, that is, to a period predating the systematic collection of social and economic information. The subject of the book is the body of investors who financed early English overseas expansion, from mid-Elizabethan times until about 1630. Their social origins are explored, and their behavior as investors is examined. Professor Rabb has collected the names of some 6,300 individual investors in joint-stock companies organized for activity overseas (including Ireland). The list of investors includes those subscribing to the more or less straightforward commercial projects such as the East India or Levant Companies and the colonizing organizations such as the Virginia, Massachusetts Bay, Munster or Londonderry Companies. It includes the exploring enterprises (Northwest Passage, for instance) and also the privateers active during Elizabeth's war with Spain and again during the conflicts of the later 1620's. Two domestic undertakings, the Royal Minerals and the Royal Mines Companies, complete the coverage. Rabb has also listed all of the MP's from 1584 through 1628 and examined their investment activities.

The author has used the computer to answer various questions about these investors, including their social origins, the relative distribution of gentry and merchants within companies as well as the relative volume and distribution of their investments, the cycles of interest represented by spurts of new admissions to companies, and the participation of MP's in such investment. Results are compiled in a series of tables. These tables are set within a masterly essay of some one hundred pages, which lays out the conclusions and the implications of the statistical investigation. The resulting conclusions, as the author points out, tend to confirm what might be guessed by a historian with a general knowledge of the problem, but the technique transforms impressionistic guesses into solid and substantiated assertions.

The reader unacquainted with computer technique or with statistical vocabulary need not be daunted, for Rabb has provided a complete and lucid account of his procedure at each stage. He has indicated fully the sources he used for the collection of names and has given a critical estimate of their reliability. He takes the reader into his confidence at each step in his work, laying out fully the problems he encountered and the solutions he adopted. Indeed, the book is not only a study of English investors in the Elizabethan-Jacobean years but also a self-conscious model to serve the needs of other historians venturing into this new technique of investigation. The author has made a convincing case for the usefulness of such an approach in those earlier periods of European history where systematically organized and reasonably complete data are not usually available. He has been sensible and modest in his claims and candid as to the limits of this approach. By now a numerous band of historians is engaged in group biographical studies of one kind or another in early modern European studies. This book makes clear the importance and the feasibility of the computer for their work. It is not that it will somehow revolutionize historical studies or reveal vast unsus-

pected vistas not yet envisioned. But it will enable historians to deal with questions, the answers to which we can now only surmise; it will save uncounted hours of time; it will yield results of a precision and authority hitherto virtually unattainable.

Haverford College

WALLACE T. MACCAFFREY

VEXED AND TROUBLED ENGLISHMEN, 1590-1642. By *Carl Bridenbaugh*. (New York: Oxford University Press. 1968. Pp. xix, 487. \$10.00.)

No doubt Clio could have fashioned a better title to describe Shakespeare's Englishmen on the eve of colonization; no doubt Clio never has. Whether more vexed and troubled people upset this half century than any other can be left to the curious; the seedbed of the Great Migration has not been more aptly surveyed, all without benefit of computer. Here is proof that history is about people, how they lived, how they survived, how they worshiped, how they were governed, and what came of their activity. To gain that proof Mr. Bridenbaugh has eaten paper and drunk ink; he has combed hundreds of documents, perused innumerable monographs, many unpublished, and invoked the rich relevance of literature. In weaving such diverse materials he faced a labor greater than any undertaken by Hercules. The Greek hero had only to capture the girdle of Hippolyte; Bridenbaugh has girdled a people who swore by the proverb, that contention is better than peace, and he has done so largely in their own words. That quotation is artistically hazardous is well known, but deftly accomplished it catches the spirit as it recites the fact. It exemplifies and confirms the judgment that the "key to any comprehension of the thinking and behavior of a people is its everyday speech," especially in a time when all ranks indulged in metaphors, when every peasant had "some thrifty hobnail proverb to clout his discourse."

To summarize what Bridenbaugh has included is impossible, not least because he has intersected each topic with others. Where riches abound it is scarcely gracious to note omissions, omissions that come to mind because they parallel what is set forth. Since we have madrigals, could we not have miniatures? Since we have medicine, could we not also have science and law and antiquities? Fifty pamphleteers *are* important, but so are Bacon, Coke, and Camden, the more that they, far from being ahead of their time, were chief among its spokesmen. And what of Lamb's "fantastic old great man," Robert Burton, whose *Anatomy of Melancholy* is a very *summa* of vexed and troubled people? Yet the reader must beware regretting a book that was not intended. He must remember that here is the first of several volumes on the beginnings of the American people and that some topics omitted may well appear later. Whatever his particular interest, the wise historian wants a book that illumines what lies beyond immediate concern: for instance, in discovering the futility of many people's existence one appreciates why Quakers dignified the role of women, stressed vocational training, and created labor exchanges. The book worth study is one that suggests what remains to be done and offers insights into other areas of interest, whether related or not. These standards are high, and no doubt few books reach them; the success of some is sufficient reason for trying, and the present volume illustrates how fruitful the effort may be.

University of Missouri

CHARLES F. MULLETT

DESTINY HIS CHOICE: THE LOYALISM OF ANDREW MARVELL. By John M. Wallace. (New York: Cambridge University Press. 1968. Pp. x, 265. \$7.50.)

THAT Andrew Marvell gave his allegiance to Charles I in the Civil War, wrote an ode to Cromwell in 1650, served Charles II after the Restoration, and attacked Charles's court in 1677 are facts well known to most historians of Stuart England. They expose Marvell to the charge of opportunism. It is Professor Wallace's purpose to show that the charge is false, that Marvell was a loyalist, not an opportunist. By "loyalist" Wallace does not mean "royalist." Rather he means a man who accepts the mutability of all things, who longs for peace, who fears chaos, who sees the folly of futile resistance, who cares less about the form a government takes than about the equity it dispenses. He means, above all, a man who accepts the Providence of God, who sees history as providential, who believes that good can come from evil, who makes destiny his choice. Andrew Marvell made destiny his choice, but the great value of Wallace's book lies in its demonstration that many other Englishmen did also. In a brilliant opening chapter, as remarkable for its wide learning as for its close reasoning, the author traces the origins of loyalism, expounds its literature, and shows how it furnished an indispensable strand to the Revolutionary Settlement of 1688. He goes farther. He shows that loyalism was associated with a moderate group in English politics, with men of the center, whose constitutionalism survived the many revolutions of the time. These men may have changed their allegiances, but they did not change their principles. Andrew Marvell hated ecclesiastical tyranny all the days of his life. He never surrendered his respect for the person of the king. He always held to the ideal of a mixed monarchy. He never tempered his dislike for the democratic aspects of the rebellion. He accepted the rulers that God placed over him, but he never surrendered the right to criticize their government.

By perceiving, isolating, defining, and establishing the phenomenon of loyalism, Wallace makes a signal contribution to the history of seventeenth-century England. But his deeply considered and elegantly written study does even more. It brings a vast knowledge of the politics and the rhetoric of the age to bear upon the elucidation of Marvell's political poems, and it uses Marvell's political poems and prose to illuminate the history of the age. The chapters on *An Horatian Ode* and *The First Anniversary* show how valuable it is for a literary critic to know the historical context of a poem. The chapter on *The Rehearsal Transpos'd* and *The Growth of Popery* proves how useful it is for a historian to know the literature of an age. Wallace asks whether the marriage of history and literary criticism has proved a happy one in his book. The answer is yes, and historians are indebted to him for so thoughtful and so ingenious a work.

Ohio State University

CLAYTON ROBERTS

ROBERT BARCLAY. By D. Elton Trueblood. (New York: Harper and Row. 1968. Pp. xi, 274. \$6.95.)

QUAKERS and Quakerism were long suspect and unrespectable. The generation of Robert Barclay (1648-1690) greatly increased the social, economic, political, and intellectual acceptability of the movement. While Barclay, William Penn, Isaac Pennington the Younger, and other Quakers of their generation were men

of property and as such they possessed those things so often associated with property, Barclay, more than any other, gave the movement intellectual and theological respectability. His writings, which came early in his life, proved to non-Quakers that Quakerism could be far more than mere spiritualism, misguided emotionalism, or ignorance and that it was not, as many had suspected, Jesuitry in disguise. Barclay provided Quakers with a systematic theology that has survived for three centuries and has won the admiration of men of other persuasions. He gained an international reputation for his personal practice, his ministry, and his labors in behalf of peace, brotherhood, and toleration. In addition, Barclay served as governor of East New Jersey.

It is surprising that Robert Barclay has not been the subject of more biographical study, and it is indeed unfortunate that the weak sections of Professor Trueblood's slender volume are those dealing with Barclay's activities as a family man, scholar, prisoner, minister, governor, and courtier. Some of the flaws must be attributed to the obvious fact that Trueblood has attempted too much in too little space. Consequently, the "life" portion is less than half of what would be necessary for an adequate biography. Another set of flaws can only be attributed to the author's lack of familiarity with the history of Barclay's time. Many of Trueblood's statements about events, conditions, and personalities will shock the expert. Some student with a better knowledge of the period and with more space should immediately undertake a full biography of Robert Barclay. Trueblood has located and cited most of the necessary materials. His text, notes, and bibliography will make the task of a biographer relatively easy.

Other portions, comprising more than half of the book, are much more substantial and demonstrate the author's dedication and scholarship. The initial chapter, "Barclay in History," is an excellent and original essay on the changing interpretation and evaluation of Barclay's intellectual and theological contributions throughout three centuries. This chapter should be required reading for students at various levels and in many fields of study. The seven chapters on Barclay's thought require some knowledge of Quaker theology for full understanding and appreciation, but that should not discourage the uninformed from profitably reading the chapters on theology. Trueblood's highly objective and balanced treatment of the controversial aspects of Barclay's thought has advanced some persuasive arguments for the abandonment or modification of some earlier interpretations and applications of Barclay's theology. Some will object to Trueblood's liberal and modernistic approach; others will contend that he is still too conservative and traditional; each, however, will benefit from this welcome addition to the literature on a major figure.

University of North Carolina, Charlotte

GEORGE R. ABERNATHY, JR.

THE SAGE OF SALISBURY: THOMAS CHUBB, 1679-1747. By T. L. Bushell. (New York: Philosophical Library. 1967. Pp. 159. \$5.00.)

This study of the thought of Thomas Chubb, glover and then chandler by trade and philosopher by inclination, affords a useful addition to our acquaintance with the pious freethinking of his age. In spite of a century's neglect, here attributed at least partially to his lowly origins, Chubb earlier enjoyed a rather

extensive reputation in Britain, America, France, and even Germany. Following a concise biography of "a protagonist of the age of enlightenment," Mr. Bushell analyzes Chubb's theories as they are found in tracts and discourses on ethics and politics published in the third and fourth decades of the eighteenth century. He then examines Chubb's religious opinions. A brief bibliography of original works and books consulted and an index to the text that does not include material in the notes complete the book.

While they owe something to Richard Hooker, John Locke, and the third Earl of Shaftesbury, Chubb's ethical and political ideas by no means merely repeat their pronouncements. Isaac Newton provided support for the belief that "the heavens declare the glory and wisdom of God, and show the rectitude of his nature." The law of nature was the moral part of the constitution of the universe; the "common happiness" was "the grand design" of God in creation; for this man had an individual responsibility, an agency expecting of him earnest endeavor for good. Reward for virtue was minimized; to overcome partial evil for the universal good was in itself sufficient satisfaction.

Chubb would, he declared, "remove every difficulty which the principle of liberty may be encumbered with." He recognized natural rights, though his fear of contemporary Catholic support for the Stuarts made his statement on toleration less than forthright. Chubb substituted happiness for the third part of the Lockean trinity of life, liberty, and estate, thereby Bushell suggests, anticipating if not influencing, the formulation of Jefferson's more famous phrase. Chubb found a part of political and social liberty in the right of everyone to the fruits of his labor and the reasonable restriction of the employer's use of the worker's skill and strength.

Cherishing a faith in a mind and purpose friendly to the individual, Chubb's religion was more personal than that of some of his contemporaries, even though he questioned the orthodox belief in the Trinity, atonement, original sin, predestination, and the inerrancy of the Scriptures. The environment and period in which Christ taught must, he felt, be studied fully in order to appreciate the Gospel message. For Chubb, salvation lay not in subscription to this or that dogma but in the freedom to pursue self-fulfillment and happiness here and now. Man as an individual struggles to do good and to shun evil, and he was endowed by the creator of the world machine with special intelligence and an autonomous will to achieve virtue.

The work of the "Sage of Salisbury," though sometimes less readable, often seems more sophisticated than many eighteenth-century writers of greater means and education.

Bryn Mawr College

CAROLINE ROBBINS

RECORDS OF THE BOROUGH OF LEICESTER. Volume VI, THE CHAMBERLAINS' ACCOUNTS 1688-1835. Edited by G. A. Chinnery. [Published under the authority of the Leicester City Council.] ([Leicester:] Leicester University Press. 1967. Pp. xii, 581. 84s.)

THIS new volume of *Records of the Borough of Leicester* presents the most important source of information on borough finance at Leicester from 1688 to

1835, when borough government was reorganized. It is unfortunate that the accounts are primitive and incomplete, but there is much to be grateful for.

The Chamberlains' Accounts, kept by two annually elected borough officials (usually junior members of the corporation, as the jobs were not popular), preserve the records of rents, tithes, and other payments to the borough and of taxes, fees, wages, and other sums disbursed. While local historians will find the contents most useful, family historians and biographers will share this interest, especially in the portions printed in full. Leicester's involvement in at least one national event (the Revolution of 1688) receives some illumination.

The accounts are too bulky for complete publication. The editor therefore gives full accounts for eight years (1688-1689, 1708-1709, 1729-1730, 1750-1751, 1771-1772, 1792-1793, 1813-1814, and 1834-1835) with tabular summaries for the entire period. Accounts of the great enclosure of the South Fields (1805-1807) appear complete. Many notes explain the summaries.

The editing apparently meets the highest standards. I look forward to the publication of the next volume of the series, which is to include "a comprehensive survey and discussion of the whole."

Eastern Illinois University

GEORGE HILTON JONES

THE CORRESPONDENCE OF SIR JAMES CLAVERING. Edited and arranged by *H. T. Dickinson*. [The Publications of the Surtees Society, Volume CLXXVIII.] (Gateshead: Northumberland Press for the Society. 1967. Pp. xiii, 240.)

THIS small, carefully edited volume gives one the feeling of reading a novel composed entirely of letters written to the principal character. Actually there are only three from the pen of Sir James Clavering himself; they come at the end after he succeeded as sixth Baronet in 1738. Most of the correspondence, originating from Anne Clavering (a distant cousin), from business and legal agents, and from his wife, concerns the first third of the eighteenth century and gives indirect glimpses of the concerns of a North Country landed gentleman and coal owner. For most readers the lively firsthand account of the Sacheverell case will stand out. Other matters such as the game laws, the coal trade, London social life, and physical illnesses are illuminated, and there are opportunities to reconstruct the Baronet's character and to see the legal system at work. For years a puzzling thread runs through Anne Clavering's letters about her half brother "Jacky" until suddenly it is solved by the revelation that Clavering, executor under the will of "Jacky's" father, has apparently misappropriated the money and cannot squirm his way out of the Court of Chancery. Even Lord Chancellor Cowper, Anne's brother-in-law, does not help beyond giving some unofficial advice. The grasping landed gentleman also appears in those letters dealing with the division of certain common lands in the county of Durham. The communications from his poor, terrified wife reflect a brutal, callous, selfish, and unreasonable man. Even on such an inadequate basis it is difficult to resist the temptation to imagine his character, and one can only hope that the unfortunate impression arises from a distorting mirror effect.

Thetford Center, Vermont

CHESTER KIRBY

THE LATER CORRESPONDENCE OF GEORGE III, PUBLISHED BY AUTHORITY OF HER MAJESTY QUEEN ELIZABETH II. Volume IV, JANUARY 1802 TO DECEMBER 1807. Edited by *A. Aspinall*. (New York: Cambridge University Press. 1968. Pp. li, 704. \$22.50.)

THE restrictions, injunctions, and advantages under which Professor Aspinall edits this correspondence, and which he explains in his prefaces to the first and third volumes, affect the content and usefulness of this volume as they did the earlier ones. Certain significant letters to and from the King are omitted because they are printed elsewhere, and many insignificant ones are included because the editor was "bound . . . to publish practically everything in the King's papers in the Royal Archives." Reviewers of earlier volumes have commented on these decisions (*AHR*, LXVIII [July 1963], 1040; LXIX [Apr. 1964], 821; LXXII [Oct. 1966], 189), and their reviews help in understanding the limitations as well as the size of this volume.

The editor takes excellent advantage of his opportunity, both in this volume as in its predecessors, to include full, informative footnotes and a generous introduction, and these make the volumes valuable to the historian. The letters themselves hardly scratch the surface of war, diplomacy, and domestic politics; alone, they tell little about the history of this period. At one important moment the editor is a victim of circumstances. When Pitt was returning to office in the spring of 1804, the King was ill, and the letters between February 5 and May 5 fill only one page of text. The letters written during the period when Grenville's ministry was forming in 1806 or when Fox died a few months later are of little importance, and so it is with other major events during the six years covered by this volume.

Yet this volume does hold something for the reader. The letters and the notes strengthen the impression, continually acknowledged by contemporaries, that every government needed royal support and that the Catholic question remained of surpassing importance as was shown in March 1807. Though the series will not be completed until the next volume, it is time to say that this later correspondence, joined with the earlier published some years ago, will enable scholars to follow the King unusually closely through fifty years. A good biography of George III is now in order.

University of Kentucky

CARL B. CONE

MORVERN TRANSFORMED: A HIGHLAND PARISH IN THE NINETEENTH CENTURY. By *Philip Gaskell*. (New York: Cambridge University Press. 1968. Pp. xix, 272. \$10.50.)

PHILIP Gaskell's labor of love is a good local history of an agricultural parish in the western Highlands of Scotland. It is primarily an account of the economic decline during the nineteenth century and the consequent social transformation from the crofters, or small tenant farmers, to the gentlemen-farmers who bought the estates for their summer holidays. The author does not join the hue and cry against the landlords for evicting their tenants, but in sober retrospect he views the evictions as an economic necessity. So long as the crofters were

content to live in earth-floored cabins and to eat porridge and potatoes, they could survive on their runrig agriculture and cattle raising. With the rise in living standards and the improved methods of agriculture elsewhere, the marginal lands of Morvern could be used profitably only for sheep farming. Even sheep farming had to be abandoned during the depression of the 1870's. The farms thereafter became the holiday estates of wealthy proprietors who subsidized the few remaining residents. Although some sheep farming continues to the present time, much of what was once farm land is now occupied by the Forestry Commission, while some has been abandoned altogether.

In this small volume there are 116 pages of text and 126 pages of appendixes that document and illustrate the author's conclusions. Among the appendixes are diaries, memoirs, estate accounts, and several statistical enumerations. Twenty-four photographs of the terrain, buildings, and people convey the atmosphere that invites all who visit Morvern to return.

The volume also supplies useful biographical information on persons of national prominence. The author has carefully constructed three genealogies of families owning estates at Morvern, the most useful being that of William Smith whose ten children found places among the Victorian intellectual aristocracy. A son, Benjamin, who had a distinguished political career, was the father of Leigh Smith, the explorer, and Madame Bodichon, the benefactor of Girton College; a daughter, Frances, was the mother of Florence Nightingale. Thus the book contributes to our knowledge of the members of the intellectual aristocracy and how they spent their summer holidays in the western Highlands.

Lehigh University

RAYMOND G. COWHERD

WESTCOUNTRYMEN IN PRINCE EDWARD'S ISLE: A FRAGMENT OF THE GREAT MIGRATION. By *Basil Greenhill* and *Ann Giffard*. ([Toronto:] University of Toronto Press. 1967. Pp. 248. \$8.25.)

THIS is a tale of two locations—North Devon and Prince Edward Island—and of a series of careers. The subtitle, *A Fragment of the Great Migration*, suggests the early nineteenth-century backdrop of migrating population, lumbering, shipbuilding, and transoceanic trade. The authors discuss the character and methods of the men who took part in these activities and point up connections with the larger movements of the time.

During the Baltic timber famine following the Berlin Decree, Thomas Burnard, a wealthy merchant of Bideford, launched a shipbuilding and lumbering venture in the Richmond Bay area of Prince Edward Island. The resulting industry "was to have a great effect on the Island's prosperity." Although Burnard died in 1823, his nephew Thomas Chanter was able to return to Bideford from the island and to rise to the status of a landed proprietor through business and municipal politics.

Nonetheless, the "true heir" of Thomas Burnard was James Yeo, a tough "driver" of men from Kilkhampton, Cornwall, who began as one of "the great European poor who had no inheritance" and developed into a "small robber baron." Though a lowly employee, Yeo was able to found his fortune by using rather dubious methods to collect the debts owed to his dead employer. The

weakening hold of the island's absentee proprietors created an uncertainty over land titles that could be exploited by a tough entrepreneur. As banker, storekeeper, creditor, and confidant in business and private affairs, "a literate man in a largely illiterate society," Yeo "was probably in a stronger position than any merchant in the Colony's history . . . had ever been." Among other things, he served for twenty-nine years as a member of the legislature, where he upheld the proprietary system of landholding and opposed the movement for responsible government.

The ramifications, throughout the North Atlantic area, of Yeo's vast expenditure of energy are traced. As the European headquarters of his enterprise, Bideford provided a steppingstone for his agent and heir William, who climbed to social eminence after a checkered career.

Based upon a variety of sources, this social history provides a case study to support the more general history of Prince Edward Island. In addition, it suggests what may be done with other English West Country connections such as those with Newfoundland.

Memorial University of Newfoundland

G. E. PANTING

THE WHIGS IN OPPOSITION, 1815-1830. By *Austin Mitchell*. (New York: Oxford University Press. 1967. Pp. x, 266. \$6.10.)

WHILE this is not a study of Whiggism in the philosophical sense, it is an excellent chapter in party history within the strict limits set by the title, and it is well organized, clearly written, and fully researched. Although the political history of these years has often been told, the author's approach is new, significantly broadening our knowledge of the Whig party and of the political scene. Dr. Mitchell pays less attention to the work of other modern historians in the period, basing his work almost entirely on research in some thirty-nine collections of private papers, additional transcripts from nine other collections, thirty-six contemporary newspapers or periodicals, and the relevant volumes of *Parliamentary Debates*. Curiously, the *Debates*, which he uses extensively, are omitted from the bibliography.

The book is divided into ten chapters, followed by a brief conclusion. The first three of the chapters provide an interesting and highly informative analysis of the Whig party during the period covered in terms of principles, organization, and voting power. "The whigs were the pace-setters of party," Mitchell writes, "because they agreed, broadly, on a set of principles; the government side was a *de facto* party, for though bonds were looser, principles more diffuse, in the last analysis its members wanted to keep the whigs out." Developing this thesis he endeavors to rescue the history of party in the period from what he calls "deep frozen Namier concepts." In the second chapter he further develops a theme that his former mentor, Professor Aspinall, initiated in an article on "English Party Organization in the Early Nineteenth Century" (*EHR*, XLI [July 1926], 389-411). The third chapter contains some significant information about party voting patterns that is based on very detailed analyses of over two hundred division lists and that one would have thought was assembled on punched cards.

The remainder of the book offers a straightforward political narrative of the fortunes of the Whig party during the years 1815-1830. This is further illustrated by highly sophisticated tables that analyze voting patterns. The strategy and tactics of each session are traced in detail, but Mitchell writes with great economy and resists the temptation to quote extensively from all the original sources he is using. He presumes that the reader is familiar with the men and events of the period, and he seems uninterested in causal explanations. His major concern is to make clear what happened in the parliamentary context and the political consequence of each development. Why Lansdowne and other Whigs accepted office in 1827 is less important for the author than the effect of this event on the fortunes of the Whig party. The result is highly successful, and it should be followed by similar monographs tracing the evolution of the Liberal party in later decades. No satisfactory general history of the party can be written until more such studies are completed.

University of Toronto

J. B. CONACHER

BRITAIN AND THE BALANCE OF POWER IN NORTH AMERICA, 1815-1908. By *Kenneth Bourne*. (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. 1967. Pp. xii, 439. \$9.50.)

KENNETH Bourne has performed a notable service for students of international history in the nineteenth century by drawing together and analyzing the many and varied strands of British diplomatic and strategic policy toward the United States. This work makes no attempt to sustain a narrative of diplomatic relations between Great Britain and the United States from 1815 to 1908. It is essentially a study of British defense policy for North America and its influence on diplomatic relations with the United States. Having thus carefully defined his problem, Bourne has made an exhaustive search of British private and official papers and has utilized American materials at many points "to test the validity of British speculations."

In order to cover such a lengthy time span, Bourne has concentrated on periods and areas of crisis. He devotes special attention to the crises over Texas and Oregon, the *Trent* Affair, and the period of rapprochement and British withdrawal from 1895-1908. While British strategists periodically worked to prepare for war with the United States, the statesmen after 1815 generally acted on the assumption that European dangers were predominant and that cordial relations with the United States were probably the best means of protecting Canada and keeping European rivals out of North American affairs. The two critical points in British realization of the need for American friendship were the Union victory in the Civil War and the Hay-Pauncefote Treaty of 1901. The first forced British leaders to conclude that American power could not be contained; the second "committed Great Britain to naval inferiority in American waters and therefore to friendship with the United States." The decisions from 1903 to 1908, which led to the withdrawal of virtually all British military and naval forces from the Western Hemisphere, flowed naturally from the events of 1901.

Two improvements would have made this well-conceived and admirably executed book even more helpful. In a study that focuses on crisis areas separated

by time and geography, the transitional passages from diplomatic background to more detailed strategic planning should have been given more emphasis, and a critical essay on the varied private and official sources would have been of real value. But in skillfully highlighting the whole range of strategic factors in British policy for North America, Bourne has added a new and extremely valuable dimension to our knowledge of the period.

University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill

SAMUEL F. WELLS, JR.

IDEAS AND INSTITUTIONS OF VICTORIAN BRITAIN: ESSAYS IN HONOUR OF GEORGE KITSON CLARK. Edited by *Robert Robson*. (New York: Barnes and Noble. 1967. Pp. viii, 343. \$12.50.)

ABOUT half of the essays in this book deal with political and administrative history. D. E. D. Beales assesses the nature and cohesiveness of parliamentary parties in the Age of Peel and usefully points to the 1820's as the period on which work now most needs to be done. Oliver McDonagh, in tracing regulatory legislation for coal mines from 1842 to 1852, makes another important contribution to our understanding of the growth of state activity. One's thought is more likely to be deflected, however, by Norman McCord's proof, in showing the insubstantiality of their political base, how little claim Cobden and Bright have, between 1846 and 1857, to be considered representative men and by J. P. Cornford's perceptive analysis of the Conservative parliamentary party between 1885 and 1905. Cornford marshals statistics to demonstrate the erosion of the landed base of the party and convincingly describes the complex considerations involved in forming a government; the "charmed circle" explanation is drastically modified, and one is led to a better understanding of Balfour's troubles. D. C. Moore presses beyond the others into new documentary and conceptual territory, charting the fortunes of the "behavioral groups" on which he rests the structure of Victorian politics by drawing attention to changes in constituency boundaries and by reliance on the evidence of pollbooks. Viewing politics largely from the country, he saves standing generalizations about deference from the full corrosive effect of Dr. J. R. Vincent's recent, similarly based studies of town electorates.

It is no reflection on these historians, working as they do in fields where remarkable progress has been made over the last generation, to say that the more neglected field of cultural and intellectual history provides more excitement and surprise. Dr. Robson's essay on Trinity College in the Age of Peel, determined by two major allegiances of Dr. Kitson Clark, is necessarily slight. Not so with the others: F. B. Smith's study of the atheist mission, with its touching account of the fate of Holyoake's and Bradlaugh's passionate belief in unbelief; H. J. Hanham's elegant essay on Scottish nationalism in mid-century; and two contributions to the much-neglected subject of German influence on English intellectual life—R. T. Shannon's assessment of J. R. Seeley and J. W. Burrow's fascinating and open-ended inquiry into the Victorian uses of philology. G. F. A. Best digs out the roots of anti-Catholicism from successive layers of the Victorian consciousness (or unconsciousness) and, by engaging in sociological and psychological speculations with which intellectual historians must increasingly find ways to cope, provides the most professionally radical essay in the book.

As readers of some recent polemics will know, Kitson Clark has attracted a certain amount of controversy, both because of his own work and because he has been the teacher and sympathetic guide of a remarkably able and productive group of younger scholars. This altogether admirable and appropriate *Festschrift* demonstrates what both admirers and opponents must agree upon: how widely and effectively Kitson Clark and his students have changed, and will continue to change, the face of Victorian Britain as we see it.

Columbia University

RKW

THE LIFE OF ELEANOR MARX, 1855-1898: A SOCIALIST TRAGEDY.

By Chushichi Tsuzuki. (New York: Oxford University Press. 1967. Pp. viii, 354. \$7.20.)

THIS is a haunting story and, in relating the circumstances of Eleanor Marx's suicide, a horror story. The sixth and youngest child of Karl Marx has sometimes been depicted as the victim of the Marxian ethic. Whether the explanation of her destruction is to be found in rebellion against the existing social order or in some more elusive area of personal dislocation is difficult to say. She had a happy childhood, was her father's favorite, and received a good education at home. She was energetic, intelligent, and—this may be one of the keys—incurably romantic. She played an important role in helping to revive the Marxist International and in organizing the unskilled workers of East London, but, for all her accomplishments, it would appear that for much of her adult life she was stretching only modest creative talents to the point of exhaustion. She failed as an actress; her work as a translator of, among other things, *Madame Bovary* and some of Ibsen is best described as very adequate; she was too unstable in evaluating her research to make any lasting contribution as a would-be historian of socialism. After her father's death in 1883, she bore the heavy burden of being looked upon by many European socialists as the embodiment of the Marxian legacy.

When she joined Dr. Edward Aveling in free union in 1884, he was already a heavy drinker ridden by debts and adultery. Several perceptive individuals found him almost spectacularly repulsive both in character and appearance. Yet he had a considerable wit and, for many women, a peculiar charm. He was a student of medicine and science and a sometimes brilliant lecturer. He aspired to be a dramatist and an art critic, in which pursuits he enjoyed some small successes. Engels, in whom Eleanor placed almost unbounded trust, gave his blessing to the arrangement and thereafter remained singularly obtuse to the mounting and indeed overwhelming evidence of Aveling's demoralization.

This book is replete with the squabbling and mutual slander, the bohemianism and petty spite, of some of the leaders of the socialist and secularist groups in the London of the 1880's and 1890's. Their differences seem often to have arisen less from doctrine than from quirks of personality, with the Avelings themselves displaying no deep insights in these controversies. In her love of Aveling, Eleanor suffered ostracism and humiliation. She had to cope with an elaborate intrigue over Engels' will and the disposition of her father's papers and eventually see the papers dispersed. She was even told by the dying Engels in

August 1895 that the illegitimate son of a former maidservant in the Marx household was in fact her half brother.

In 1887, shortly after a trip to America, where Aveling was accused of swindling his working-class hosts, Eleanor attempted suicide. Then in 1897 Aveling, still living with Eleanor and dependent on her for his living, secretly married an amateur actress. Eleanor's discovery of this most sordid of his many deceits led her to take poison, apparently with Aveling's knowledge and encouragement. He inherited her money and property, but died four months later.

The portrait of Aveling is in some ways the more succinct and penetrating. Certain readers may complain that this study does not go deep enough psychologically. Actually, the book is a model of tact and restraint in handling difficult and often sensational source material which, it might be noted, is widely scattered. The tone is compassionate but never sentimental. The conjecture, particularly as regards Aveling's complicity in Eleanor's suicide, is convincing. The author, who has also written a life of H. M. Hyndman, moves with assurance through the confusion and division of the late nineteenth-century socialist movement, both British and continental. This work is not likely to be superseded as to essentials and determinable facts, but the story certainly invites other approaches, including that of a Rebecca West or even an Alfred Hitchcock.

Ohio State University

PHILIP P. POIRIER

DISRAELIAN CONSERVATISM AND SOCIAL REFORM. By *Paul Smith*.

[Studies in Political History.] (Toronto: University of Toronto Press. 1967. Pp. ix, 358. \$10.00.)

It has been said, with some justice, that the growth of modern historical research often merely pulverizes our notions of the past, leaving little of a positive nature in their place. This has not, however, been true either for the historical reputation of Benjamin Disraeli or for that of the Conservative party in the 1860's and 1870's, although recent historical scholarship has devoted much attention to these matters. Robert Blake, F. B. Smith, Maurice Cowling, and last but not least Paul Smith have all, more or less, helped to dismantle the orthodox version. The last-ditch defender of the landed interest, the advocate of a reform bill to cement the natural affinities of landowners and the people, and the architect of social legislation that realized the dreams of youth—these are now wholly or in part views of Disraeli that have been rejected. In their place we have a Disraeli, more in love with words than deeds, who, though he fought Peel, also persuaded his followers in time to adopt Peel's policy of uniting landed wealth with industrial and commercial wealth, who championed the second Reform Bill largely as a matter of pure politics, and who entered on his great ministry without a concrete idea for social reform.

Although Paul Smith's was not the first among the recently published works to say these things—he admits this in his preface—his book is nonetheless valuable. Its chief merit lies in offering a highly detailed analysis of what Conservatism meant in the field of social legislation during the years 1868–1880. One meets here not only with the speculations and legislative efforts of Derby,

Disraeli, and Cross, but also with those of lesser men, not so easily met with, like the third Duke of Buckingham and Chandos, Lord Henley, Lord Robert Montagu, Sir John Pakington, Viscount Sandon, C. B. Adderley, and J. E. Gorst. One is carefully instructed, moreover, in the minutiae of a social policy that ranged from great subjects like education and the trade-unions to lesser ones like river pollution and the licensing question. Smith's conclusions flow inexorably from these detailed considerations. The Conservatism of Disraeli's great ministry was clearly a most mixed affair in which empiricism and Peelite liberalism were the major ingredients. Disraeli found himself in the contradictory position after 1867 of being at once a popular political reformer and the defender of a bourgeois Conservatism fearful of the rise of democracy. While he no doubt believed that he had somehow resolved this contradiction, his achievement was in fact largely a rhetorical one.

Johns Hopkins University

DAVID SPRING

A DOCUMENTARY STUDY OF BRITISH POLICY TOWARDS INDIAN NATIONALISM, 1885-1909. By *B. L. Grover*. Foreword, *Humayun Kabir*. Introduction, *Bisheshwar Prasad*. ([Delhi:] National Publications. 1967. Pp. xxv, 295. Rs. 22.50.)

In this interesting and illuminating study, Dr. Grover has endeavored to make a qualitative contribution to the extensive literature dealing with the early history of the Indian nationalist movement and the British response to it. To penetrate the outward "pose of neutrality" and to expose the real attitudes of the British rulers toward Indian nationalism, the author has extracted from the private papers of the top officials of the period documents dealing with such subjects as the origins of Congress, the role of A. O. Hume, and the attitudes and policies of successive Viceroys. Most of the 174 documents included in the work have not previously been published, and they add significantly to our knowledge of many of the major developments of this period. The documents reveal a British hierarchy deeply hostile to the new political movement (Dufferin kept equating it to the dreaded Irish Home Rule party), fearful of its long-term objectives and of the support that it received from radical politicians in Britain, and, at times, as in the case of the partition of Bengal and the granting of communal representation to Muslims, guilty of Machiavellian policies designed to weaken the Congress or to prevent it from becoming more truly national.

The documents do not always, unfortunately, support the conclusions that the author draws in his overlong and repetitious commentary on the various topics. This is especially true as far as the origins of Congress and Hume's motives are concerned. While Hume's object might have been to stunt the growth of Banerjee's Indian National Conference by founding a "loyal and innocuous" organization under his own direction, the documents selected provide no conclusive proof on which to base such a contention. Nor do they warrant the simple assertion that Hume was the conservative, stabilizing force depicted by the author. What they do show, it seems to me, is an erratic, tempestuous individual who could be hobnobbing with the Viceroy at one moment in an effort to secure reforms and, the next moment, condemning him and the bureaucracy

in the most outspoken language—a man who, on some occasions, as witnessed by his circular of 1892, was more extreme than the general Congress membership.

Though this conflict does not occur in the case of most of the other topics, the work as a whole would undoubtedly benefit from more documents and less commentary. There are very few documents, for example, on the important question of the partition of Bengal. The organization might also be improved by the avoidance of so many subheadings, and it would be useful to know the precise source of each document.

University of Manitoba

E. C. MOULTON

SOCIALISTS, LIBERALS AND LABOUR: THE STRUGGLE FOR LONDON, 1885-1914. By *Paul Thompson*. [Studies in Political History.] (Toronto: University of Toronto Press. 1967. Pp. viii, 376. \$10.50.)

MODERN London has intimidated historians. To examine it is to enter a maze from which it is difficult to emerge with honor, for its astonishing growth, sprawling bulk, huge population, inner contradictions, and bewildering complexity of local and central authorities challenge and overwhelm the historian. It is, therefore, not surprising that so little has been published on its political and social development. A study of the competition and occasional cooperation between the major parties and socialists for a share of London's seventy-two parliamentary seats has long been overdue. Dr. Thompson has now filled the need with an important and valuable book.

Thompson's theme is the relationship between London's political geography and political development. He looks beyond central party programs and policies to local industrial, social, and religious characteristics—"the infra-structure of politics." With its mobile population, secular attitudes, political apathy, commuting office workers, and relative lack of heavy industry, London was a nineteenth-century prototype of the "conurbations" to come. Thompson's analysis of party fortunes in London thus reveals in microcosm much of what later occurred in the nation at large.

The collapse of the Liberal hold on London after 1880 (in 1865 every London member was a Liberal; in 1895 and 1900 only eight of the seventy-two seats were captured by Liberals) is excellently analyzed. The partial recoveries of 1892, 1906, and 1910 are shown to be fortuitous, owing more to factors outside the party than to any strength within it. London in this period was unreceptive to non-conformist radicalism, and the Liberals aggravated their problems by refusing to accept the need for local organization and working-class candidates. The socialists, however, benefited little from Liberal weaknesses. Ramsay MacDonald, like many labor leaders, complained that London socialism was sick. Thompson provides a fascinating study, based on thorough research in local records, of this sickness, especially the reluctance to assist the growth of a national labor party. He argues, not always convincingly, that the Fabians had little constructive influence on the Progressives, the Independent Labour party, and the Labour Representation Committee, and that the Social Democratic Federation, far from being the impractical sect usually depicted, was the largest and most dynamic of the London socialist groups. He shows how torn the London Fabians were

between their policy of permeation of existing parties and encouragement of labor alliances and argues that the secular Marxism of the Social Democrats was better suited to London than northern socialism, with its nonconformist, trade-unionist elements.

Thompson's revisionist analysis of the Fabians and Social Democrats is too severe on the former and too generous to the latter, and his treatment of the Progressives, the London County Council, and the Conservatives is unsatisfactory. These flaws do not lessen the importance of a work that significantly advances our knowledge of the rapid decline of Liberalism and the slow advance of socialism in London in this period.

Vassar College

ANTHONY S. WOHL

THE JOURNALS OF GEORGE STURT, 1890-1927: A SELECTION. Volume I, 1890-1904; Volume II, 1905-1927. Edited and introduced by E. D. Mackerness. (New York: Cambridge University Press. 1967. Pp. viii, 453; v, 455-915. \$19.50 the set.)

GEORGE Sturt was a Surrey schoolteacher who gave up teaching in 1884 in order to take over the family business—a wheelwright's shop in Farnham. He ran the shop for thirty-six years and then wrote a book (*The Wheelwright's Shop* [1923]) about its history and the working lives of its craftsmen that has become a minor classic. He kept a journal during most of his adult life. One edited selection from this journal appeared in 1941, but it only covered the period from 1890 to 1902. The present selection is far more comprehensive and covers a much greater time span. The editor tells us that he has attempted "to sustain the narrative of Sturt's personal and professional life from 1890 onwards, and to set it against the background of social conditions in and around his native Farnham."

In this he has succeeded. Historians who want to get a sense of the quality of life in a Surrey village during this period, whether in terms of social relations and gradations, reactions to great public events, or the trials and tribulations of a dying craft and its practitioners, will find the *Journals* an invaluable source. They will also find them heavy going. Sturt read widely and possessed a subtle and reflective mind. There was something quietly heroic about the way in which he coped with repeated bouts of ill-health and the tedium and frustrations of day-to-day village life. But his reflections on ultimate questions of existence and his musings on his own mental and psychological states, while always serious, tend to be both lengthy and banal; while derivative in substance, they are almost embarrassingly self-conscious and artificial in presentation.

Yet once one has reconciled oneself to the fact that this is not one of the "great" journals, that one's expectations must not be pitched too high, there are many compensations. Sturt was a marvelous observer and recorder of the ways of thought and speech of rural workingmen and women. Neither maudlin nor patronizing, he who was proudly conscious of his own artisan heritage brought an intuitive and sympathetic understanding to the lives and problems of his fellow villagers.

It is they who make the *Journals* come alive. And one willingly puts up with all of Sturt's lucubrations about art and society and the problems of working-class

culture for the record of an old lady's reminiscence of her childhood when "Old Master Whiten" sang "Yoicks my little dogs," and for an entry such as this one: "On going down to breakfast, I said to Bessie, 'It's May-day.' She looked surprised and 'Oh! so it is!, she said. 'I ought to have said "Rabbits!!"'"

Harvard University

JOHN CLIVE

GREAT BRITAIN AND THE WAR OF 1914-1918. By Sir Llewellyn Woodward. (London: Methuen and Company; distrib. by Barnes and Noble, New York. 1967. Pp. xxxiii, 610. \$13.50.)

SIR Llewellyn Woodward is one of the most distinguished living British historians. Twenty-four years old when the war broke out in 1914, he obtained a commission as soon as he could pass the physical examination and served at the front for several years. He was wounded and discharged from the army in 1917 and attached to the Foreign Office where he remained until the end of the war. During his war service he became very disgusted with the poor direction of the British war machine, and his book is, in one sense, a kind of explanation for the way the British conducted the war. But much as he loathed the war and feared its consequences, he never faltered in his belief that Britain and its Allies must and could win the war. He had little sympathy with the Left-wing protests against the war and was not sympathetic with President Wilson's policy of peace without victory. Convinced that a German victory would mean the ruin of Europe and the subservience of Western Europe to Germany, he was in favor of strong terms for peace and in the end "did not think the Treaty of Versailles too severe."

In his narrative Sir Llewellyn records all the blunders and mistakes that he considers the British warlords to have committed, and a long and sorry list it is. He had no better opinion of French and German action. He does not record anything new, but the totality of his criticism is staggering. Since the closed period for British archives has recently been reduced from fifty to thirty years, one might have expected him to have made use of the Foreign Office archives, as he did in his volume on British diplomacy in the Second World War, but I could find no evidence of it.

The most interesting section is Part XII, "the organization of British resources for total war" in which he describes in considerable detail how the British government, starting almost from the beginning in August 1914, built up the stupendous organization that existed at the end of 1918. In this he makes extensive use of the Carnegie Endowment's *Economic and Social History of the World War*. Even in this crucial business one cannot avoid the impression that there was much improvisation in the best British manner. This is essentially a British book for British readers and says comparatively little regarding the American contribution to the war.

Sir Llewellyn is an excellent stylist, and his book makes very good reading. It may certainly be recommended not only to the younger generation, who wonder what the First World War was about, but also to elderly people (like myself; I am a little older than Woodward) who have pretty well forgotten what happened in 1914-1918.

University of Chicago

BERNADOTTE E. SCHMITT

DIARIES AND LETTERS. Volume II, THE WAR YEARS, 1939-1945. By *Harold Nicolson*. Edited by *Nigel Nicolson*. (New York: Atheneum. 1967. Pp. 511. \$8.50.)

THE Nicolson diaries for the Second World War are, in essence, not very different from those published earlier that cover the period 1930-1939. In one important respect, however, they underscore what was already implicit in the earlier volume: the pain Nicolson felt in being excluded from major political responsibility. Despite his excellent personal connections, much in evidence, Nicolson never managed to impress himself either on party leaders or on the House of Commons. He was not a man to make a great impression on the general public; this, despite his very successful career as a journalist. For a brief period, from May 1940 to July 1941, he served as Parliamentary Secretary in the Ministry of Information under Duff Cooper. This time of fulfillment for Nicolson was made all the more poignant when he was abruptly dismissed by Churchill after Duff Cooper left the ministry. Nicolson was offered a place as a member of the board of governors of the BBC, and he accepted, but he understood the meaning of the transfer. Any hopes he had entertained for a political career were now effectively ruled out. He remained a backbencher in the House of Commons, not a place for an able man to find himself in time of war.

Even more than in the first volume, the reader must reflect on why someone of such obvious intelligence and learning was so thwarted in his political ambitions. The answer, in part, lies in Nicolson's failure to view men and events dispassionately or critically. This may seem a strange judgment of someone who took such obvious pride in his capacity to render precise estimates of those with whom he associated. Yet, if one assembles his comments on Churchill or De Gaulle, for example, two of his principal heroes, one is struck with how little he reveals concerning the personality or character of either. He reminds us, and this is useful, of the doubts expressed in many quarters about Churchill's stewardship of the nation at various critical moments; he is also informative on the more commonly treated theme of De Gaulle's difficulties in London. In neither case, however, is he able to provide a portrait significantly different from that communicated by less perceptive or less advantageously placed observers.

The failure to reflect on events is even more conspicuous. Nicolson seems almost incapable of liberating himself from his Edwardian preconceptions, so that he can represent politics and society as something other than a succession of incidents involving friends talking about each other. Granted that diaries and letters are particularly susceptible to such personal treatment, still, the impression prevails that Nicolson, for all his acquaintance with politicians, did not understand the political scene and that failure made him an unreliable commentator on the internal dynamics of the society to which he was so deeply attached. This in no way invalidates the interest of the volume. It may, however, provide an additional explanation of why the story is essentially that of an intellectual's failures in twentieth-century British politics.

Brown University

STEPHEN R. GRAUBARD

JAMES USSHER, ARCHBISHOP OF ARMAGH. By *R. Buick Knox*. (Cardiff: University of Wales Press. 1967. Pp. 205. 35s.)

THE subject of Professor Knox's study, Archbishop James Ussher, is perhaps best known as the compiler of Ussher's chronology. By computing the ages of the Biblical patriarchs, priests, judges, and kings, Archbishop Ussher reached his celebrated estimate of 4,004 as the number of years elapsing from creation to the coming of Christ. While Ussher himself affected to recognize the provisional nature of this estimate, which depended upon the adoption of particular textual readings, the margin of error that he would admit was minimal. He believed that a firm calculation was possible and that it would not vary much from 4,000 years.

The later history of this particular calculation should not obscure the serious purpose that underlay Ussher's quest for accurate dating. Ussher was at once a Protestant theologian, historian, and controversialist, and all of his writings and most of his actions were colored by one major assumption, that "the ancientist must needs be the right, as the nearer the Fountain, the purer the streams, and that errors sprang up as the ages succeeded." Ussher the historian could not be separated from Ussher the theologian and controversialist. He wrote to expose the errors of Roman Catholicism, to defend the Stuart dynasty, and to justify the episcopal system at a time when it was under severe attack.

Knox admits that there were many verdicts upon Ussher as man and churchman in his own time and that disagreement about him persists. Ussher had firm convictions on many issues, convictions not always compatible or easily harmonized. Knox sees his subject not as confused, wavering, harsh, or mild, but as a man who reacted to the complexities of his times. While this kind of a conclusion is certainly not original, it appears to be all that the sources will bear. The subject of this book was born in Ireland in 1581, entered Trinity College, Dublin, three years after its foundation, and became one of its early provosts; he lived through Elizabeth's Irish wars, and though he left Ireland forever in 1640, he was in a sense witness to the flight of the earls, the Ulster Plantation, Strafford's Irish years, the Ulster massacres, the Great Rebellion, and the Cromwellian conquest and transplantation. One might, therefore, wish for more than is in this book. Knox has given us six chapters on Ussher the man and his friends and five chapters on Ussher's theological and controversial writings. This is a book for specialists in seventeenth-century English and Anglo-Irish church history.

University of Notre Dame

ROBERT E. BURNS

POMPONNE DE BELLÈVRE: A STUDY OF THE KING'S MEN IN THE AGE OF HENRY IV. By *Raymond F. Kierstead*. [Northwestern University Studies in History, Number 4.] ([Evanston, Ill.:] Northwestern University Press. 1968. Pp. xiii, 157. \$5.25.)

BIOGRAPHY, which one would think to be by its very nature the most *historisante* of all forms of *histoire*, has come to be practiced in recent years as one of the most rewarding kinds of institutional history. This study of an eminent Politique continues with learning and skill the pattern already set by N. M. Sutherland

and Orest Ranum in their studies of the French Secretaries of State. Pomponne de Bellièvre came out of the municipal patriciate of Lyons to serve French kings from Henri II to Henri IV as counselor of state, ambassador, Secretary of State, and Chancellor. Less well known than Michel de l'Hôpital, he embodied the same principles of monarchical loyalism, devotion to the interests of the state and a traditionalist view of its function and character, a steadfast Catholic faith, and a readiness to live with Huguenot fellow countrymen. Although Kierstead's vision of the government and society of early modern France is neither personal nor original, it is wholly up to date; the spirit of Roland Mousnier hovers visibly but lightly over these pages. Kierstead shows in detail the ascent of the Bellièvres out of the ranks of the town merchants into the ranks of the "new class" of royal servants, men no longer bourgeois nor yet unequivocally noble. He contrasts Bellièvre particularly with Sully, the Huguenot duke who opposed the Bellièvres and their class as upstarts and favored a bellicosity and a boundless absolutism that Bellièvre resisted with indifferent success until his disgrace in 1604.

For a work as rich in significant exposition and thoughtful analysis as this one it is unfortunately far too short; the reader repeatedly wants to know more and finds himself limited by the author's needless brevity. This is one of the rare books that would be twice as good if twice as long.

Rutgers University, New Brunswick

HERBERT H. ROWEN

SULLY AND THE GROWTH OF CENTRALIZED GOVERNMENT IN FRANCE, 1598-1610. By *David Buisseret*. (London: Eyre & Spottiswoode; distrib. by Barnes and Noble, New York. 1968. Pp. 240. \$8.00.)

THE importance of this book could scarcely be exaggerated: it exploits a newly available capital source, the fifty-volume *Papiers de Sully*, and the author is collaborating with Bernard Barbiche of the Archives Nationales on a much-anticipated edition of the *Économies Royales*. Buisseret devotes three chapters to Sully's accomplishment as *Surintendant des finances* (III-V), followed by one each on the *Grand voyer*, the *Surintendant des fortifications et des bâtiments*, and the *Grand Maître de l'artillerie*. Tables, charts, and appendixes support the lucid analysis of the text. Sully's several administrations are described with such detail and new insight that each should be reviewed by a specialist; this is a mere summary of Buisseret's general interpretation and revisions of older views.

Finding the financial system Sully inherited more intact and more workable than has been thought, Buisseret believes that he "breathed life into the old regulations" and that his originality lay in close supervision and the creation of a secretariat. His achievement is not thereby diminished; convincing proof is indeed offered for the traditional judgment. The account of the system itself is by far the best in English, and the full analysis of the budgets is a major new contribution. Sully's struggle against "provincial and corporate solidarity" illustrates the conflict between his conception of government and that of the privileged groups, whose power not only made it impossible to realize "the king's wish that all over France the *taille* should be levied in uniform fashion," but it also explains the helplessness of even so gifted an administrator to change the system.

By a fortunate coincidence, another good new book presents the other side of this crucial struggle: Raymond F. Kierstead, *Pomponne de Bellièvre* (AHR, LXXIII [Oct. 1968], 181).

In Sully's other administrative roles, he displayed an understanding of the applications of quantitative measurement to government and war; this revises the image of "a latter-day Roman republican" interested only in agriculture and the treasury. Even more strikingly new is the appearance of the Huguenot nobleman as "a far-sighted cameralist" inspired by the example of Philip II of Spain. In documenting Sully's contribution to "internal improvements" and the urbanization of Paris, Buisseret brings out his use of public works as an alternative to war in that they would absorb "the turbulent humors of the kingdom" and the importance of his administrative innovations for the future.

An error in the dates of Henri d'Albret (1502-1555), grandfather of Henry IV, is unfortunate but incidental. Sully's highhandedness, especially toward the *robins*, his vanity, his passion for building, and his firm but unfanatical Protestantism are all confirmed. Although his indifference to overseas trading companies may have been influenced by a bribe from the Dutch, he is found to be financially honest.

An interesting account of the development of Sully's legend by the philosophes is supplemented by the exposure of such myths as his alleged indifference to the arts and charges that he stacked his administration with Protestants and that he was categorically opposed to mercantilism. The ultimate distortion of the legend Buisseret expresses as "the idea that the king was a brave bungler who relied on Sully for all serious affairs . . . [as] in some sense a father-figure." While the "Grand Design" belongs to the legend, Sully had a new sense of *patrie*, which "provided the unifying element in his life" and makes Buisseret's Sully "much more similar to Richelieu than is normally allowed."

Tufts University

NANCY L. ROELKER

LOUIS XIV. By John B. Wolf. (New York: W. W. Norton and Company. 1968. Pp. xix, 678. \$12.50.)

IN 1951, when Professor Wolf completed *The Emergence of the Great Powers* for "The Rise of Modern Europe" series, he regretted that there was no good biography of Louis XIV. "Here, if anywhere in this period," he observed, "is an opportunity for a new book." He has now remedied the deficiency with this massive, detailed, soundly documented biography of 300,000 words. "In the process of writing this book," he admits, "it became evident that my picture of Louis XIV was somewhat different from the one that usually stalks the pages of history." How much his own impression of the Sun King altered in eighteen years can be measured by comparing *The Emergence of the Great Powers* with the present work.

In these pages Louis evolves from an affectionate, conscientious prince to a prudent, hard-working monarch. His devotion to his mother, and to Mazarin, his foster father and political mentor, is convincingly documented. So, too, are his methods of personal administration after Mazarin's death. His correspondence with his ministers and generals reveals him not as an "arrogant megalomaniac"

but as "a man who frequently felt psychologically insecure." To see the real Louis behind the vainglorious actor, Wolf maintains, it is essential to understand his conception of *gloire* and to recall the *mystique* that invested a divine right monarch in the seventeenth century.

How Louis labored to enhance the prestige of the crown while reducing the power of the great nobles is a familiar theme. Wolf acknowledges that "by separating the reality and the *mystique* of power and position, Louis began the process that in the next century almost made the nobility into a parasitical class. . . ." But Louis was not thinking of the next century; he was remembering the *Fronde*. To avert a recurrence of political fragmentation the monarch had to win acceptance as the symbol, ordained by God, of the power, the glory, and the unity of France. "The best way to get an understanding of the development of the new *mystique* of royalty at the climax of the period when kings ruled by divine right is to read through the mass of contemporary material that flooded from the presses of France." From this material, Wolf goes on to explain, emerges his thesis that "the deification of the person of the king in this theocentric era was accomplished in much the same way and with the same intentions that secular societies of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries have deified the state."

The extravagance of Versailles and the recurrent wars of Louis's long reign were not inspired by his personal pride, but rather by his concern for the dignity of his office. His lofty concept of that office lured him into military moves and made him a haughty negotiator so that he "often found it next to impossible to disengage from a war. . . ." As the defender and in a sense the prisoner of his inheritance, rather than the arrogant arbiter of France and Europe, Louis becomes a more comprehensible and more sympathetic figure.

Wolf deserves the gratitude of his fellow historians for the arduous archival labors he undertook to humanize a monarch who had been too largely reduced to a stereotype. This thoughtful, undramatized, lucidly written biography is enriched by five maps and fifty illustrations. There is an index of persons and places, and the forty pages of sources, notes, and references provide at the same time an elaborate bibliography.

Ithaca, New York

GEOFFREY BRUN

LA COMÉDIE FRANÇAISE AU 18^e SIÈCLE: ÉTUDE ÉCONOMIQUE. By Claude Alasseur. Preface by J. Fourastié. [École Pratique des Hautes Études—Sorbonne. VI^e Section: Sciences économiques et sociales. Centre de Recherches Historiques. Civilisation et sociétés, Number 3.] (Paris: Mouton & Co. 1967. Pp. viii, 206. 35 fr.)

DISCOVERY of the accounts of the *Comédie Française* for 1680–1793 prompted this quantitative study. Two-thirds of the work and almost its entire organization reflect the monthly and annual registers, while nineteen statistical tables occupy the sixty-five pages of appendixes.

The opening chapter, on various social classes and their apparent presence in the audience, rests on secondary sources. The chapter on the administrative evolution of the *Comédie* is too short to emphasize sufficiently the regulations of

1757 that were brought on by indebtedness of almost 500,000 livres. After that date, as the third chapter shows, annual rentals of the *petits loges* allowed total receipts to resume the upward curve of 1680-1720. Taxes and wages as well as all expenses began to rise at a more rapid rate after the mid-1750's.

Mlle. Alasseur's study is more institutional history than conventional price history. The product for sale is not closely related to the general economy nor to monetary changes, the only short-term influences upon receipts being political events affecting the nobility and administrative changes. The wages of personnel below the ranks of musicians and actors rose only half as much as other workers' wages, but the sample is small, and the comparison to Labrousse's day laborers is strained. Long-term fluctuations in the financial stability of the theater seem to go against the fabric of the economy, with years of depression and indebtedness from 1720 to 1745, a sharp rise in income after about 1760, and no crisis of revenue until the late 1780's.

Historians will find the nonquantitative conclusions more suggestive for literary affairs. Plays judged as critical successes did not increase annual receipts very much, and unsuccessful plays were often presented many times over. The theater began to recover its losses before the great generation of actors appeared after mid-century. The twenty-three full members of the company realized more profit from the operation in the 1680's than in any decade before the 1760's, although no actor tried to live on his theater shares alone. We shall probably never know the average ticket buyer with any precision, but one hopes that the many pages of pristine figures presented here are the nucleus of a comparative history of literary institutions, especially other theaters.

University of Pennsylvania

PERRY VILES

JUDICIAL POLITICS IN THE OLD REGIME: THE PARLEMENT OF PARIS DURING THE REGENCY. By *James D. Hardy, Jr.* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1967. Pp. ix, 225. \$6.50.)

In this compact volume Professor Hardy presents a lucid account of the political role that the Parlement of Paris played during the Regency in the first years of the reign of Louis XV. His narrative emphasizes the Parlement's part in contemporary religious and financial controversies, the former centering upon the struggle between Gallicans and ultramontanes that stemmed from the papal bull, *Unigenitus*, and the latter focusing upon such aspects of the financial crisis as taxes, coinage, and, of course, the John Law episode. The author stresses, throughout, the Parlement's attempts to regain a significant role in political affairs after long quiescence under Louis XIV, and he shows the extent to which it accomplished this in spite of the *lit de justice* of 1718 and the exile of the magistrates to Pontoise two years later. The account of the Parlement's political maneuvering is reasonably full and is partially based upon extensive research in manuscript sources. It therefore contains information previously unavailable in print.

In presenting his findings, Hardy relies almost entirely upon a rapidly flowing narrative with a bare minimum of analysis and commentary. This method of exposition has the advantage of presenting a highly readable account of specific

events, but neglects fundamental matters of explanation and interpretation because the facts do not speak for themselves. To appreciate the Parlement's role in the religious controversies, more should be said concerning the significance of Gallicanism and Jansenism during the period, both among the magistrates and throughout the nation. Considerably more was involved than Gallican factionalism on the Parlement's part. The same lack of contextual information weakens his treatment of financial affairs. The author's exaggerated manner of stating his conclusions occasionally leads him to such sheer inaccuracies as, for example, that "the magistrates were asking for a significant share in royal legislative power" or that the Parlement thought of itself as "a part of the royal government but an absolutely independent part." As for the general thesis of the book—that the Parlement in this period staked out spheres of activity and developed methods of agitation that it followed until the Revolution—this is correct only if carefully qualified, since the Parlement clearly advanced to new positions in both areas as the century progressed. This work presents an interesting and cogent narrative of the Parlement's political activity during the Regency, but it should explain the significance of the events that it relates more accurately.

Brown University

WILLIAM F. CHURCH

THE FRENCH ARMIES IN THE SEVEN YEARS' WAR: A STUDY IN MILITARY ORGANIZATION AND ADMINISTRATION. By *Lee Kennett*. (Durham, N. C.: Duke University Press. 1967. Pp. xvi, 165. \$6.00.)

MR. Kennett's characterization of his small volume as "a sort of marginalia to the conflicts of the eighteenth century" is too modest. This is, after all, no exercise in microhistory; one would hardly describe as "marginalia" a 150-page book on the Union Army in the Civil War. Indeed, the book's very compactness is a source of frustration, both for the specialist because so much of the total picture is necessarily omitted and for the general reader because of the density of the detail included. The fault perhaps lies less in the author than in the subject. For whatever reason, military administration is a hodgepodge of disparate institutions and activities that are loosely linked by the common purposes of the military system. One can describe its several parts—recruiting, pay, provisioning, officer selection, transport and communication, equipment, medical service, intelligence, and so on—separately and with little reference to one another. This is in fact what the book does. Each of its topical chapters is a self-contained digest of a subject to which a volume might well be devoted. In most cases the volume has yet to be written. Except in a few areas, such as the officer corps, the common soldier, military organization, and military finance, these slim chapters add to our knowledge, and even in these areas the author appears to have exploited the French military records from the period of the Seven Years' War more thoroughly than his predecessors. Where he has used the work of others, as in the case of the social origins of the French soldier, he shows a good grasp of the literature and is abreast of the most recent findings. One can only admire the discipline that enabled him to condense so much research into such small packages. The pity is that, despite skillful organization and a lean, unpretentious style that

makes few demands on the reader, the book remains a bundle of small packages, separately wrapped.

All this is not to suggest that the author should have written, and tried to find a publisher for, a multivolume series that only specialists would read anyway. A larger single volume would have enabled him to deal more deliberately, and perhaps more satisfactorily, with the complexity and bulk of his data. R. S. Quimby's *The Background of Napoleonic Warfare*, for example, devotes two or three times as much space to a more homogeneous subject. What I, at least, would have preferred is a more thoughtful, less substantive, and less compartmented essay describing and interpreting military administration in the framework of the whole war-making system of the old regime. It might have been entitled "L'Esprit de l'Intendance."

Industrial College of the Armed Forces

RICHARD M. LEIGHTON

DISTAFF DIPLOMACY: THE EMPRESS EUGÉNIE AND THE FOREIGN POLICY OF THE SECOND EMPIRE. By *Nancy Nichols Barker*. (Austin: University of Texas Press. 1967. Pp. x, 254. \$6.50.)

Mrs. Barker tackles one of the most intriguing problems facing the historiography of the French Second Empire: how much influence did Empress Eugénie exert on imperial foreign policy? The positions of participants and historians have already been so emotionally spelled out that even this serious study will not necessarily allay them. But no student of the issue can escape the obligation to consider her monograph and follow the logic of her argument, which is based on a scholarly and penetrating study of her sources, many gathered from original materials in various European centers.

Neither a biography of the Empress nor a thorough discussion of Napoleonic diplomacy, the volume assumes that the reader already has a working knowledge of the period. It is, instead, a dogged attempt to discover where and how the Empress brought her own ideas and prejudices to bear on French diplomatic decisions. The diplomatic correspondence, the letters, the memoirs have been perused and dutifully digested; all that is missing is the inevitable lacuna that hides the intimate relations between wife and husband.

The author's verdict is that indeed the Empress had a major influence on much imperial diplomacy, but that it was as decisive as many historians believe, she refutes. What appears here is an inconsistency in Napoleon III's foreign policy, and, rather than bringing any wisdom or cohesion to it, Eugénie only clouded what was already a mixture of overaction and hesitancy. The enigmatic Napoleon III appears unimpressive and rather spineless; perhaps this picture is somewhat exaggerated. What develops so tragically, however, is that Eugénie, with the best of intentions but with too much ignorance and romantic yearning, only served to muddle French foreign relations. As so often happens when diplomacy is placed under the close scrutiny of accomplished historians, one is amazed that countries survive as well as they do under the chicaneries of their often confused leaders.

This study demonstrates again that history usually falls back on the intel-

ligence and whimsy of individual men at specific moments. Foreign policy necessarily depends on the ability of real persons to understand, to judge, and to make decisions. In this case, the historian shows how a ruler's wife placed pressures upon him, whether reckless or wise, that, in the final analysis, influenced nineteenth-century France and Europe. The author recognizes the qualities that rank Empress Eugénie as an important figure, perhaps the most influential woman of her generation, but, in the author's words, "her fine qualities did not add up to statesmanship."

DePauw University

JOHN J. BAUGHMAN

ROSSEL, 1844-1871. By *Edith Thomas*. [Leurs figures.] ([Paris:] Gallimard. 1967. Pp. 495. 30 fr.)

LOUIS-NATHANIEL Rossel has not figured prominently in the literature on the Paris Commune of 1871. This is not surprising. It has been easy for the Commune's detractors to dismiss him simply as a young army officer who joined the insurrection from personal pique over his failure to get an anticipated promotion, while for the left-wing mythmakers of the Commune he has been the bourgeois liberal responsible, among his other incompetencies, for the critical surrender of the fort of Issy. Edith Thomas, working from a mass of personal and public documents, has written a straightforward, conventional biography that places him in a different light. With her insistence upon the "rigorous interior logic" of Rossel's life, she has made this story the playing out of a Greek tragedy with the inevitability of the hero's fate as the controlling theme.

We see Rossel throughout his life as a "loner," a ruthless self-critic, an omnivorous reader and joiner of scholarly societies—in all, as a sensitive, highly intelligent young man far better suited, as the author puts it, for a career as a *normalien* than as an army officer. (Rossel himself repeatedly contemplated leaving the army but was held to it by a sense of duty.) We see these traits as the result of his environment: Rossel was indelibly stamped with the severe mentality of the French Protestant of the Midi. It was his religiously held sense of duty, moreover, that placed him under incredible strain as the events of the Franco-Prussian War unrolled, to the point where he felt compelled to sacrifice his duty as a soldier to his duty as a citizen (his own expression). The reader follows this sacrifice and its accompanying commitment to *la guerre à outrance* through Rossel's defiance of orders during the siege of Metz, through his enormously frustrating encounters with the Government of National Defense, and finally through his turning to serve the Commune.

Beyond being likely to stand for some time as the definitive biography of Rossel, this lengthy book, which is perhaps longer than necessary, makes yet one more contribution to understanding the French phenomenon—so much more common since Rossel's day—of military insubordination in the name of exacerbated patriotism. This may be its main value to the historian.

American University

JEAN T. JOUGHIN

LES MUTINERIES DE 1917. By *Guy Pedroncini*. [Publications de la Faculté des Lettres et Sciences humaines de Paris-Sorbonne. Series "Recherches," Number 35.] (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France. 1967. Pp. 328. 28 fr.)

AFTER so much guesswork about the French Army mutinies of 1917 and their repression, Guy Pedroncini's meticulously researched account is as welcome as is the access to French wartime archives that made it possible.

From April 16, 1917 (opening day of the Nivelle offensive), until early in 1918, individual acts of indiscipline multiplied, and a wave of some 250 collective demonstrations occurred, most of them concentrated in late May to early June among units affected by Nivelle's fiasco. There were 629 men condemned to death (75 actually executed), 1,381 sentenced to forced labor for at least five years, and 1,492 who received lesser penalties. Although undocumented summary executions may not have been as negligible as Pedroncini assumes, the broad outlines of his account are not likely to be revised in the future.

The essential issue, then as now, is the diagnosis of "subversive activities." If dissident propaganda caused the mutinies, as most senior officers except Pétain believed, the proper remedy was to eliminate "outside agitators." If grievances provoked the mutinies, the solution was reform. Pedroncini blames grievances, but not such surface ones as leave and food that were put forward by the men. He shows that units ordered into sectors of recent costly and futile assaults were the main seat of rebellion. This was no refusal to fight since the front lines held; it was a revulsion against offensive strategy. Pétain met it wisely, in Pedroncini's view, by the familiar combination of reform and discipline and by the directive of May 19 that replaced the massive frontal assault with carefully planned local attacks in areas of superiority. Pétain economized in blood, while building up matériel and awaiting the Americans. He thus finally adjusted French concepts to modern warfare: matériel rather than raw courage.

Pedroncini's all-comprehending Pétain, even on his own evidence, shared enough of the other generals' conspiracy theory to insist on withdrawing the Stockholm passports and to contribute to the Red Scare of late 1917. His modernizing Pétain jars, moreover, with the morale-preoccupied marshal of later years. Finally, Pedroncini takes it as axiomatic that any compromise peace sentiment was unconscionable in 1917. While future scholars will differ on such judgments, Pedroncini's account of the cause and dimensions of the crisis looks definitive.

State University of New York, Stony Brook

ROBERT O. PAXTON

MAXIME WEYGAND AND CIVIL-MILITARY RELATIONS IN MODERN FRANCE. By *Philip Charles Farwell Bankwitz*. [Harvard Historical Studies, Volume LXXXI.] (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press. 1967. Pp. xiii, 445. \$10.00.)

GENERAL Maxime Weygand has been variously detested, vilified, or adored, but he certainly has not deserved to be ignored by serious historians. Still, by the time Weygand died in 1965 at the age of ninety-eight, one wondered whether he merited the baton of a marshal of France (for his part in the first Compiègne

and Warsaw) or whether he should have been hanged as a war criminal (for his part in the events of 1940 and their aftermath).

About two decades ago Philip Bankwitz set out to disentangle man from myth, to assess Weygand within the broader context of the "politicization" of the modern French Army. Our years of waiting are rewarded: Bankwitz has produced a meticulously documented, conscientiously proofread, and pathbreaking study which, as the author would be the first to admit, is not so much the biography of a soldier as that of the interwar Third Republic in domestic crisis, against the fatal backdrop of civil-military distrust. A tenacious historical bloodhound with a formidable knowledge of French and the French, enhanced by wartime experience with the *Deuxième Division Blindée*, Bankwitz interviewed Weygand personally and repeatedly and spoke with a score of other main actors ranging from Gamelin to Paul-Boncour to Reynaud. It is equally significant that the author developed an intimate acquaintance with all relevant unpublished and published documentation.

Most of the book is concerned with the decade of crises following Weygand's appointment as chief of army general staff in 1930, most particularly with struggles over disarmament and effectives and the connections between this infighting, political instability, and military doctrine. Without refighting the "drôle de guerre," the author explains the larger catastrophe of 1940, symbolized by Weygand. The afteryears are instructive but somewhat anticlimactical as we follow Weygand, that curious but hardly unique amalgam of authoritarian reformer, patriot, and Germanophobe, to Vichy, North Africa, captivity, and trial. Finally exonerated in 1948, the aged Weygand resumed the role of Rightist politico-military pundit; predictably, he espoused the emotional cause of *Algérie française*. The wheel had turned full circle; as Bankwitz observes wryly, Weygand "was condemned to live long enough to witness the full historical consequences of that painful moment of 1940, including the victory . . . of his old enemy and earliest imitator, Charles de Gaulle."

Although Bankwitz does not succeed in breathing life into his main personage, he is the master of an epigrammatic prose. Weygand, for example, he terms "monarchist by sympathy, conservative by conviction, and republican only by necessity." What is more important, the author's analyses are impeccably reasoned. He finds, as the verdict of history, "that while Maxime Weygand was the holder of remarkable talents, he did not have the qualities of the hero, revolutionary in thought and deed, who alone could have provided the answer" in France's most desperate hour.

From reading this balanced and thoughtful study, we do not come to love Weygand; we do, however, come to understand the complex interaction between him and his century of modern French history in terms of "réalités militaires." One can think of no higher praise than to suggest that Donald C. McKay would have been proud of this book by his gifted student.

San Diego State College

ALVIN D. COOX

DOCUMENTS DIPLOMATIQUES FRANÇAIS (1932-1939). First Series (1932-1935). Volume III (17 MARS-15 JUILLET 1933). [Ministère des Affaires Étrangères, Commission de publication des documents relatifs aux origines de la guerre 1939-1945.] (Paris: Imprimerie Nationale. 1967. Pp. lxx, 928.)

THE third volume in this important French document series continues the excellent work of its predecessors. The topics dealt with most intensively are the Four-Power Pact, the German question, disarmament, and the International Monetary Conference. The documents are organized chronologically, but there are a very useful compilation of them by topic in the front and a somewhat limited index in the back of the volume.

French diplomacy in this period was far from placid. Negotiations about the Four-Power Pact, involving France, Germany, Italy, and Britain, aroused fear and opposition among France's allies, notably Poland and the Little Entente. The French themselves were uneasy about the possible effect of the pact on the League and on France's position in Europe. One Foreign Office note commented that, under the proposed pact, Anglo-Italian tutelage would replace France's role as a Great Power. Yet the French Minister of Foreign Affairs was worried about a possible Italo-German rapprochement and was afraid to refuse the Italian proposals. After intensive negotiations a much-weakened Four-Power Pact was signed on July 15, 1933. The French felt badly isolated in these talks; they feared Germany most, but trusted neither Italy nor Britain.

The reports of François-Poncet, French ambassador to Germany, are fascinating and perceptive. They would, in themselves, make a readable and reasonably comprehensive history of Germany during this period. He was the first French diplomat (in this series of documents, at least) to express the belief that Mussolini might not have complete confidence in Hitler and might fear a German seizure of Austria.

There is not sufficient space available to refer to all the topics dealt with in this volume. For example, there is interesting gossip about East Central Europe. The French ambassador to Italy reported that his Yugoslavian colleague "M. Rakitch laughs every time there is an incident between France and Italy," while the Polish chargé said that only one question about the corridor could be posed: "the annexation of East Prussia to Poland." The French minister to Belgium reported that Hungary was offering to renounce any claims to the territory it had lost to Rumania, if the Rumanians would refuse to ratify the Little Entente. Bulgaria would make a similar renunciation if Rumania would consent to Bulgaria and Hungary seizing territory from Yugoslavia.

This series will always remain an indispensable source for the study of the origins of the Second World War and the general diplomacy of the interwar period.

Indiana University, South Bend

PAUL H. SCHERER

LÉON BLUM: CHEF DE GOUVERNEMENT, 1936-1937. [Cahiers de la Fondation Nationale des Sciences Politiques, Number 155. Sciences politiques.] (Paris: Librairie Armand Colin. 1967. Pp. 439. 40 fr.)

This carefully edited volume represents the proceedings of a colloquium held in March 1965 under the auspices of the *Fondation Nationale des Sciences Politiques*. The timing of the conference was in many ways propitious. The political passions of the 1930's have cooled somewhat after thirty years, or at least other political passions have replaced them; a variety of scholarly studies on Blum and the popular front have appeared or are under way, and a sufficient number of participants in the events are still alive to contribute their testimony. The conception of the conference was sound, and indeed ingenious, a pattern well worth emulating for the study of contemporary history. Scholars prepared reports and communications on selected aspects of the subject and were then invited to meet for joint discussion with a number of individuals who had in some way taken part in the events of the 1930's. The high level of the reports was assured by the participation of such scholars as Pierre Renouvin, Georges Dupeux, René Rémond, Jean-Marcel Jeanneney, Anne Kriegel, Antoine Prost, Gilbert Ziebur, and others. Among the "political" participants—ministers, cabinet officials, aids of Blum, and top-level civil servants—were Pierre Cot, Jules Moch, André Blumel, André Philip, Pierre Mendès-France, and Marius Moutet. In subject matter, hardly a major aspect of the Blum experiment was overlooked.

As one might expect, the conclusions are tentative and moderate. A genuine appreciation of Blum's accomplishments in the face of insuperable obstacles emerges, as well as an understandable homage to the integrity, intelligence, probity, and dedication of the Socialist leader. But whether Blum possessed the political flexibility and extraordinary leadership qualities that his critical times demanded is not a question that the conference really answers. Actually one misses some of the sharper strictures that have been leveled at Blum by writers like Colette Audry, Georges Lefranc, or Alfred Sauvy (if only for purposes of refutation), to say nothing of the Left-wing Socialists in his own party who never ceased believing that 1936 was "une révolution manquée." One misses also the harsher criticisms of his Spanish nonintervention policy, granted that the dilemma confronting him was among the most heart rending that any statesman has ever had to face.

There are a few new details on devaluation, Spain, relations with the USSR, and some other subjects, but, on balance, very little new is added by the contributions of the "political" participants. Despite its shortcomings, this is a valuable publication. No one will be able to write on Blum and the popular front without consulting it. It should stimulate continuing efforts to discuss and assess Blum's statesmanship.

Duke University

JOEL COLTON

DE GAULLE'S FOREIGN POLICY, 1944-1946. By A. W. DePorte. (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press. 1968. Pp. xiii, 327. \$7.95.)

IN August 1944 the Allies extended *de facto* recognition to De Gaulle as head of the French provisional government. Moving his cabinet to Paris from Algiers,

De Gaulle shortly named Georges Bidault as Foreign Minister. With *de jure* recognition in October, and with 75 per cent of French territory liberated, De Gaulle was able, until his resignation in January 1946, to formulate an essentially French, rather than a resistance, foreign policy. His aims were simple: to achieve Great Power status for France, to have access to the council tables where Europe's, and France's, future was being discussed, and to function as a sort of balance between East and West. Mr. DePorte presents considerable detail concerning this policy which, as he admits, never achieved much success.

The volume is written in a straightforward, impersonal, academic style, with minimal appeal to the popular reader. The layman will find a more readable book, with more insight into French foreign policy, in Alexander Werth's biography of De Gaulle which, oddly enough, is not cited by DePorte.

Much of DePorte's work describes events and meetings, such as Yalta and Potsdam, where France was not represented, but wished to be. Perhaps such descriptions could be justified as necessary background in a popular book, but surely they are superfluous for the professional historian. On the other hand, if the author includes a discussion of Yalta, which was not attended by France, why should he omit the Strasbourg incident, in which De Gaulle did participate? It certainly had a bearing on De Gaulle's relations with the Western Allies. In spite of numerous admissions that France lacked the resources needed to support its diplomacy, DePorte writes in a vein that subtly implies that France's role in foreign relations was significant and in a sense comparable to that of the Great Powers. The impression thus produced does not reflect the actuality.

The question has to be raised: for whom was this book written? Clearly not intended for the lay public, it must be thought of as a study for professional historians. Yet it does not present enough new material or new interpretations to make it useful for those familiar with the field. To be sure, there is good coverage of certain problems—one might single out the chapters on the Near Eastern crisis and on De Gaulle's attitude toward European unity—but other studies handle these matters equally well.

University of Florida

ARTHUR L. FUNK

FURTHER SELECTIONS FROM THE TRAGIC HISTORY OF THE SEA, 1559-1565: NARRATIVES OF THE SHIPWRECKS OF THE PORTUGUESE EAST INDIAMEN *AGUIA* AND *GARÇA* (1559) *SÃO PAULO* (1561) AND THE MISADVENTURES OF THE BRAZIL-SHIP *SANTO ANTÔNIO* (1565). Translated and edited from the original Portuguese by C. R. Boxer. [Works issued by the Hakluyt Society, Second Series, Number 132.] (New York: Cambridge University Press for the Society. 1968. Pp. x, 170. \$8.00.)

THIS is a companion volume to *The Tragic History of the Sea 1589-1622 . . .*, edited by C. R. Boxer and published by the Hakluyt Society in 1960. The three narratives in this volume appeared in Bernardo Gomes de Brito's *História trágico-marítima* (1735-36), but this is their first translation into English. Boxer selected them as "typical" accounts of Portuguese disasters of the mid-sixteenth century.

The first narrative concerns a voyage that ended in disaster while on its way from Portugal to India in 1559. The second account, of an India-bound voyage in 1561, tells how the *voyageurs* were driven off course by high seas and squalls. After experiencing sickness (350 out of 500 were ill at one time), undergoing shipwreck, and a surprise Muslim attack, they finally ended their travels in Djakarta. The third narrative, of a passage from Brazil to Portugal in 1565, describes how the ship was buffeted by storms, plundered by French pirates, and left "without rudder, masts, sails, shrouds, [or] ship's boat" until at last about forty half-starved survivors reached their destination. Each narrative has its courageous and humanitarian hero. There is no "typical" moral, however, for where the third account is a panegyric of God's Providence, the second concludes: "It's better to live ashore less desirous of riches than to traverse the sea."

Boxer attributes the authorship of the first narrative to Diago do Couto, the second to an anonymous author, the third to Afonso Luís *et al.* Boxer thus refutes Gomes de Brito's designation of Manuel Baradas, Henrique Dias, and Bento Teixeira Pinto, respectively, as the authors. Boxer recognizes that each narrative had appeared in at least two editions before Gomes de Brito and that while one edition of each narrative still survives, the other is now missing.

My primary quarrel with Boxer is his cavalier treatment of Gomes de Brito, whom he censures for "concealing" information, inserting "numerous interpolations and additions," and for "substituting" misleading statements and details to replace "arbitrarily suppressed" matter. Since Gomes de Brito could have based his version on the editions that are now missing (a possibility left unexplored by the editor), Boxer's criticism of Gomes de Brito is unjustified. This limitation, plus other evidences of carelessness, places this volume below the high standard we have come to expect of publications of the Hakluyt Society.

Virginia Military Institute

HENRY S. BAUSUM

THE TRAGIC WEEK: A STUDY OF ANTICLERICALISM IN SPAIN, 1875-1912. By Joan Connelly Ullman. (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press. 1968. Pp. x, 441. \$9.50.)

THE anticlerical riots of 1909 in Barcelona followed several weeks of organized protest against the sending of conscript troops to Morocco. A one-day general strike on Monday, July 26, was supposed to inspire similar demonstrations in other cities, but it was not, in fact, seconded outside Greater Barcelona, and it quickly degenerated into four days of church burning and street battles. Some sixty buildings were destroyed, and about 120 persons died, of whom 3 were clergy and 8 were police or military. Several factors in the local political situation help to explain how the anarchical disturbances got started. The civil governor was determined to maintain law and order, but not to provoke the workers or call out the army; he disagreed bitterly with his immediate superior in Madrid, the Minister of the Interior. When the latter ordered him to declare martial law, he did so, but he resigned immediately, bequeathing the crisis to an indecisive general who disposed of only 2,000 troops and who was a stranger to the city. During the following four days it also became quite clear

that no organized political party—Radicals, Catalan Republicans, or Socialists—had the slightest understanding, much less control, of what was happening in the streets. The middle class remained passive, and numerous army officers stood by while their troops fraternized with the church burners. During the subsequent repression 5 men were executed, and 59 were sentenced to life imprisonment. But public attention, then and since, has been concentrated overwhelmingly on the case of Francisco Ferrer, rationalist educator, anticlerical orator, and vague propounder of social revolution. Ferrer was executed for "moral responsibility," principally on the testimony of Radical politicians who in recent years had been even more guilty than he of loose talk about the need for burning churches as a prelude to true social revolution.

Mrs. Ullman's study of the events themselves is based upon the press, the trial testimonies, and the memoirs of all the political and military participants who have put themselves on record. She has done a magnificent piece of research, disentangling fact from propaganda and emphasizing areas of continuing ignorance while expounding the known facts. Her treatment of the context is not as successful as her account of the urban riots. She claims too much in stating that the tragic week "marked the end of an era of economic, political, and intellectual reform movements" intended to prepare Spain for the twentieth century. Her efforts to substantiate the claim oblige her later to make ambiguous statements that conceal the absence of substantial content in such things as the Maura reform program and the short-lived *Solidaridad Catalana*. In general the pages concerning 1875-1912 are too diffuse to constitute a connected study of anticlericalism, but the heart of the book is a definitive account of one of the most traumatic incidents in modern Spanish history.

University of California, San Diego

GABRIEL JACKSON

THE GRAND CAMOUFLAGE: THE SPANISH CIVIL WAR AND REVOLUTION, 1936-39. By *Burnett Bolloten*. Introduction by *H. R. Trevor-Roper*. (New York: Frederick A. Praeger. [1968.] Pp. xi, 350. \$7.50.)

Mr. Bolloten's study of the Leftist revolution in Spain during the first ten months of the Civil War and the gradual establishment of the Communist politico-military hegemony in the Leftist zone has been published for the second time. It is the most meticulously investigated and thoroughly documented monograph that has been published on any aspect of the internal politics of the Spanish Civil War. The style is not always felicitous, since a few lines of text often give way to massive documentary footnotes that engulf the page in the manner of Pierre Bayle's *Historical Dictionary*, but this method of exposition does succeed in establishing most major points beyond dispute.

This is not a revised edition; the entire text has been reprinted without alteration. The only changes are in the subtitle and in the addition of an introduction by Hugh Trevor-Roper. *The Grand Camouflage* refers to the Communist effort to present the Leftist revolution in Spain as a case of parliamentary democracy defending itself from "international fascism." When this book first appeared in 1961, its subtitle was *The Communist Conspiracy in the Spanish Civil War*, but that, together with the incontrovertible documentation

included, brought considerable protest from pro-Leftist pundits. The new subtitle—*The Spanish Civil War and Revolution, 1936-39*—is less accurate and will not necessarily make Bolloten's book more acceptable to the Left.

When first published, this volume hardly attracted the attention and praise that it merited. Partly to remedy this, Trevor-Roper has taken up the cudgels in his introduction. He rightly decries the reluctance shown in some quarters to analyze and accept Bolloten's research on its own terms, since, as he says, Bolloten has demonstrated more conclusively than anyone else that the constitutional republic and "democracy" ceased to exist in Leftist Spain after July 1936.

The principal shortcoming of Bolloten's work is a matter of perspective. While carrying on years of exhaustive investigation of the Spanish Left during the ten-month period July 1936 to May 1937, he has devoted comparatively little attention to the period that preceded the Civil War. Thus he is unable to reveal the full process of the erosion of the Republican polity in Spain.

Regardless of such a limitation, the great quantity of solid research and the objective exposition that make up this book assure its place as one of the very few genuinely indispensable studies on the Spanish Civil War.

University of Wisconsin, Madison

STANLEY G. PAYNE

ACTA HISTORIAE NEERLANDICA. Volume I. (Leiden: E. J. Brill. 1966. Pp. xviii, 248. 42 gls.)

SINCE the Dutch language is in limited use, the work of historians in the Netherlands has had a smaller audience than it deserves. This important new series should help the situation. It is to appear annually, and it will present in translation (largely into English) significant articles, lectures, and extensive synopses of important books.

The eleven items translated in the first volume include a survey of classical ideas of world history that stresses the Hellenistic era (A. B. Breebaart); a discussion of medieval corporatism, with a critique of Kantorowicz and others (A. G. Weiler); a convincing attack on Karl Wittfogel's explanation of the rise of Russian autocracy (Z. R. Dittrich); and a synthesis of recent research on prehistoric agriculture in the Netherlands (J. M. G. VanderPoel). Two essays deal with the medieval Netherlands: J. M. Van Winter summarizes her important book on the formation of the noble class in Guelders and Zutphen, and C. VandeKieft considers noble control over some aspects of brewing with the curious combination of regalian and manorial elements involved.

The seventeenth-century "Golden Age" is, obviously, a major area of interest for Dutch historians. I. Schöffer draws on it to criticize views of the epoch as an age of "crisis"—"stabilization" is a better term. More specialized treatments cover the decline of the Baltic grain trade after mid-century (J. A. Faber) and the entrepreneurial activities of the Trip family (P. W. Klein). For the nineteenth century, J. C. Boogman gives a provocative comparison of Dutch foreign policy, dominated by the old "establishment" even during the era of Liberal ascendancy, with that of Belgium. The volume ends with a synopsis of a recent symposium on Dutch policies in the East Indies (edited by H. Baudet and I. J. Brugmans) that reveals sharply differing evaluations of their effectiveness.

The second volume of this series is now available and continues the high standards set by the first. It would seem that this very useful series should be ordered by almost every college and university library.

Calvin College

DIRK W. JELLEMA

L'ESPRIT LAÏQUE EN BELGIQUE SOUS LE GOUVERNEMENT LIBÉRAL DOCTRINAIRE (1857-1870) D'APRÈS LES BROCHURES POLITIQUES. By *Achille Erba*. [Bibliothèque de la Revue d'histoire ecclésiastique, Number 43.] (Louvain: Bureaux de la R.H.E.; distrib. by Éditions Nauwelaerts, Louvain. 1967. Pp. xv, 705. 725 fr. B.)

THIS book, written by an Italian Jesuit and sponsored by the Catholic *Revue d'histoire ecclésiastique*, seeks to examine intellectual territory the author's great-uncles most certainly would have considered to be the Devil's Own. The "laic spirit" defined by it might thus legitimately be suspected of having as many roots in the ecumenical spirit of contemporary European liberal Catholicism as in the fiercely anticlerical materials that it subjects to such rigorous and scientific examination.

Although the study opens with a brochure written in 1857 by the chief of the Doctrinaire ministry, H. J. W. Frère-Orban, and uses various organs of the press to evaluate Liberal opinion, its heart lies in a detailed analysis of certain selected tracts produced by seven Liberal pamphleteers during the years the Doctrinaire ministry was in power. The seven can probably safely be considered typical of current Liberal opinion though not necessarily representative of it since only one writer consistently supported the ministry's ecclesiastical policy and four were Progressives rather than Doctrinaires. All were rationalists who believed in earthly human perfectibility and interpreted Catholic policy as fundamentally oriented toward preparing men for a heavenly rather than an earthly existence and toward protecting the Church as a secular power. They were not, however, materialists. According to Erba, they believed that Christianity contained the natural laws of morality and most of them considered Christ a moral and ethical reformer whose "fundamental teaching [could be] reduced to a message of love, or better, of liberty, equality and fraternity. . . ." Their "laic spirit" was a political attempt to bring traditional Christian moral and ethical principles to the solution of earthly, rather than heavenly, problems by interpreting all constitutional liberties as ultimately guaranteeing individual intellectual freedom. The most sensitive civil areas concerned education, charities, and civil personification of religious bodies.

These Liberal notions might be defined not as a program of laicization but as a means of opposing a clerically dominated Right while maintaining a declericalized Christianity as a bulwark against the materialistic, revolutionary Left. Erba, indeed, seems poorly acquainted with the extreme Left and with the important rationalist society movement that bound it together. When he speaks about it, he is quite frequently wrong, and the single source he cites is poor and long outdated. This is too bad because a better case could probably be made for a revolutionary "laic spirit" than for a Liberal one, and the most serious criticism of the author's thesis is its timidity and narrowness. This timidity is also reflected

in the fact that about half of the author's words appear in footnotes that are usually more irrelevant than illuminating.

Lewis and Clark College

ALLAN H. KITTELL

DE RELIGIÖSA FOLKRÖRELSENA OCH SAMHÄLLET CA 1750-1850;
DE NORDISKA LÄNDERNAS UTRIKESPOLITIK, 1939-41. [Histori-
allinen Arkisto 62; Nordiska Historikermötet, Number 1.] (Helsingfors:
Suomen Historiallinen Seura—Finska Historiska Samfundet. 1967. Pp. 221.)

THE Finnish Historical Association has published the first volume of papers read at the Nordic Historical Meeting in Helsinki in 1967. The volume is devoted to two topics: "The People's Religious Movements and Societies, c. 1750-1850," and "The Foreign Policy of the Northern Countries, 1939-1941." Each general topic is covered by four authors, each author being an expert on the subject in one of the four countries that represent the continental northern community of nations—Denmark, Norway, Sweden, and Finland. Insular Iceland for some reason does not figure in this community project. The authors of each country, except Finland, have published articles in their own languages. The Finns preferred the second language of their country—Swedish.

The religious movements have been traced by A. Pontoppidan Thyssen for Denmark, by Dagfinn Mannsåker for Norway, by Arne Palmqvist for Sweden, and by Martti Ruutu for Finland. The articles are footnoted, and the Finnish and Swedish articles also contain charts. These papers on the religious movements comprise more than half of the volume. To a foreign reader, however, the articles on the foreign policy of the Finno-Scandinavian countries during a very crucial period in world history are of much greater interest. The Danish situation is presented by Sven Henningsen, the Norwegian by Magne Skodvin, the Swedish by Gunnar T. Westin, and the Finnish by Tuomo Polvinen. In striking contrast to the first group, the authors of these articles have not considered it important to document their findings. Only a few important footnotes accompany Skodvin's article. The limited space does not allow proper analysis of these articles here. One wishes, however, that their findings might be translated into English. The foreign policy of smaller European powers—the Scandinavian, Baltic, Benelux, Danubian, and Balkan countries—is continuously overlooked by historians of the major powers, except Germany, and it usually is glossed over with superficial generalities that convey impressions not in accord with historical fact.

San Jose State College

EDGAR ANDERSON

L'ADMINISTRATION DES AFFAIRES ÉTRANGÈRES ET LA POLITIQUE EXTÉRIEURE DE LA FINLANDE: DEPUIS LE DÉBUT DE L'INDÉPENDANCE NATIONALE EN 1917 JUSQU'À LA GUERRE RUSSO-FINLANDAISE DE 1939-1940. By *Juhani Paasivirta*. [Turun Yliopiston Julkaisuja, Series B, Number 99.] (Turku: Turun Yliopisto. 1966. Pp. 207.)

As the title suggests, this book has two subjects, and both receive excellent treatment. The second, however, is clearly subordinate: a lucid and balanced review

of Finland's foreign policy problems and positions from 1917 to 1940 serves mainly to support the author's principal contribution, that is, a detailed, systematic, inclusive, and unusually readable administrative history. Some possibly unnecessary repetitiveness mars the exposition, but the story of how Finland's foreign affairs were managed during the years covered comes through. It is an interesting story even for persons not directly concerned with Finnish affairs.

Paasivirta writes with an acute awareness that Finland's difficulties were not and are not unique. A small, newly independent nation, heavily dependent both economically and politically upon larger neighbors for survival, torn by serious internal cleavages, and almost totally inexperienced in the conduct of foreign affairs, was forced to improvise an apparatus, processes, and personnel—and to take international positions. Finland built a fairly successful organization out of rank amateurs, and Paasivirta describes how it developed and functioned under each of the administrations during the period in question. The background, training, political connections, and personal inclinations of each of the Presidents and Foreign Ministers are outlined and analyzed as they related to the decision-making process. The influence of Parliament, parliamentary committees, and subcommittees and that of the political parties is reported. The role of individual ambassadors and, occasionally, the press is not neglected. We are not given really deep analysis of the processes during any one crisis. While there is nothing intimate or confidential in the book, it does provide a splendid overview.

California Institute of Technology

HEINZ E. ELLERSIECK

ZUR WIRTSCHAFTSGESCHICHTE DES REGIERUNGSBEZIRKS

AACHEN. By *Clemens Bruckner*. With concluding remarks, "Die Wirtschaft des Aachener Bereichs im Gang der Jahrhunderte," by *Hermann Kellenbenz*.

[Schriften zur Rheinisch-Westfälischen Wirtschaftsgeschichte, Number 16.]

(Cologne: Rheinisch-Westfälisches Wirtschaftsarchiv zu Köln. 1967. Pp. 563.)

THIS book is a labor of love. It was written after the author's more than forty years of service with the Chamber of Commerce and Industry of the administrative district (*Regierungsbezirk*) of Aachen. Because Mr. Bruckner's historical interest in the subject was rather incidental, and he was more concerned with the immediate and pressing business problems of the day, Professor Kellenbenz of the *Rheinisch-Westfälisches Wirtschaftsarchiv* has added a chapter unifying historically relevant information that is often scattered or repetitious in the body of the work.

The work is divided into two main parts: The short first part surveys trade and commerce (roads, railways, and their tariffs), natural resources (minerals, water, and forests), and, finally, the effect of cultural and political developments on the region's economy. The second, far longer part deals with the important branches of the economy of the Aachen district which, in addition to the city proper and its immediate surroundings, comprises also the *Landkreise* of Monschau, Schleiden, Düren, Jülich, Geilenkirchen-Heinsberg, and Erkelenz, an area of 3,081 square kilometers and slightly fewer than a million inhabitants. Its location on the borders of West Germany, Belgium, and the Netherlands and its proximity to other important German industrial centers like Cologne and

Düsseldorf make the colorful history and the modern economic problems of this district even more interesting.

Such industries as mining and smelting, based on natural resources, began in the Middle Ages. Manufactures and trades are considered as they developed and disappeared, or as they still exist. Bruckner begins with the city of Aachen itself, then considers each *Landkreis* in turn. The variety and importance of these enterprises are surprising—textile and glass industries, chocolate making, and banking and insurance endeavors. Biographical information on such founders, owners, and managers as the Cockerills or Poensgens, who became known beyond their immediate neighborhood, is interspersed in a number of chapters or appendixes.

Arrangement of the subject matter by *Landkreise* may be convenient for the economist, but it provides monotonous and repetitious reading. It may be unfair to quarrel with the arrangement, however, since the primary aim was to offer a comprehensive wealth of data, facts, and figures.

The circumspect editorial care of Kellenbenz and his assistants in providing bibliographies, indexes of places, subject matter, persons, and firms, a list of the interesting illustrations and maps, and a detailed table of contents open the book to any desired use and help to make it a highly valuable reference work.

Montclair State College

EDITH LENEL

STUDIEN ZUR INDUSTRIEGESCHICHTE DES ERZEBIRGES. By *Siegfried Sieber*. [Mitteldeutsche Forschungen, Number 49.] (Köln Graz: Böhlau Verlag. 1967. Pp. vi, 152. DM 22.)

As the author specifically states and the bibliography indicates, this book is based on years of dedicated labor. Numerous earlier attempts were published in newspaper articles in Chemnitz (now Karl-Marx-Stadt) and in other local and regional journals. This sort of interest on the part of nonacademic historians and chronologists can be found frequently in Central Europe, and it can and does provide important material for serious scholarly work.

Unquestionably, Sieber's book provides much useful information. The lack of documentation in the first part of the work, however, forces the interested scholar to commit much valuable time to ascertaining the accuracy of facts and figures on his own. He has, nevertheless, the benefit of much specific information, apparently carefully collected during the author's lifetime. As such the data may be considered a primary source and, therefore, very valuable.

The book's two major parts are not directly related to each other. In the first portion each industry of any importance to be found in the Erzgebirge region is considered, but without any references to sources. The second portion deals with the city of Aue (with a population of 31,000) located in this area. Here many citations of printed or typed sources are found; they often go back to Sieber's previous works and again prevent the scholar from assuring himself of the accuracy of the statements unless personal observation is given as a source. Most valuable, in my opinion, are the appended maps; unfortunately, they show no historical progression and consequently can be used only with the greatest care.

Tulane University

HERMAN FREUDENBERGER

MELANCHTHON'S RECHTS- UND SOZIALLEHRE. By *Guido Kisch*. (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter & Co. 1967. Pp. 307. DM 48.)

ON February 16, 1960, the eminent legal historian Guido Kisch, of New York and Basel, presented a lecture on humanistic jurisprudence to the Columbia University Seminar on the Renaissance. It served as a platform for his own program of research, and it should benefit other scholars. Kisch urged that scholars move beyond general considerations in the study of legal history to an analysis of the legal thought of specific individuals, to an examination of central problems such as the history of the ideas of *aequitas* and *epieikeia* through the medieval and Renaissance periods, and to such further problems as whether humanism influenced to some degree the reception of Roman law in Central Europe and the significance of humanistic jurisprudence for the growth of the law, its doctrines, instruction, study, and its practical application. Also in 1960, Kisch published his massive *Erasmus und die Jurisprudenz seiner Zeit*, followed by his *Zasius und Reuchlin* (1961) and by his account of his own Basel faculty *Die Anfänge der Juristischen Fakultät der Universität Basel, 1459-1529* (1962). As good as his word, Kisch has pressed on with an impressive study of Melanchthon's legal thought.

In numerous treatises, published in the second part of this volume, Melanchthon spelled out his ideas on law quite explicitly. Dilthey had already observed that Melanchthon's universal mind saw in Roman law a kind of philosophy. Turning away from Mosaic law, Melanchthon cultivated the study of Roman law for over thirty years, appreciating the revival of Roman law as an aspect of the Renaissance of classical antiquity but, above all, as a useful instrument for a better ordering of society. Proceeding from Aristotle's celebrated passage in the *Nicomachean Ethics* (Book V), Melanchthon interpreted the phrase *summum ius summa iniuria*, which Cicero already considered a cliché, as a need to render judgments milder by considering extenuating circumstances. Kisch rightly criticizes this view, arguing that the intent of the doctrine for Aristotle was to state that laws are general and must be improved by being adjusted to individual cases. It would have been useful if the author could have spelled out parallels to Luther's thought even more fully or showed how Melanchthon's preoccupation with Roman law affected his actual teaching and practice in church-state relations. But he is working ahead on his larger history, and the achievements of a man who was honored with a *Festschrift* so long ago as 1955 are remarkable indeed.

Stanford University

LEWIS W. SPITZ

DAS ZEITGENÖSSISCHE FRANKREICH IN DER POLITIK HUMBOLDTS. By *Ulrich Muhlack*. [Historische Studien, Number 400.] (Lübeck: Matthiesen Verlag. 1967. Pp. 199. DM 28.)

THE problematic character of Wilhelm von Humboldt seems to arouse strong feelings of either admiration or distaste; Ulrich Muhlack is an admirer. His aim is to refute interpretations like that of Siegfried Kaehler, in which Humboldt is seen as a man suffering from disabling internal conflicts. Muhlack argues that in Humboldt's thought there were stages of development but no real contradic-

tions, that Humboldt never viewed the political and cultural as sharply distinct spheres with totally conflicting demands, and that he did not sacrifice politics to culture, but rather appreciated the necessity of a certain kind of culture as a prerequisite to the kind of political life he desired. Muhlack, believing that events in France had heuristic value for Humboldt, focuses on Humboldt's changing attitude to the French Revolution. As Humboldt's initial enthusiasm for the libertarian aspect of the Revolution gave way to growing disillusionment and finally to contempt for the French as a nation, so his own ideas on politics in general and on developments in Germany received clarification.

Any student of Humboldt will want to read this carefully reasoned and thoughtful study. With this said, it should be noted that the style is turgid and repetitious; such lengthy analysis of Humboldt's most casual utterance seems sometimes mere prolixity, inflation of a theme that might have been treated adequately in a long article. Muhlack, moreover, is so intent on demonstrating Humboldt's consistency that the total picture becomes that of a man incapable of error. To Muhlack any seeming inconsistency in Humboldt's thought can be explained as a temporary tactical retreat, or two apparently conflicting positions can be reconciled in some higher unity. Throughout, Humboldt is treated with something like reverence. His thought is unfailingly characterized as organic, flexible, sensitive to reality, his morality as untainted by self-interest and aimed only at the common good. In all this there is at least the suspicion of verbal ingenuity. Kaehler did try to find the answer to a genuine problem: Humboldt's failure as a man of action. Muhlack simply insists that as a theorist Humboldt was impeccable. When one has finished this analysis, which is in its way quite impressive, one still wonders why a man of such imputed superior political understanding should have been so ineffective in gaining his political ends.

Cleveland State University

LENORE O'BOYLE

ADOLF HITLER: HIS FAMILY, CHILDHOOD AND YOUTH. By *Bradley F. Smith*. (Stanford, Calif.: Hoover Institution on War, Revolution and Peace, Stanford University. 1967. Pp. 180. \$6.50.)

BRADLEY Smith pursues meticulously the fortunes of the Schicklgruber-Hitler family from 1795 to 1913, and he emerges, having demonstrated the banality of their existence. Poor and hard working (except for young Adolf), of peasant stock, with no distinction and no scandals except those resulting from incontinence, they are a monument to inexplicable fate. Hitler's father Alois was probably not, despite Hans Frank and Franz Jetzinger, the illegitimate son of a Jew; he worked his way up to minor success in the Austrian bureaucracy, changed his name from Schicklgruber presumably to secure an inheritance, dominated the household, made a living that placed him financially in the middle group of the salaried middle class, retired to be a small-scale farmer and beekeeper, and died respectably, if in a tavern. Klara Pölzl, Hitler's mother, appears as a decent, hard-working woman, too indulgent of her petulant son. Theirs was a "transient" family life, to be sure, in some measure because of Alois's necessary moves as a customs official, but not a particularly unhappy one.

As for Adolf Hitler, Smith rightly remarks that this is not "the portrait of

the adult monster as a monster child." He was lazy, fond of romantic games, stubborn; he did well in the *Volksschule*, which was easy, and poorly in the *Realschule*, which was harder and repelled him because it was linked with Alois's ambition for him to become an official. Jetzinger's sharp criticism of August Kubizek's *Adolf Hitler, mein Jugendfreund*, is not generally supported by Smith. The tempting thesis of Dr. Johann Recktenwald that Hitler suffered a personality change after an attack of encephalitis is viewed as unproved and unprovable. For Vienna, Reinhold Hanisch remains the best source. The memoir literature, rightly suspect because of the long lapse between events and writing and also the inevitable bias pro or con, is carefully checked against the documents and earlier investigations recorded in the NSDAP Archives.

One might wish for more comment on Hitler's stylized Biedermeier account of these early years in *Mein Kampf*, especially the political and social views aired there, though Smith is doubtless right in de-emphasizing Hitler's political interests and experiences in Vienna. And were Lanz-Liebenfels and *Ostara* really such an influence on young Hitler's racism as Wilfried Daim maintained? Otherwise, the book appears admirably cool, objective, and thorough, if a little dry.

Harvard University

REGINALD H. PHELPS

GROSSE DEPRESSION UND BISMARCKZEIT: WIRTSCHAFTSABLAUF, GESELLSCHAFT UND POLITIK IN MITTELEUROPA. By *Hans Rosenberg*. [Veröffentlichungen der Historischen Kommission zu Berlin beim Friedrich-Meinecke-Institut der Freien Universität Berlin, Number 24. Publikationen zur Geschichte der Industrialisierung, Number 2.] (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter & Co. 1967. Pp. xii, 301. DM 28.)

PROFESSOR Rosenberg's suggestive and penetrating essay on the great depression of 1873-1896 in Germany and Austria extends and refines his notable article on the same subject in the *Economic History Review* (XIII [No. 1, 1943], 58-73). His theme, as before, is the political and social consequences flowing from a major redistribution of national incomes, but now Rosenberg has strengthened with evidence and commentary many points that he had previously just sketched in. In examining relevant theories of the business cycle and the social psychology of the depression, he has dealt more searchingly than before with the realignment of parties and interests, the trend to "collective protectionism," and the economic roots of modern imperialism.

After 1873 discontent and mean calculation replaced the optimism and idealism that had eased the way for Bismarck's creative "revolution from above." Depression and deflation affected different groups in strikingly different ways. Agriculture was pinched harder than industry and commerce, while, with rising productivity, factoryworkers actually enjoyed a sizable gain in real wages. Some groups improved their lot and raised their expectations, but Rosenberg shows that bleak prospects of unwelcome change led others to "grotesque fears of Reds and revolution," querulous dogmatism, and anti-Semitism. Forces for moderation and amelioration were weakened; economic hardships and the social tensions arising from shifts in power and prestige induced a climate of pessimism and even neurosis.

The depression upset issues and politicians alike. Liberalism was discredited, and the parties, transformed from champions of abstract principles into defenders of concrete interests, began rather uncomfortably to seek mass support. Land-owners and industrialists grudgingly formed a new coalition to "protect the national effort," marshaling high tariffs and paternalistic social measures against world prices and domestic unrest. Controlling army, bureaucracy, and schools, the propertied classes wielded power beyond their numbers. Caustically attacking "state-subverting" elements, they alienated even further the Social Democrats, a party of mounting strength and impatience.

While Rosenberg does not present a sweeping thesis covering all of these developments, he offers many crisp judgments based on wide knowledge of sources and monographic scholarship. Having effectively used the findings of Eckart Kehr and other students of German and Austrian society, he is more successful in portraying the defensive adaptation of established institutions than in conveying a lively sense of dynamic forces for change. In his *Bureaucracy, Aristocracy and Autocracy: The Prussian Experience, 1660-1815* (AHR, LXIV [Apr. 1959], 646), Rosenberg described the emergence of bureaucratic absolutism; the present work in many ways is a fitting sequel, showing the old Prussia under stress but still able to function.

Department of State

FREDRICK AANDAHL

PAUL NIKOLAUS COSSMANN UND DIE SÜDDEUTSCHEN MONATSHEFTE VON 1914-1918: EIN BEITRAG ZUR GESCHICHTE DER NATIONALEN PUBLIZISTIK IM ERSTEN WELTKRIEG. By *Wolfram Selig*. [*Dialogos: Zeitung und Leben*, New Series, Number 3.] (Osnabrück: Verlag A. Fromm. 1967. Pp. 207. DM 19.80.)

THIS highly informative Munich dissertation contains two brief monographs. The second and longer sketches the *Süddeutsche Monatshefte's* support for the German national cause during the war of 1914-1918. From September 1914 Cossmann devoted the magazine to the sort of "political education" that the *Vaterlandspartei* later pursued in behalf of the military triumph of Germany and the future of superior *Deutsche Kultur* in the interest of all mankind. Selig analyzes and often questions the political positions while noting propaganda simplifications, contradictions, and errors, such as exaggerated confidence in military power and the high command. In spite of some ineffective thrusts against F. Fischer and some uncritical reliance upon K. D. Erdmann's account of the war, Selig adds usefully to such studies as those by K. Schwabe on the outlook of German professors during the war, A. Kruck on the Pan-German League, and L. Dehio.

The initial monograph sketches the editor's life and associations. Although Selig could not find sources enough for the full biography he wished, he contributes much. His twelve pages on *Gäa*, mentioned in O. Spengler's letters published in 1963, are perhaps most notable. In the struggle against "the lie of German war guilt," Cossmann formed this group, which attacked the "socialist menace," backed various nationalist candidates such as Luther, Curtius, and Seldte, and strove for the "bourgeois Right." For me, the account questions too

infrequently the interpretation of Cossmann as a "fanatic for the truth" and relies too heavily on Cossmann's friend, the Munich historian and National Socialist, K. A. v. Müller, whose memoirs H. Heiber has suggested need correction. All the same, the account affords poignant and painful reminders of the political passions, blindness, selfishness, and dogmatism that corroded German lives and brought such devastation and savagery. In December 1938 Hassell mentioned in his *Diary*, as Selig does not do here, Cossmann's anguish at the shattering of his conviction that Germans were incapable of such bestialities as they were accused of in war atrocities. A monarchist opponent of Hitler, Cossmann was imprisoned in 1933 while the North German industrialists who owned the *Münchener Neueste Nachrichten*, which he directed as political adviser, made arrangements with the Nazis. A convert to Catholicism in 1905, he was sent to the Munich ghetto in 1941 as a Jew. The next year he died at Theresienstadt, two years before the Nazi government executed Hassell, son-in-law of his hero, Tirpitz.

University of Washington

D. E. EMERSON

REVOLUTIONARY HAMBURG: LABOR POLITICS IN THE EARLY WEIMAR REPUBLIC. By *Richard A. Comfort*. (Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press. 1966. Pp. x, 226. \$6.00.)

THIS admirable study, based largely on archival research and thoroughly documented, provides a meticulous and illuminating analysis of labor politics in Hamburg during the crucial early years of the German Republic. Because of local conditions, what happened in the great port city was in some respects unique, but in other, more significant respects it was typical of what happened in other parts of Germany. It thus supplies a clue to the genesis and impact of certain sociopolitical problems and difficulties that accompanied the debut of German democracy.

The key phenomena in Hamburg almost immediately after the Revolution of November 1918 were the conflicts between the old, conservative craft unions and the newer, radical industrial unions and the simultaneous decline of the Majority Socialists (SPD), a main pillar of the new democracy. By 1924, the last year surveyed in the study, the local unions and labor parties had lost much of their political strength. Duplicated elsewhere in the country, this erosion was to have tragic consequences for Germany, Europe, and the world.

It should be noted that the author has employed statistical and other special methodological techniques in analyzing the voting behavior of labor, the social characteristics of the leadership and membership of trade-unions and related political parties, and the internal evolution of occupational organizations.

The connection between the vicissitudes of the labor movement and the fortunes of German democracy has often been pointed out, but, by conducting an intensive study of one important locality, the author has added new dimensions to what we know about the failure of the democratic experiment. This example should be followed by other scholars interested in the sociopolitical history of the Weimar Republic.

University of Chicago

S. WILLIAM HALPERIN

DAS NS-GESCHICHTSBILD UND DIE DEUTSCHE GESCHICHTSWISSENSCHAFT. By *Karl Ferdinand Werner*. (Stuttgart: W. Kohlhammer Verlag, 1967. Pp. 123. DM 6.80.)

PROFESSOR Werner fails to develop a coherent picture of the Nazi concept of history, but he has assembled some interesting data on the attitude of German historians during the Nazi era. One gathers from his observations that the majority were not committed Nazis, but many were ready to accept Nazi doctrines and policies since these did not differ very much from their own conservative-authoritarian and racist views. This did not prevent individual historians from questioning some Nazi theories that they found untenable as scholars, and Werner shows how such refutation could be made rather openly provided it was accompanied by a saving reference to the *Führer's* views. But Werner's conclusion is that most German historians who supported the Third Reich did so from conviction rather than fear.

Werner's observations are the more significant because, as a medievalist, he draws most of his illustrations from work done on the Middle Ages—a comparatively "safe" area presumably not subject to as close political scrutiny as work done in modern and recent history. The book is not free of inconsistencies, and its involved style makes it at times all but unintelligible, but within its limitations it makes a contribution to a problem area that is still in need of systematic investigation.

Ohio State University

ANDREAS DORPALEN

DIE VERDRÄNGUNG DER JUDEN AUS DER WIRTSCHAFT IM DRITTEN REICH. By *Helmut Genschel*. [Göttinger Bausteine zur Geschichtswissenschaft, Number 38.] (Göttingen: Musterschmidt-Verlag, 1966. Pp. 337.)

GENSCHEL's study, in examining the elimination of German Jews from economic life in the Third Reich, elucidates the immediate antecedents of Nazi genocide policies. By drawing skillfully upon Jewish newspapers and publications before 1938, documents from the Nuremberg Trials, and a few unpublished sources, the writer has constructed a very informative and readable account of the subject. His historical description and analysis follow chronologically the unfolding events. Statistical data incorporated in the text and systematized in an appendix and several illuminating case studies aptly substantiate the broader generalizations.

Genschel places his examination of the crucial phase between 1933 and 1939 into a broader context by pointing out that Jewish political and social eminence, attained many decades before the coming of Hitler, largely resulted from the strong representation of Jews in German banking, finance, trade, and industry. This favorable economic position generated modern lower-middle-class anti-Semitism, and, in turn, fanned racist anti-Semitism into a mass movement. He asserts, lastly, that the annihilation of Jewry could only come under the impact of racist-ideological total war. Yet the evidence for these themes remains sketchy at times. For instance, it would have been helpful to establish a clearer relationship between economic anti-Semitism and racist-ideological anti-Semitism since the latter lay at the heart of Nazi efforts to eliminate the Jews from their "position of dominance" in Germany.

No doubt the most valuable part of the book is its detailed treatment of the years 1933 to 1939. Harassment and boycotts instigated by the Nazis in April and during the summer of 1933 portended the regime's Draconic measures against the Jewish minority. Genschel does emphasize, however, that, before 1938, political and international considerations and the resistance of the ministerial bureaucracy kept the party and the German government from wholesale removal of Jews from their jobs, except in the civil service, and that Aryanization of Jewish businesses and factories, imprisonment, and even isolated murders were more often the result of sporadic actions of the Nazi party organizations and profiteering party leaders than the expression of a systematic policy. This was to change with German economic recovery and full rearmament. In November 1938 the *Reichskristallnacht* set the stage for the ruthless liquidation of Jewish property and the removal of practically all Jews from positions of gainful employment in the professions, business, and industry within a matter of months. Deprived of their means of existence, Jews had no choice but to emigrate; yet they often encountered great difficulties obtaining immigrant visas, a fact aggravated by the decimation of funds and property through Nazi expropriation. Because of this and the uncertain prospects of finding suitable employment in foreign countries, over 25 per cent of German and Austrian Jews (about 224,000) still remained in Nazi Germany by 1941, and with few exceptions were exterminated.

Raymond College, University of the Pacific

GEORGE P. BLUM

ERINNERUNGEN 1953-1955; ERINNERUNGEN 1955-1959. By Konrad Adenauer. (Stuttgart: Deutsche Verlags-Anstalt. 1966; 1967. Pp. 500; 551.)

AUTHOR Konrad Adenauer does not do Federal Chancellor Konrad Adenauer any more justice in the second and third volumes of his memoirs than he did in the first. Yet he should be read, in the original, as no translation is impending.

Potential readers must beware of the dates used to divide the three volumes. They are unreliable as an indication of the contents; the title page of the second volume of the *Erinnerungen* is even more misleading than that of the third. It is said to cover the years 1953 to 1955, but it also deals with events and problems of 1950, 1951, and, especially, 1952, when the legendary Stalin note of March 10 and its sequel appeared and Kurt Schumacher died.

The first two chapters deal with the abortive political war to reunify Germany, from reunification proposals of spring 1950, a few months after the foundation of the two republics, until the defeat of Russia's diplomatic and propaganda offensive, which Adenauer treats as a "War of Notes," for the possession of public opinion. After a chapter devoted to German-Jewish relations, German restitution to Jews, and reparation to Israel, which begins in 1951, deals in detail with the Luxembourg agreement of 1952, and ends with Adenauer's visit to Israel in 1966, the volume returns to the struggle to integrate the Federal Republic with the West. Its high points are the portents of an East-West *détente* in the months after Stalin's death, the East German rising of June 1953, the four-power conference of Foreign Ministers in Berlin in early 1954, the defeat of the European Defense Community in the French National Assembly in August, and the operation to rescue Western unity

conducted at the London and Paris Conferences in September and October of that year. The volume concludes with three chapters devoted to the struggle to get the Paris agreements ratified; the summer of the Geneva Conference of 1955, with its "Spirit" of Geneva and Russian agreement to the Austrian State Treaty; and the visit to Moscow of the Chancellor of the newly sovereign Federal Republic.

The third volume treats the Geneva Conferences of 1955 in greater detail and continues with the nerve-wracking developments that followed. But Adenauer the memoir writer agrees with Adenauer the Chancellor: nerves are there to be kept, not lost. He describes in plain and very unadorned language what he had practiced: once he had thought a matter through and come to certain conclusions, he would adhere to those conclusions, whatever the chorus of exhortation to flexibility. That chorus became loud after Khrushchev's Berlin ultimatum of November 1958, but Adenauer was firm and hoped his allies would be also.

Dulles died, and Macmillan went to Moscow. But De Gaulle ruled firmly in Paris. He had returned to power in the spring of 1958, and the whole volume is implicitly and explicitly concerned with him. It spells out German apprehensions at his coming and how they were allayed.

The book ends with the war of succession in Bonn. The last chapter is demurely entitled "The Election of the Federal President, 1959." Lübke, the man who was elected, hardly appears in it. The outgoing President, Heuss, does, and so does the man who offered himself as presidential candidate and then withdrew his candidacy when it was clear that Erhard would succeed him as Chancellor. He preferred to remain in office for another four years. Both decisions, to stand and to step down, were made in the interests of maintaining the continuity of his policy. Constitutionally the drama was not an edifying spectacle. Adenauer preferred continuity to edification. We can now see that the two decisions were not as frivolous as they appeared at the time.

The style of the *Erinnerungen* is rarely inspired, with light relief only afforded by an occasional caustic turn of phrase. The author adheres closely to his documents, and that is where interest and novelty tend to lie. The book, while not as readable as one might wish, is indispensable for the history of the fourteen years following the Second World War—the life span of the Weimar Republic. There is much repetition in these memoirs of what one can read elsewhere, but there is also much else. And it is, of course, interesting to see what the author says and does not say about events he so powerfully helped to shape.

Institute for Advanced Study

BEATE RUHM VON OPPEN

DOUBLE EAGLE AND CRESCENT: VIENNA'S SECOND TURKISH SIEGE AND ITS HISTORICAL SETTING. By *Thomas M. Barker*. ([Albany:] State University of New York Press. 1967. Pp. xviii, 447. \$12.50.)

THE climactic crisis of the long confrontation between cross and crescent, the second siege and the relief of Vienna in 1683, offers such great dramatic possibilities to writers that it has become the subject of an immense body of literature, well over three thousand items in all. For many years now Reinhard Lorenz' *Türkenjahr 1683* (1933), has been used as the standard work, though

it was marred by its heavy Pan-German orientation. Though some contemporary and near contemporary accounts existed, there were no major modern works in English. Recently this omission has been remedied. Professor John Stoye published his perceptive and well-written *The Siege of Vienna* (1964), and now Professor Barker has added the present volume.

His monograph offers few surprises for the specialist reader who is advised to skip the first part of the book surveying the state of Europe in the years 1648 to 1679. Even so, this survey is useful because it provides a summary of the events leading up to the Turkish offensive. More important, however, are the second and third parts of the book, which give able and clear presentations of the major political and military figures, the diplomatic negotiations, the respective military establishments, the field operations, and the siege itself. The author offers, in particular, a most detailed account of the defense measures taken within the city as well as a good analysis of the field operations.

After analyzing the military situation the author arrives at the orthodox conclusion that, operating at the extreme end of its logistical support, the Ottoman army was no match for the heterogeneous, but far more up-to-date, forces of the great Christian coalition. Once the original offensive impulse was spent, the military level of competence of the Christian forces, especially their fire and shock tactics, was far above that of the Turkish soldiery. This book is well balanced and objective: it neither leans to the Pan-German Srbik school; nor does it extol John Sobieski as the savior of Europe. Within the besieged city, the author pays due tribute to the commander, Count Starhemberg, but observes that neither citizens nor civic militia played a great or creditable part and that the real heroes of the siege were the common soldiers of the Habsburg army.

The greatest shortcoming of this able book is the very limited use of unprinted sources and references. The topic is huge and cries for revision based on original documents, but the author, stating that these materials have long been mined to exhaustion, has mainly relied on printed sources, memoirs, and studies, which he has indeed ransacked with great diligence. Even so, a search of the archives, especially of the *Feldakten* in the *Kriegsarchiv Wien*, might well have been productive.

As it stands, however, the book is an extremely valuable compendium of information brought together with great care, well written, and often enlightening. It surpasses Lorenz' work in objectivity, and its formidable apparatus and bibliography make it more useful for reference purposes than Stoye's work.

University of New Mexico

GUNTHER E. ROTHENBERG

STATE ABSOLUTISM AND THE RULE OF LAW: THE STRUGGLE FOR THE CODIFICATION OF CIVIL LAW IN AUSTRIA 1753-1811.

By Henry E. Strakosch. ([Sydney:] Sydney University Press. 1967. Pp. vii, 267. \$8.00 U.S.)

THE topic of this highly original book is in substance the creation of the Austrian Civil Code of 1811, one of the truly great law codes of modern times, which evolved throughout two generations of legislative efforts. The first stage of the reforms under Maria Theresa was successful only in regard to the separation of

the judicial branch of government from the administrative, a division still rather incomplete at that time. The second, far more advanced phase under Joseph II failed to achieve a satisfactory compromise between enlightened absolutism, an equally absolute kind of secular natural law, and the traditions of corporate estates government. Only after the French Revolution, when the principle of "democratic absolutism" had likewise run into difficulties, was Franz von Zeiller, one of the most important Austrian legal reformers, able to conclude the great work successfully. He anchored it in the Kantian philosophy of law according to which the nexus between moral and legal order rests not in any outside force but in obedience to the law itself.

The influence of Kant's philosophy on the Austrian codification may have been overemphasized, and the strongly pragmatic impact correspondingly somewhat underrated, yet the basis of the problem is perceived with keen discernment: "the codification of civil law" as "an attempt to reconcile the modern notion of the state as the supreme public authority. . . . with the idea of the rule of law as an . . . absolute category of social cohesion and as such not subject to the supreme will of public authority."

Unfortunately the study is somewhat marred by frequent discourses, repetitions, and occasional contradictions. The sweeping conclusions pertaining to the principles of a general international legal order add little to its strength. The difficult problem of communicating with the reader on the substance of legal theory without elucidating basic legal concepts has not been completely solved either. Yet the positive aspects of the book heavily outweigh these objections. Beyond the field of professional jurisprudence, this is a first attempt to perceive legal history not as discussion of social institutions—which is, of course, fully legitimate—but as an essential part of intellectual history or, more specifically, that of the conflicting philosophies of law inherent in social institutions. In selecting civil rather than criminal law as the object of his study, Professor Strakosch has avoided a simplistic approach and has tackled the more comprehensive and more complex one. This challenging study thus opens the way for further reflection and research. Something new, important, and truly valuable has been added to Austrian historical literature.

Rutgers University

ROBERT A. KANN

ZWINGLI'S THEOCRACY. By *Robert C. Walton*. ([Toronto:] University of Toronto Press. 1967. Pp. xxii, 258. \$7.50.)

PROFESSOR Walton has substantially contributed to our knowledge of both Zurich and Zwingli by seeking to discover the respective roles the "Reformer" assigned to the clergy and the magistracy in establishing his theocracy, or "rule of God." While pursuing his basic purpose, he carries on a running argument with Anabaptist historians who claim that Zwingli originally believed in a free church of committed Christians. He points to the early influence of Erasmus, who maintained that only a Christian prince or magistracy could reform the Church, and of Melancthon, who clung to the medieval conception of a dual regimen, but he shows that Zwingli went beyond both in meeting the exigencies of his time.

Through a close examination of Zwingli's theological writings as well as his

relations with the Zurich city council, his radical followers, and the conservative opposition, Walton produces a well-reasoned analysis of Zwingli's corporate theory of society. Following such scholars as Leonhard von Muralt, Alfred Schultze, and Bernd Moeller, he maintains that Zwingli derived this theory from the Zurich Constitution, a document based on the medieval assumption that the magistrates constituted the delegated authority of the assembly of all citizens, a *corpus christianum* that contained both the political body and the church congregation. The council had the authority, therefore, to supervise both political and external religious matters for the common welfare but not to interfere with the clergy in matters of dogma or cult.

Zwingli, Walton shows, held that the Bible, not the Catholic Church, was the depository of God's will, which the clergy was obligated to expound to both the magistracy and the assembly of citizens. Whereas the magistracy exercised all secular power, controlled the external affairs of the Church, and made possible the preaching of the Gospel according to the Bible, the clergy performed only spiritual functions. Since Zwingli believed that the preaching of the Gospel, guided by the Holy Spirit, not the precipitate action demanded by the radicals, eventually would produce reforms, he consistently cooperated with the city council in pursuing a moderate course.

Walton's study must be reckoned with in subsequent assessments of Zwingli's influence as a political thinker and of the relation between the clergy and the laity in the spread of the Reformation. Historians no longer can assume that Zwingli directed the political affairs of Zurich, but must agree with Walton, Kurt Spillmann, Martin Haas, and others that he influenced politics only indirectly through his theology.

Ohio State University

HAROLD J. GRIMM

NUNZIATURE DI VENEZIA. Volume V (21 MARZO 1550-26 DICEMBRE 1551); Volume VI (2 GENNAIO 1552-14 LUGLIO 1554). Edited by *Franco Gaeta*. [Nunziature d'Italia, Secoli XVI-XVIII. Fonti per la Storia d'Italia.] (Rome: Istituto Storico Italiano per l'Età Moderna e Contemporanea. 1967. Pp. xiv, 351; 398. L. 5,000 each.)

THESE two volumes are the latest to appear in an ambitious project to publish the papers of the more important papal legations in the early modern period. So far volumes have appeared representing legations in Naples, Turin, Venice, and Cologne, but the project is still in its infancy, and the Venetian series, with only five volumes, is running ahead of the others. These volumes contain the correspondence of Ludovico Beccadelli (1501-1572) as nuncio in Venice from March 1550 to July 1554. Of the 418 letters about three-fourths are from Beccadelli, and two-thirds of these are directed to two successive secretaries of Julius III. For the most part Beccadelli's letters are reports of his official business. Their chief interest lies in his concern for problems arising from threats of heresy and his execution of antiheretical policies of the Church (and he has high praise for the zeal of the Venetian government in this matter). On the other hand, much of his attention was taken up with more routine matters of slight interest, such as settlement of internal ecclesiastical problems, state taxation of Church wealth, and

negotiations with the state for shipment of grain from papal ports. In addition, from his vantage point in Venice Beccadelli was well informed on European affairs in general, and one of his responsibilities was to pass on to his superiors whatever information he could obtain. His letters are full of news dispatches especially about affairs in the eastern Mediterranean, Germany, England, and, of course, Italy; although they are very brief, taken together they reflect a wide-ranging view of the complex and tense international situation during some of the more crucial years of the Reformation. On the whole, Beccadelli's letters are short and to the point, with only a minimum of comment and anecdote, and it cannot be said that they provide very exciting reading. They tell us little about the man himself except that he was a conscientious and obedient representative of the Vatican. Beccadelli, however, is not without his interest as a minor figure among the early liberal reformers within the Church—he had been a close associate of Contarini—but there is little about that here. Apparently extensive private correspondence survives, for we are promised further information about it later.

This edition of his official correspondence as nuncio follows the high standards of the other volumes in this series, although the editor's introduction and notes are minimal. Especially welcome is an introductory calendar that serves as a detailed and thorough table of contents to the collection.

Kent State University

RICHARD A. GOLDTHWAITE

ISTRUZIONI E RELAZIONI DEGLI AMBASCIATORI GENOVESI. Volume VI, SPAGNA (1721-1745). Edited by *Raffaele Ciasca*. [Fonti per la Storia d'Italia.] (Rome: Istituto Storico Italiano per l'Età Moderna e Contemporanea. 1967. Pp. xxi, 542. L. 5,000.)

THIS excellent volume in Raffaele Ciasca's series of instructions to and reports from the Genoese ambassadors centers on the struggles of the old republic of Genoa to maintain its independence against its greatest enemy of modern times, Piedmont. The documents presented vividly portray Genoese fear of the kings of Piedmont, who, driving to the sea, sought to annihilate the republic and incorporate Genoa and the Ligurian coast into their domains.

The first half of the volume covers a rather long period, 1721-1739, and deals with such things as the start of the revolt of Corsica and the zealous plans of Elizabeth Farnese to find thrones for her sons in Italy. These plans made Genoa, the port of access to Lombardy, strategically important to Spain. The second half concentrates on a much shorter period, 1740-1745, and rightly so, for it was during the War of the Austrian Succession that Genoa faced the greatest danger in the years spanned by this volume. Securing, through the Treaty of Worms of 1743, the consent of England and Austria to annex the Mark of Finale and, thereby, the means to cut the republic in half, Piedmont mortally threatened Genoa's existence by confronting it, in the words of its ambassador to Madrid, with "almost certain and total ruin." The instructions and reports dealing with the crisis tell a fascinating story. Having traditionally tried to ensure the survival of the republic by clinging to neutrality, its rulers now had to face the fact that

they could only save Finale by an alliance with Spain and France. They reluctantly opened negotiations for such an alliance. Spain and France, on their part, wanted to send their armies into Piedmont and Lombardy, which had been earmarked by Farnese for the Infante Philip, from the Ligurian coast. But well aware of the dangers of abandoning neutrality, particularly of the likelihood, repeatedly stressed, that if necessary Spain and France would abandon the republic to the tender mercies of Piedmont and Austria (which was what actually happened), they desperately delayed concluding the alliance until May 1, 1745, when they secured every possible guarantee, such as the pledge of Spain and France to reduce Alessandria and Tortona and, even after this, to maintain forces in Piedmont superior to those of its king.

University of California, Santa Barbara

DONALD A. LIMOLI

LA POLITICA ECONOMICA DELLA RESTAURAZIONE ROMANA.

Edited by *Raffaele Colapietra*. [Banco di Napoli, Biblioteca di storia economica, Volume III.] (Naples: Edizioni Scientifiche Italiane. 1966. Pp. cviii, 519.)

THIS volume adds significant scholarly contributions to Italian economic history and the history of the Restoration (1815-1830) in Italy. The thirty-seven economic treatises and reform proposals addressed to the government of the Papal States that have been published in this work are of particular interest to students of Italy's modern economic development, a field that until the last two decades was left to a handful of scholars, notably Gino Luzzatto, or to political polemicists. Although these documents will primarily interest the specialist, the editor's accompanying essay provides an excellent analysis of the materials that should assist all students of Italian history.

Colapietra's lengthy introduction is organized in three sections: a general treatment of economic theories prevalent in the Papal States during the Restoration, a discussion of the reformers and their projects, and an analysis of government leaders and the problems that they confronted. Colapietra notes that legislation enacted during the era of French domination thoroughly exposed anachronisms in the Roman social structure but that efforts to stimulate the economy proved sterile because there was no middle class to achieve economic reforms comparable to the advances made in government and the administration of justice. The Roman governing class of the Napoleonic era was not the entrepreneurial group that supported reforms elsewhere, but rather a professional and aristocratic element that enjoyed a political hegemony bound to French interests. Its economic role was therefore arbitrary and parasitic. For this reason, and because the mercantile element of the Restoration era, far from expanding its activities, tended toward cautious conservation of existing assets through monopolies, state paternalism was not so much a conscious reactionary impulse as it was an almost indispensable counterweight to middle-class inadequacies. On the other hand, it should be noted that a desire to maintain social order led the ecclesiastical hierarchy almost instinctively to prefer an agrarian society and to discourage, if not suppress, nascent commercial and industrial development.

The emphasis placed on agriculture, especially on the expansion of wheat production, particularly hurt economic growth because Russian competition in European markets cut the price of wheat 50 per cent during the 1820's.

This work is part of a series of volumes on the economic history of modern Italy sponsored by the Bank of Naples. One hopes that future volumes will maintain the standard set here.

Rhode Island College

ARMAND PATRUCCO

FRANCESCO I E FERDINANDO II. By *Ferruccio Ferrara*. (Naples: Fausto Fiorentino. 1967. Pp. 110.)

Ah King is the title W. Somerset Maugham gave to a collection of short stories. Ferruccio Ferrara's nostalgic stories of the nineteenth-century Neapolitan monarchs Francis I and Ferdinand II may well be styled "Ah Kings." If the aim of history is not to instruct but to please—to twist Maugham further—this memoir of palace and piazza lore from the Two Sicilies will meet that requirement. The footnotes refer to obvious printed sources, particularly to the translation of Harold Acton's *The Last Bourbons of Naples*, and Ferrara, like Acton, attempts to rehabilitate both father and son. As Laurence Sterne acknowledged in 1768, "the Bourbon is by no means a cruel race: they may be misled like other people; but there is a mildness in their blood." Ferrara shuns a Naples "hatching furies, revolutions and plots of civil war"; he recalls instead a "romantic Naples arousing especially in its intoxicating daylight, love for its serene life, starry-eyed women, serenade-inviting sea. . . ." At the same time, he agrees that his pages "do not have a true and proper historical pattern."

Francis, who reigned from 1825 to 1830, has been handled with scant kindness by English-speaking writers. The *Encyclopædia Britannica* provides the epitome: "He left the government in the hands of favourites and police officials, and lived with his mistresses, surrounded by soldiers, ever in dread of assassination." Frederick B. Artz concurred: "The government was left to royal favorites, while the king lived with his mistresses, heavily guarded and in hourly dread of assassination." Ferrara emphasizes Francis' filial devotion, his resistance to the overbearing Lord William Bentinck, his attempt to chastise the Barbary pirates (spoiled by damp gunpowder), his dismissal in 1827 of the Austrian whitecoats. Ferdinand II, King "Bomba" to liberals, was redeemed by the goodness and piety of Maria Cristina, his first queen. Ferrara's interest in the lady goes back to 1943 when he published a study on Ferdinand's marriage negotiations with the Turin royalty. It was entitled *Fra i Borboni e i Savoia*, and it gained the approval of Benedetto Croce. Another book of Ferrara's on the subject is *Napoli Cent'Anni Fa: 1857-1957*. Despite William E. Gladstone's strictures, Ferdinand was not a graceless ruler for an old-fashioned land during the period from 1830 to 1859. A foxed travel account of 1853 describes Sicily as a place "where time is still reckoned by the primitive method, where the lottery courier outstrips the post, and the balcony takes the place of the fireside." That its Prince should be taxed with bonhomie—the *Britannica* again—is a credit. The author missed the story of the Duchess of San Teodoro who once wore the

family diamonds when she and her husband dined with Ferdinand. He complimented her on her jewels, saying "It is not a necklace for a subject, it is a necklace for a queen."

A handsome job of Italian bookmaking, with a dozen plates, Ferrara's sentimental journey to the Bourbon Sicilies is better for relaxation than for reference. Ah kings!

University of Miami

DUANE KOENIG

DALLA MEMORIA D'UN VECCHIO GIORNALISTA DELL'EPOCA DEL RISORGIMENTO ITALIANO. By *Pacifico Valussi*. (Udine: Accademia di Scienze, Lettere e Arti di Udine. 1967. Pp. 235.)

It is not always given to men to estimate suitably their place in history. Pacifico Valussi, a journalist of the *Risorgimento* era, judged better than many. He collected his memoirs "not because my part was of much importance, but because by noting briefly certain episodes in the life of one who has lived from times of the first Kingdom of Italy to the conquest of national unity, I summarize what happened to so many others of the same generation." The autobiographical columns published in his *Giornale di Udine* in 1884 have been rescued by the Friulian Academy of Sciences, Letters and Arts; they are presented in book form with handsome pictures. With an eye for anecdote and an ear for phrase, Valussi showed himself a middle-class intellectual of high patriotism. He preached a political reconstruction matched step by step with spiritual renewal. Born in 1813 in the Friulian village of Talmassons, he died at Udine in 1893. Though laureated at Padua in mathematics, he turned at once to writing, directing a number of often ephemeral journals during his forty-six years of living by the pen. He evaded Habsburg censors at Trieste in *Favilla* and *Osservatore triestino*, and he bolstered morale when he was member and secretary of the Venetian assembly from 1848 to 1849 with *Gazzetta ufficiale*, *Fatti e parole*, and *Il Precursore*. Returning to his own province he ran *Il Friuli*, *L'Annotatore friuliano*, plus an agricultural bulletin, before a spell of copy writing at Florence and the founding of his Udine paper in 1866. He sat in Parliament for a decade.

While he was absent for long periods, affection for home and his countrymen was always evident. Valussi cultivated distinguished foreigners such as the historian Theodor Mommsen, the free-trade leader Richard Cobden, and the diplomat William Marsh. Among Italians the critic Gian Pietro Vieusseux was his friend; the poet Nicolò Tommaseo, his patron. The one great affair in which he participated was defense of the republic of St. Mark's. When news from the battlefield of Novara reached the assembly, he recalled: "From the president's bench I was looking at all those representatives, and I can say that on all faces was the same expression of sorrow and the same purpose of resistance. 'Resist' was the word that came in unison from all lips when Manin put the problem of what to do. 'At any cost?' the Dictator asked in a clear voice. 'Resist at any cost' was the cry that responded to that question, sublime in its simplicity."

Perhaps spectators see more than participants. Pacifico Valussi's role was usually peripheral, yet he expressed gracefully the gift of the *Risorgimento*:

"By freeing and uniting itself, Italy has made a promise, and it is to be in the world a force for peace, progress, and civilization. It is a promise that the new generation is bound to maintain."

University of Miami

DUANE KOENIG

ITALY FROM LIBERALISM TO FASCISM: 1870-1925. By *Christopher Seton-Watson*. ([London:] Methuen and Company; distrib. by Barnes and Noble, New York. 1967. Pp. x, 772. \$19.00.)

THIS first-rate book was long in the writing but well worth the wait. In many respects it is the fairest and best-balanced study now available on the course of Italian history between the end of the *Risorgimento* and the advent of the totalitarian regime of Mussolini.

The author's introduction to Italian history occurred at Blackwells in the autumn of 1943 when he purchased Cecil Sprigge's *Development of Modern Italy*, which had then just appeared. That manual accompanied him from Cassino to Bologna during the advance of the Allied forces, though at the time Seton-Watson often found it hard to connect the devastation around him and the pre-Fascist Italy that Sprigge had described. Only later, during numerous visits to every region of Italy, did he come to understand this connection better and appreciate the continuity in Italy's modern history.

Having embarked upon a teaching career at Oxford in 1946, Seton-Watson was struck by the serious gap that Italy constituted in the English historical literature on Europe since 1870. Not entirely satisfied with either Croce's often excessive praise of the liberal era or with Sprigge's often too brief account of it, Seton-Watson set himself the task of reading what had been published in Italy and elsewhere on the period from 1870 to 1925 and writing his own interpretation. During the twenty years he was working on this book, two other studies of this general period also appeared: Denis Mack Smith's *Italy* (1959), dealing with the entire period since 1861; and John A. Thayer's *Italy and the Great War: Politics and Culture, 1870-1915* (1964). Differences in interpretation and emphasis are to be found in all of these studies, and each in its own way will continue to be useful to students of this period. Seton-Watson's book is essentially political history, concerned with both domestic and foreign policy and emphasizing their interaction. The economic and social sections make no pretense toward comprehensiveness, but they are certainly not neglected. The author does not deal with cultural history alone, but he weaves into his narrative the political roles of such men as Croce, Labriola, D'Annunzio, Gentile, Gramsci, and Salvemini. He avoids Mack Smith's error of extending Fascism too far back into the prewar scene, and he restrains himself somewhat better than Thayer when he treats those who differed with Croce's interpretations.

Seton-Watson's long, well-written book starts out with a fast-paced prologue in which the author comments on the unification process between 1859 and 1870 and discusses the role of the Church and other institutions, the economy, the social structure, and Italy's position in the European state system. The rest of the book is divided into four major parts: "Consolidation, 1870-87"; "Stresses and

Strains, 1887-1901"; "Expansion, 1901-14"; and "Crisis, 1914-25." A brilliant epilogue traces the contours of Italian history since 1925.

The author has read and synthesized almost everything relevant to his subject. He can hardly be blamed for not having had access to the second installment (covering the period 1921-1925) of Renzo De Felice's multivolume biography, *Mussolini* (1966), or Roberto Vivarelli's important new study, *Il dopoguerra in Italia e l'avvento del Fascismo (1918-1922)*, Volume I, *Dalla fine della guerra all'impresa di Fiume* (1967). In addition to the numerous footnotes and the bibliography of works consulted, the author has provided students with a short, annotated list of the best books in English for this period. An appendix contains a useful list of the cabinets and leading ministers from 1870 to 1925, and a detailed index increases the value of this excellent study of a most difficult period in Italian history.

Vanderbilt University

CHARLES F. DELZELL

PEASANT COMMUNISM IN SOUTHERN ITALY. By *Sidney G. Tarrow*. [Yale Studies in Political Science, Number 21.] (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press. 1967. Pp. xvii, 389. \$8.75.)

THE level of Italian studies in this country has been raised by the publication of this work. Both the author and the Yale University Center of Studies in Political Science, which sponsored the volume, are to be congratulated. The book is decidedly more than the title suggests. The first 100 pages are devoted to a survey of the economic, social, and political "setting" for the investigation of Communism among peasants in southern Italy. The second 150 pages contain a history of the Communist party in Italy—its ideologies, its organization, its leadership, and its fortunes at the polls—with many comparisons between North and South. Only the third 100 pages deal primarily with the announced subject.

The book should not, however, be criticized for this allocation of space. The question of Communism among peasants in the Mezzogiorno would hardly be intelligible without it. Furthermore, the author has created an opportunity to write a history of the Italian Communist party—a history that does not exist in any language—and thereby he has performed a great service for students of contemporary Italy. This part of the volume is, in my opinion, the best part.

Mr. Tarrow sets off sharply the ideologies and analysis of the southern question of Antonio Gramsci with those of Palmiro Togliatti. The former believed that the peasant pressure on the land would lead to a revolutionary situation, which he did not abhor; the latter thought that, while workers waited for the overthrow of capitalism, peasants should accept whatever reforms were in their interests—the famous *via Italiana* toward Communism. Land reform, the author concludes, has alienated peasants from Communism and has benefited the Christian Democratic party. The Communist vote in the South in the last elections seems to have increased mainly in urban areas that have grown rapidly, which implies that they have become industrialized.

To throw stones at a book of this kind is not difficult, but those who inhabit the "glass houses of scholarship" know how demanding the production of such

a study is and are inclined to hold their fire. It may not be amiss, however, to suggest that Tarrow seems to lean somewhat favorably toward Italian Communists. In his introduction he holds that Communist leaders "represent Italy's most gifted and devoted political elite," which in my experience is very questionable. Secondly, I think that he would have profited from the use of my *Economic History of Modern Italy*, which he does not even seem to know. It might have helped him clarify the statement that the "*Fasci Siciliani* . . . embodied the peasants' hope for the recovery of lands enclosed in 1861." Thirdly, the author's evaluation of the program for the industrialization of the South does not take into account recent accomplishments.

Columbia University

SHEPARD B. CLOUGH

L'ITALIA DI FRONTE ALLA PRIMA GUERRA MONDIALE. Volume I, L'ITALIA NEUTRALE. By *Brunello Vigezzi*. (Milan: Riccardo Ricciardi Editore. 1966. Pp. lxxi, 1028. L. 10,000.)

THIS extraordinarily thorough work covers the months of July through October 1914. The period roughly corresponds with San Giuliano's Foreign Ministry for which documents are now available in Volume XII of the Fourth Series and Volume I of the Fifth Series of the *Documenti diplomatici italiani*. From close adherence to the Triple Alliance he guided Italy into neutrality and then plotted the possible course of intervention on the side of the *Entente* in his projects of August 9 and September 25. His obsession with the interests of the Italian state marked a breach with the liberal-national ideals of the *Risorgimento*, a breach made even more glaring when Salandra took over as Foreign Minister and pronounced the famous phrase, "sacro egoismo."

This book is not conventional diplomatic history although all of the important exchanges between Rome and the other great capitals of Europe are included; nor is it a public opinion study through the medium of newspapers according to the method so fashionable for American scholars during the 1930's. The topic is Italy in the face of the European war, all of Italy—*paese legale* and *paese reale*, the *fatti* and the *idee*, the parties in and outside of Parliament, the press, and the leaders. Vigezzi has culled many quotations from the contemporary press and from the correspondence of individuals, and he has summarized much else. This has been done with discrimination and full appreciation of the subtleties, nuances, and paradoxes of views among the parties, groups, and leaders. The documentation is tremendous, and criticism of the materials is most satisfying. He has even gone through the reports of the prefects to learn the pulse of the country.

At the end of July the "parties of order" (Liberals, Catholics, Nationalists) were united in wishing for, or at least in admitting the possibility of, intervention on the side of the Central Powers, and the declaration of neutrality was a victory for the "popular parties" (Democrats, Republicans, Socialists—the *Estrema*). But within a few weeks the issue shifted to neutrality or intervention against Austria-Hungary. The about-face of the Nationalists, the new split among the Socialists when Mussolini as editor of *Avanti* proclaimed his belief in intervention, the hesitating and uncertain moves of Giolitti in the background are all explained

with finesse. In passing Vigezzi notes the irrelevance of the Marxian analysis, but reserves the story of economic developments for a later volume of his series.

Department of State

HOWARD M. SMYTH

CINQUANT'ANNI DI VITA ECONOMICA ITALIANA, 1915-1965. In two volumes. By *Epicarmo Corbino*. Edited by *F. Assante* and *D. Demarco*. [Banco di Napoli, Biblioteca di storia economica, Volume I, Parts 1 and 2.] (Naples: Edizioni Scientifiche Italiane. 1966. Pp. xix, 465; 460.)

THIS work might more exactly have been entitled "Fifty Years of Economic Observation by Epicarmo Corbino," for indeed the volume consists of articles by Corbino, long a professor at the University of Naples, over the period 1915-1965. This is not then, as one might think from the title, an economic history of Italy in the last half century (Corbino had already produced an only moderately successful volume of that kind, *L'economia italiana dal 1860 al 1960* [1962]); instead it contains writings on disparate subjects that range from eye trouble to the economy of the Mezzogiorno. Consequently, the work has no semblance of unity. It is intended to be a tribute to the author from the Bank of Naples, and it is the first volume in that institution's collection "Biblioteca di storia economica," edited by Domenico Demarco of the faculty of economics and commerce at the University of Naples.

Despite the fact that the work lacks unity or any central theme, it is not without considerable merit. In fact, the discussion of the economics of merchant shipping, in which Corbino was a specialist, is excellent and constitutes perhaps a third of the entire work. The reader will also learn much from articles on local finance, Italian banking policy, and the economics of the Mezzogiorno.

Columbia University

SHEPARD B. CLOUGH

IL DOPOGUERRA IN ITALIA E L'AVVENTO DEL FASCISMO (1918-1922). Volume I, DALLA FINE DELLA GUERRA ALL'IMPRESA DI FIUME. By *Roberto Vivarelli*. (Naples: Istituto Italiano per gli Studi Storici. 1967. Pp. xiii, 620. L. 7,000.)

RECENTLY Italian scholars have approached the great crisis of twentieth-century Italian history through topical studies. Into this category fall Gaetano Arfe, *Storia del socialismo, 1882-1926* (1965), Franco Gaeta, *Nazionalismo italiano* (1965), and of course Renzo De Felice's two biographical works, *Mussolini: Il rivoluzionario, 1883-1920* (1965), and *Mussolini: Il fascista, 1921-1925* (1966). Roberto Vivarelli, on the contrary, tries to draw all the threads together in his examination of "those years . . . in which the origins of contemporary Italy were in reality laid." No serious efforts to comprehend the whole complexity of the period between 1918 and 1922 have been made since Angelo Tasca wrote *The Rise of Italian Fascism, 1918-1922*, which was translated in 1938, and since Gaetano Salvemini delivered his Harvard lectures, now printed in his *Scritti sul fascismo*, Volume I (1961), a generation ago. There is certainly room for a fresh, comprehensive look at the crucial post-World War I era in Italy.

The strength of *Il dopoguerra in Italia* lies in its meticulous thoroughness.

Roughly half of this first volume is given over to the footnotes, many of which constitute valuable bibliographical essays in themselves. There are also some fifty pages of useful documentary appendixes. This volume primarily provides an exhaustive synthesis of the latest research, supplemented by extensive reading in newspapers and journals of the day. The records of the *Archivio Centrale di Stato* and of several provincial archives have also been employed, mostly to illuminate the civil disturbances of 1919.

Vivarelli's main topic is the spirit of disappointment that infused postwar Italy. For some Italians the war was a point of arrival; for others, a point of departure. Those whom he terms the "democratic interventionists" of 1915 looked for a moral fulfillment of the *Risorgimento*; their ultimate frustration was also that of Wilsonian idealism. The "nationalist interventionists," who saw the war as a struggle for empire, were denied their full expectations in the Adriatic, but they at least had the satisfaction of capturing the Italian state. D'Annunzio's seizure of Fiume in September 1919, with which this book closes, heralded their coming triumph.

Inevitably, regarding a work that aspires to be as definitive as this one, reservations might be made. For instance, while socialist politics are adequately treated, there is no mention of the Catholic *Popolari*. This will presumably be rectified in a subsequent volume, yet the Popular party was founded as early as January 1919. Some might also criticize the rather free application of the word totalitarian to Italy's postwar Right.

These cavils do not detract seriously from the total achievement, however. *Il dopoguerra in Italia* is an impressive and important undertaking that will merit the attention of all students of modern Italy for many years to come.

McMaster University

ALAN CASSELS

ACTA MVSEI NAPOCENSIS. Volume IV. Edited by C. Daicoviciu et al. (Cluj: Comitetul de Stat pentru Cultură și Artă, Muzeul de Istorie. 1967. Pp. xii, 595.)

VOLUME IV of *Acta Musei Napocensis* is a remarkable collection of distinguished scholarly contributions to the history of Transylvania and of trivial political diatribes related to the twentieth anniversary of the establishment of the republic. The volume is designed to provide "scientific proof" for the thesis that the Rumanian Communist party indeed completes the national historical legacy and attains the national historical goal of a free and independent Rumania. Almost every one of the nineteen major articles and of the twenty-seven "notes and discussions" pays at least lip service to that overriding political theme.

Least offensive in that respect are the studies on ancient and medieval history and civilization. The excellent articles on Roman Dacia by D. Protase, C. and H. Daicoviciu, and I. I. Russu offer important, novel archaeological data while at the same time demonstrating the historic continuity of the Rumanians in Transylvania. Four admirable studies on Transylvanian trade and agriculture in the sixteenth, seventeenth, and eighteenth centuries by S. Goldenberg, S. Belu, Șt. Imreh, I. Pataki, D. Năgler, M. Bunta, and V. Iosub are somewhat marred by the recurrent reiteration of the inadequacies of Magyar and Austrian economic

and social policies. L. Vajda, A. Csetri, and I. Kovacs present studies with the same qualities and the same defects on similar problems of the nineteenth century. The several articles on the twentieth century, ranging from the Battle of Mărășești in World War I to the contribution made by the miners of the Jiu Valley to the reconstruction of the national economy in the years 1945-1947, are more political than scholarly, but even they provide new information if not new interpretations. Similar considerations apply also to the frequently erudite "notes and discussions."

It is regrettable that the distinguished scholarship of most of the contributors and the valuable materials made available to students of Rumanian history in this volume must still be circumscribed by extraneous political requirements. Fortunately, the basic political thesis does not impose artificially dogmatic restrictions on the authors' presentation and evaluation of the essential data.

University of Colorado

STEPHEN FISCHER-GALATI

GALICIA—HALYCHYNA (A PART OF UKRAINE): FROM SEPARATION TO UNITY. By *Michael Yaremko*. [Shevchenko Scientific Society, Ukrainian Studies, Volume XVIII, English Section, Volume III.] (Toronto: the Society. 1967. Pp. 292. \$7.00.)

THIS history of Galicia (Halychyna or western Ukraine) by Professor Yaremko is the first English-language study of one of the most controversial problems in Eastern Europe since Russians and Poles considered Ukrainian national aspirations in Galicia as an Austro-German conspiracy against their own political plans. The author, a native of Galicia, intends to present, as he points out in his introduction, "the material in a popular and narrative style, avoiding . . . as far as possible scholarly type footnotes . . . [,] primarily for young readers of Ukrainian extraction." His book, however, has a wider scope than he implies because it is useful for any student of Eastern European history. Yaremko gives a valuable survey of the historical background. He also presents adequate information about Galicia and its religious, political, and economic conditions, in the past and the present, solidly based on historical literature.

Although the author includes two hundred items, he unfortunately does not mention such fundamental sources as *Akta grodzkie i ziemskie* (24 vols., 1868-1931), B. Janusz, *Zabytki przedhistoryczne Galicji wschodniej* (1910), I. Szaraniewicz, *Rzut oka na beneficja kościoła ruskiego za czasów Rzeczypospolitej Polskiej* (1875), *Istoria Haliysko-volynskoi Rusi do 1453* (1863), and *Österreichisch-ungarische Monarchie im Wort und Bild* (1898). His material is arranged topically within chronological periods. The author has done this effectively in four chapters: "The Princely Period, 907-1340," "Galicia under Polish Occupation, 1349-1772," "Galicia under the Hapsburgs, 1772-1918," and "Galicia from 1914 to 1945." The perennial problem of Galicia's struggle for independence and its unification with the eastern Ukraine is the leading motif in the volume.

Though the two first chapters are too brief, the third chapter is much better in every respect. The last chapter is more a chronicle, where the author does not analyze, but rather describes a quantity of facts and events that he evaluates from

his own point of view as an eyewitness. Its presentation, however, is systematic and, with the exception of a few minor errors, reliable. The author's final conclusions are too optimistic and a matter of personal opinion. The contents are well proportioned and well balanced. The selected bibliography is impressive, and several maps and tables are helpful. It is unfortunate that this valuable book is marred by numerous and unnecessary typographical errors.

Finally, it should be said that Yaremko's book must be judged for what it is—a monograph, in which the author has been able to achieve both enough depth for a professional reader as well as enough interest for a nonprofessional reader.

University of Akron

THEODORE MACKIW

POLSKO-CZECHOSŁOWACKIE STOSUNKI DYPLOMATYCZNE W LATACH 1918-1925 [Polish-Czechoslovak Diplomatic Relations, 1918-1925]. By *Alina Szklarska-Lohmannowa*. [Polska Akademia Nauk—Oddział w Krakowie. Prace Komisji Nauk Historycznych, Number 19.] (Cracow: Zakład Narodowy Imienia Ossolińskich Wydawnictwo Polskiej Akademii Nauk. 1967. Pp. 180. Zł. 35.)

GENERAL Tasker H. Bliss, member of the American peace delegation, wrote to his wife from Paris in February 1918: "The 'submerged nations' are coming to the surface and as soon as they appear, they fly at somebody's throat. They are, like mosquitoes, vicious from the moment of their birth." He was referring to the conflict between Poland and Czechoslovakia over the territory of Teschen. That dispute and the tortuous squabble over an insignificant village in the Tatras, the Javorina, were the significant events of the first phase of Polish-Czechoslovak relations. Much has been written about Teschen and Javorina, first by Poles and Czechs and more recently, in a more scholarly way, by American historians. This study supplements the work of Americans by using materials from the archives of the National Polish Committee, of the Polish and Czechoslovak Ministries of Foreign Affairs, and of Paderewski and Skirmut, without significantly altering the main outline of the story.

In the prewar Austro-Hungarian Parliament the Czechs and Poles pursued their separate policies. The effort to break up the Habsburg Empire toward the end of World War I united them temporarily, but after the war they separated again. Poland was bent on wresting territory from Germany and Russia, a course that brought it into conflict with both countries. Czechoslovakia, whose territory was carved out of the lands of Austria-Hungary, saw no need to antagonize Germany and Russia by supporting Poland in its territorial claims. The Poles allied themselves with Hungary, whose effort to take Slovakia from the Czechs by any means—diplomatic, military, or subversive—they supported overtly and covertly. The Poles dreamed of a common boundary with Hungary. The long-unsettled territorial disputes inflamed feelings on both sides.

The author traces this tragic story of Polish-Czechoslovak conflict during the early postwar years in a straightforward, factual manner. Her account is unbiased, free of condemnations, and, on the whole, untainted by Communist party line propaganda. It is a pity that she chose not to investigate the relationship of foreign policy to internal politics and the climate of opinion in the two states.

Statesmen of the time claimed that their actions were dictated by public opinion, and the validity of these claims should have been investigated. Nor does the author breathe life into such leading personalities of the sorry drama as Paderewski, Beneš, Skirmut, and Piłsudski. The reader is left wondering about the reasons for their decisions and about the extent of their influence and responsibility. How could they have been so blind? To this question, the book provides no answer; perhaps there is none.

Washington, D.C.

DAGMAR HORNA PERMAN

THE TESTAMENTS OF THE GRAND PRINCES OF MOSCOW. Translated and edited with a commentary by *Robert Craig Howes*. (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press. 1967. Pp. xvii, 445. \$10.00.)

DR. Howes has performed a real service in making readily available one of the most important sources for the history of fourteenth- to sixteenth-century Muscovy, the period of the "gathering of the lands," a process on which the wills of the rulers, and their gradually changing relationship to others, are remarkably revealing.

These wills, and those of many appanage princes, together with interprincely treaties, have long been available in the archaic Russian of their times. Most of them were printed by Novikov in the late eighteenth century and, more satisfactorily, in *Sobranie gosudarstvennikh gramot i dogovorov, khraniashchikhshe v Gosudarstvennoi kollegii inostrannikh del* (1813-), which was, until recently, the standard collection. There have been many other published collections, notably S. V. Bakhrushin's *Pamiatniki russkoi istorii* (1909).

Howes has used the most recent version, in which the language was somewhat modernized, undertaken by the late Bakhrushin, completed by L. V. Cherepnin, and published under the auspices of the Academy of Sciences, Institute of History, in 1950 as *Dukhovnye i dogovornye gramoty velikikh i udelnikh kniazci xiv-xvi vv.* He has selected only the wills of the grand princes, and he presents a thoroughly competent English translation.

The translation—an onerous task—is accompanied by an extended introductory commentary and by careful annotation that is unavailable in the Cherepnin version. For this purpose Howes has combed the *Polnoe sobranie russkikh letopisei* and has liberally used the careful biographical studies of A. V. Ekzempliarskii, the general works of such leading nineteenth-century historians as Karamzin, Solov'ev, and Kliuchevskii, and the more specific studies by such men as Cherepnin, Grekov, Pashuto, Tikhomirov, Veselovskii, and Zimin. He has duly consulted Dal' and Sreznevskii, and he has included cross references to comparable material in English history.

If there be a few flies in this excellent ointment, they are relatively insignificant, including Howes's departures from Library of Congress transliteration, with excessive use of "y" to serve a variety of purposes. Occasionally his translation of such Russian terms as *udel* and *ouchina* is confusing. His glossary is highly useful, but, in Russian fashion, he separates the index of personal names from the index of place names, adding an unfortunately weak topical index.

All in all, Howes and his sponsor, Professor Szeftel, deserve great credit for this patient, highly competent work, on which Howes has spent seven years.

Brooklyn College

JESSE D. CLARKSON

THE LAND AND GOVERNMENT OF MUSCOVY: A SIXTEENTH-CENTURY ACCOUNT. By *Heinrich von Staden*. Translated and edited by *Thomas Esper*. (Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press. 1967. Pp. xxiii, 142. \$5.50.)

HEINRICH von Staden composed an autobiography, a description of Muscovy, and a plan for its conquest that constitute important sources of Russian history during the time of Ivan the Terrible. He tells of the boyars, the military, the foreigners, the Poles, the newly acquired regions of Kazan and Astrakhan, of geography and taxes, and of corruption, extortion, cruelty, and injustices. He also makes shrewd observations: "The road into [Russia] is broad and clear, but the way out is extremely narrow." An official meets arriving foreign merchants "to see that [they do] not poke into every corner and examine every town." The government of Ivan ("one faith, one weight, one measure, he alone rules") abounds in cruelty; "how long such a government can continue, only . . . God knows." But as he relates both what he knows and what he has learned by hearsay only, and as his purpose is to promote a fantastic scheme for the conquest of Russia, his account must be perused with great caution. It does not speak for itself like the great travel accounts of a Herberstein, Fletcher, or Olearius. It rather resembles, as to its historical value, Ivan's own writings or those of Kurbsky that were so competently edited some time ago by J. L. I. Fennell.

Staden's account, published and edited in a masterly fashion in the original German by Fritz Epstein forty years ago, was reprinted with an addition in 1964. No student of sixteenth-century Russia can possibly forego the use of Epstein's original edition. A good Russian translation by Polosin is also available. A question thus arises as to whom an English translation is supposed to serve. If Esper wanted to make Staden's account accessible to the general public in the United States, a comprehensive introduction and critical explanations would certainly have been needed to put it into the proper historical perspective and make it usable. They are not, however, provided. We simply have a translation of the text, which is based on Epstein's edition. It is an improvement on that made for Esper's doctoral dissertation at the University of Chicago, and it is quite acceptable, even if one may argue about some minor points and even if it lacks the style that Baron's translation of Olearius, for instance, possesses. The greater opportunity, of making the translation a valuable addition to scholarship, was missed, however. Epstein's edition has become a classic; it provides the historian of sixteenth-century Russia with an incomparable bibliography and with a wealth of useful annotations. During the past forty years many more publications on Ivan's reign have appeared in German, Russian, and English, and scholars would have benefited greatly had Esper continued the work and brought the information up to date. But this has not happened. The introduction is meager; the annotations are restricted to the most elementary information; the opportunity

for making a contribution to either the general public or the historian has been missed.

University of Delaware

WALTHER KIRCHNER

THE TRAVELS OF OLEARIUS IN SEVENTEENTH-CENTURY RUSSIA.

Translated and edited by *Samuel H. Baron*. (Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press. 1967. Pp. xiii, 349. \$8.95.)

IN reviewing a firsthand travel account, one should appraise it from two vantage points: the worth of the document itself and the quality of the present edition. In both instances my reaction to this work is strongly positive.

Travel literature on Russia, both old and new, abounds. Many accounts are worthless, but Olearius' is not. A learned Holsteiner who traveled through Muscovy and Tataria during the 1630's, he was perceptive, witty, and generally sympathetic as he illumined an obscure century in Russian life. Like the Elizabethan ambassador Giles Fletcher more than four decades earlier, he was fascinated by the Russian Church, expounded on the tsar's revenues and administration, described the styles of dress, and marveled at the modes of behavior. His account of Moscow—its appearance, fires, and uprisings—is eclipsed perhaps only by those memorable passages on the Russian vices of crudity, vulgarity, drunkenness, lust, and violence. To a lesser degree than most descriptions by foreigners, Olearius' was not clouded by damning prejudice or weakened by the author's inflexibility in accommodating to a novel environment. Even errors of fact and internal contradictions are less disturbing to the equilibrium of this work than to others like it.

The worth of Olearius is immeasurably enhanced by the quality of its translation into English (the first since 1669) and the careful editing that accompanied it. Professor Baron's translation from the German is notable for both its accuracy and its readability. His thirty-page introduction provides insight into both Olearius the man and his times and a judgment on the weaknesses and strengths of his work. The editor's numerous and informative annotations to Olearius' text further attest to the high scholarly quality of this work. Documentation is based on an extensive bibliography. Baron's edition is embellished by twelve pages of illustrations from the original 1647 edition of Olearius, a single map tracing the route of his several Holstein embassies, and a good index.

The addition of Olearius to our English sources of Russian history represents a significant contribution. It is hoped that more of the perceptive foreign appraisals of old Russia will find their way into such scholarly editions as this one.

University of Bridgeport

ALBERT J. SCHMIDT

G. R. DERZHAVIN: A POLITICAL BIOGRAPHY. By *Jesse V. Clardy*. [Studies in European History, Number 14.] (The Hague: Mouton. 1967. Pp. 227. 32 gls.)

MR. Clardy's book is called a "political biography," but it tells us little of Derzhavin's political views or activities, unless issues of promotion or preferment are considered political matters. Nor do we learn much about Russian society in

the eighteenth century and next to nothing about a problem for whose study the life and career of Derzhavin provide superb illustrative material—the rise and role of the service gentry in the political, intellectual, and social life of the country.

What little we do learn is marred by serious inaccuracies. Names are wrong or wrongly transliterated: Derzhavin's father was called Roman, not Romanov; his mother, "Mrs. Derzhavin," was a Kozlov, not Kazlov; it is Nekliudov and Buturlin, not Nekliudov and Buterlin; the district in Moscow is called Presnia, not Presn; the people Derzhavin studied are Tatars, not Tartars, and the German tutor J. Roz was a gentleman by the name of Rose. The sense of the sources is frequently distorted by inaccurate translation or an idiosyncratic use of English. Why were Derzhavin's plans for Cheboksary—which were not his anyway—"august"? I. I. Shuvalov could by no stretch of the imagination or of language be said to have been a "schoolmaster" and what were the "viewpoints" of the workers who helped Derzhavin on his archaeological expedition? There is confusion about individuals, governmental institutions, and processes, when the author attempts to identify or describe them at all, and, instead of an examination of the sources and character of Derzhavin's ideas, there are unfounded or trite assertions: Derzhavin's "rigidly nationalistic spirit" is attributed in part to the fact that his father was an army captain, and one of the major conclusions of the work is that the life of a statesman who prefers to maintain the *status quo* is not necessarily an easy one.

There are neither footnotes nor index, and the bibliography is both ludicrously short and dated. If publishers are not more discriminating, we may all drown in a sea of print.

University of California, Los Angeles

HANS ROGGER

RATIONALISM AND NATIONALISM IN RUSSIAN NINETEENTH-CENTURY POLITICAL THOUGHT. By *Leonard Schapiro*. [Yale Russian and East European Studies, Number 4.] (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press. 1967. Pp. viii, 173. \$5.00.)

As a way of organizing vast and disparate historical or literary materials, the *coincidentia oppositorum* has much to commend it. It is the most dramatic opening for dialectic, and there have been some great practitioners. Professor Schapiro is not one of these, but he is no slouch, either, and this little book, almost throughout, breathes an air of style and confidence. Whether it actually gets anywhere is more debatable.

The author does not pursue very far the meaning of his key terms. At the beginning, in fact, he assigns them a precise, somewhat legalistic meaning. What he really means is "universalism and particularism." In these terms he attempts to classify and compare a number of somewhat oddly selected nineteenth-century Russian political thinkers in more or less chronological order. He does not use his categories as a Procrustean bed for these figures, but rather as a convenient handle for that aspect of their thought that interests him most: their attitudes toward what Schapiro considers to be the two most striking peculiarities of Russia's long-term historical development—the institution of autocracy and cultural-economic backwardness in relation to the West. A thinker

who regards these peculiarities as temporary and unessential, or as blemishes or as obstacles to be overcome, Schapiro classifies as rationalist. One who looks on them as desirable or necessary (*because* peculiarly and ineluctably Russian) Schapiro calls nationalist. He does not favor one side or the other, but seems to prefer a canny blend of long-run universalist values arrived at by particularist means and of a pliability sufficient not to compromise fatally the end.

The book deals with many little-known but extremely interesting figures, like A. P. Kunitsin, who taught Pushkin "natural law" at the *Tsarskoe Selo Lyceum*, and the Petrashevets, A. V. Berdiaev. There are also some better-known figures—commonly referred to in accounts of the period, but rarely discussed elsewhere at any length—such as Granovsky, Chicherin, and Shipov. Schapiro's "handle" permits the inclusion of much material.

Yet the book also has some irritating traces of a lawyer's brief for a case that is being argued while the shrewd attorney claims merely to be classifying the evidence. Interesting as he is, I do not believe D. N. Shipov (the liberal-conservative Slavophile of the *zemstvo* movement) to have been the best exemplar of political wisdom and shrewdness available in the Russia of 1900–1905, even in retrospect. While Schapiro does not say that he was, he tends, nevertheless, to present Shipov as possessing a kind of "nationalist" understanding of Russia and the Russian situation analogous in the liberal camp to the (in my opinion, dubious) "nationalism" of Lenin among the revolutionaries. There is some subtle implication that, if the liberals had listened more to Shipov and less to Miliukov, two revolutions might have turned out differently. Again, Schapiro does not actually say this, yet he seems to turn the reader delicately in that direction. At that point, I left him, but I was glad, and grateful, to have gone that far.

University of Rochester

SIDNEY MONAS

KONSTANTIN LEONTEV (1831–1891): A STUDY IN RUSSIAN "HEROIC VITALISM." By *Stephen Lukashovich*. (New York: Pageant Press. 1967. Pp. xvii, 235. \$5.00.)

WESTERN scholars have devoted increasing attention to the problems of Russian conservative thought and politics in the nineteenth century. Lukashovich's monograph should be placed within this genre of historiography. While Russia produced relatively few seminal thinkers compared with Western Europe during this period, Konstantin Leontiev must be counted among them. Lukashovich's subtitle, *A Study in "Heroic Vitalism,"* places Leontiev in the mainstream of European conservative Romantic thought, which emphasized difference and complexity rather than gradualness and regularity. This type of thought was characteristic of Oswald Spengler, Henri Bergson, and D. H. Lawrence, among others.

Lukashovich, drawing on psychoanalytical, especially Freudian, insights, attempts to show the interrelationship between childhood and adolescent feelings and symbols that Leontiev developed and expressed and the philosophical system that marked his mature years. Thus, the young Leontiev was conditioned by childhood experiences to transform his feelings of religion, fear, and love into his later sophisticated reactionary ideology. Even socialism, if it could be made

complex, could be included in Leontiev's "esthetics of reaction." Leontiev's main enemies were those who espoused liberalism and egalitarianism, principally the rising bourgeoisie. As a political prescription for Russia, Leontiev offered "Byzantinism" which meant in part the "freezing up" of Russia in terms of social mobility while maintaining a high degree of aesthetic complexity within state and society.

Lukashevich's work is more properly a philosophical than a historical monograph. One misses the link between Leontiev's thought and the ideas and events of the Russia in which he lived. Yet, simply as a penetrating study of an important Russian conservative thinker, it has great merit. It certainly goes far toward explaining the ideological links between Russian thought and the West during a most active period of such intercourse. The value of the book is enhanced by a sound, annotated bibliography and a good index.

University of Alberta

M. KATZ

THE SPIRIT OF RUSSIA. Volume III. By *Thomas Garrigue Masaryk*. *George Gibian*, Editor. *Robert Bass*, Translator and Associate Editor. (New York: Barnes and Noble. 1967. Pp. xxi, 331. \$8.00.)

PUBLICATION of the third volume of Thomas Garrigue Masaryk's *The Spirit of Russia* is a notable occurrence. The first two volumes were originally published in German in 1913. Because of their merit and their pioneering character, at least if we exclude literature available only in Russian, they have since become a classic and have appeared in several editions and in Czech and English as well as German. Indeed one still finds European and American intellectuals whose knowledge and appreciation of Russian thought are grounded in *The Spirit of Russia*. Meanwhile, although the work was obviously incomplete, it was generally assumed that the author, who was soon to become the first President of Czechoslovakia, never wrote the concluding volume. But he actually did, in 1912, and this volume is now being presented in an English translation through the efforts of his two daughters and the many other admirers of the distinguished Czech statesman and thinker. The volume has been supplied with an introduction by Professor Gibian, with notes, and with an index.

When I reviewed a new English edition of the first two volumes of *The Spirit of Russia* in 1956, I compared them to an experimental play where the hero never appears on the stage. The hero has now arrived: he is, of course, Dostoevski, and he occupies, under his own name, more than half the entire volume. Another giant, Tolstoi, occupies some fifty pages. There is also a third part that deals with various writers, ranging from Musset as the philosopher of French Romanticism, through Lermontov, Goncharov, and Turgenev, to "three decadents: Artsybashev, Andreyev, Chekhov." It is Dostoevski, however, who dominates throughout: even Tolstoi is presented essentially as a foil for Dostoevski. Masaryk considers the author of *The Brothers Karamazov* to be a Platonist and a mystic, but also an unbeliever dealing in illusions and resorting to lies, an aristocrat, and often an obscurantist. He fights him fiercely. The attack is narrow-minded, dogmatic, opinionated, and, at times, caviling and petty. Yet it also reveals intelligence, integrity, and occasional penetration. It is a fascinating period

piece. Beyond that it is a contribution to a discussion of those eternal, "accursed," and open-ended questions of which Dostoevski was a major, and Masaryk at least a minor, exponent.

Unfortunately, even minimum standards have not been observed in producing the book. There are dozens of misprints and errors, including transposed footnotes and confusion of such words as "dual" and "duel," "posed" and "poised," and even "sail" and "soil" (Lermontov's celebrated poem *The Sail* is stubbornly referred to as *The Soil*). In the index one reads: "Berlin, Isaiah, 73. Works by: *Correspondance diplomatique; Hedgehog and the Fox, The; Soirées de Petersbourg.*" This must surely be the most remarkable tribute to Berlin's brilliant study of De Maistre's influence on Tolstoi.

University of California, Berkeley

NICHOLAS V. RIASANOVSKY

HISTORICAL LETTERS. By *Peter Lavrov*. Translated with an introduction and notes by *James P. Scanlan*. (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. 1967. Pp. x, 371. \$9.50.)

WHEN Peter Lavrov's *Historical Letters* first appeared between 1868 and 1870, while the author was in exile, the Tsar's censors, somewhat surprisingly, allowed them to be published. Though the government's attitude toward dissent had been growing stricter since 1866, the bureaucrats of censorship, rather typically, saw little harm in the *Letters*. Such broad and obscure philosophical ideas, they assumed, would probably appeal to only a few Russians. Besides, it would have been difficult to make a strong legal case out of Lavrov's general denunciation of social injustice, even though he did exhort "critically thinking individuals" to act, not just speculate, on the obvious needs of society.

As it turned out, the censors' confidence was misleading. Idealistic students and concerned intellectuals received the *Letters* as they might have received a revelation. Well-thumbed copies became prized possessions of those hopefuls who initiated the Populist movement of the early 1870's. Far from lying unnoticed in the limbo predicted by the censors, the *Letters* contributed much to converting Russia's revolutionaries from ego-centered nihilists into a conscientious elite paying off its "irredeemable debt to society," from a faith in the power of studying frog anatomy to a concern for the moral compulsions of history.

Students of Russian history have long been aware of the unusual importance of the *Historical Letters*, but, except for some attention in works devoted to larger topics and an excellent but unpublished dissertation by Philip Pomper, Lavrov's importance has received little acknowledgment in English. This translation by Professor Scanlan is the first complete work by Lavrov available in English, and it is the most complete edition of the *Historical Letters* possible. For this reason, and because the *Letters* are Lavrov's most important work, the book is particularly welcome. They are worth reading even now for their historical insights as well as for their historic role.

Not only has Scanlan edited and translated the text competently (to judge from a random check, there are no obvious errors); he has also provided an introduction—often an obligatory performance in such works—that deserves special praise. With his brief but penetrating critical biography, Scanlan manages to

place Lavrov's writings in a clear historical context and succeeds in defending Lavrov's philosophy from charges of mere eclecticism. Except for certain obvious errors in the dates of Lavrov's arrest and exile, the book demonstrates careful scholarship and good editing.

University of Vermont

WILLIAM G. GARD

THE YOUNG STALIN: THE EARLY YEARS OF AN ELUSIVE REVOLUTIONARY. By *Edward E. Smith*. (New York: Farrar, Straus, & Giroux. 1967. Pp. ix, 470.)

ONE of the most extraordinary gaps in recent political history concerns the early life and career (1900-1913) of Joseph Dzhugashvili-Stalin. What was permitted to be published on this subject during his lifetime was skimpy, confused, elaborately hagiographic, replete with obvious omissions, contradictions, and falsehoods. It conveyed nothing approaching an adequate or even plausible picture of Stalin's life and activity during those early years.

All this has been evident to scholars ever since Stalin and his flatterers began tampering with the record in the early 1930's. While Stalin was alive, the explanation that commended itself to many of his contemporaries, including Trotsky, was that, in ordering—or authorizing—this distortion of the record of his life and career at the hands of biographers, he was moved by vanity and by a sense of inferiority over his humble role in the party before the Revolution. He was concerned, it was thought, to create a public image of himself as an early revolutionary leader comparable in importance to those eminent rivals whom he was now so cruelly hounding to their death. This thesis offered a conceivable explanation for many of the exaggerations, distortions, and falsehoods in the official biography, if not for all the omissions. So long as Stalin was alive it satisfied many, not all, of the questioners.

If this had been the entire story, one would have thought that after Stalin's death his successors would have been glad to let the curiosity of honest scholarship take its course and set the record straight, particularly after Khrushchev drew attention, in his report to the Twentieth Congress, to the seriously unsatisfactory nature of the official biography. Fifteen years have now elapsed, however, since Stalin's death, and twelve since the delivery of Khrushchev's report, and the party has maintained a veil of total silence over the subject of Stalin's early life. True, in such recurrent publications as encyclopedias and party histories, the more egregious absurdities of the earlier official biography have been quietly toned down. But nothing resembling an adequate biography has yet appeared, and almost nothing that has been published over this entire time in the way of specialized studies would reveal Stalin's life, movements, or activities in the 1900-1913 period. A long series of significant questions continues to beg for clarification. How, for example, did a man not recorded as having any paid employment find the means to live, support a family, and repeatedly travel thousands of miles over a span of nearly thirteen years, during most of which he was much too obscure and unpopular a figure to have had access to party funds for personal expenses? It is beyond the limits of coincidence that no Soviet scholar has undertaken to provide answers to the many questions of this nature

that present themselves. One can only conclude that the Soviet Communist party, for reasons of its own, is still determined to screen from historical examination a thirteen-year period in the life of one of the three greatest figures in the history of the party: a man who was for a quarter of a century its leading official and for much of that time the supreme dictator of the Soviet Union. Only weighty considerations of current policy could have dictated so strange a disposition.

Stalin's early life has been treated in many works published outside the Soviet Union. None of these is fully adequate as a portrayal of the evidence available today. The works of Souvarine and Trotsky, valuable as both of them were, were written many years ago, without access to much material now available. The late Isaac Deutscher, a great writer and a great analyst of the political ideas of major figures of the Russian Social Democratic movement, was too much of an admirer of Stalin, and too innocent and trusting in his assumptions, to face the more disturbing questions arising from the available record of the latter's conduct. Bertram Wolfe, in his *Three Who Made a Revolution*, made the most significant contribution to date; future historians will continue to be heavily indebted to him, but this work, too, was written twenty years ago, during Stalin's lifetime. It would require extensive amplification if rewritten in the light of evidence available today.

It is toward filling this extraordinary void that Smith's book is directed. It covers Stalin's career from birth to 1917. It is a semipopular work and, from the standpoint of scholarship, leaves a certain amount to be desired. Language is occasionally obscure. The effort to disentangle the confusions and complexities of chronology in the existing record is not always successful. In several instances, notably in the chapter on the denunciation of the Avlabar printing plant and the treatment of the so-called "Eremin" document that figured so prominently in Isaac Don Levine's book on *Stalin's Great Secret*, research and analysis could usefully have been carried further. Hypotheses, as will be noted below, are often treated as though they were proven facts. This volume, nevertheless, represents the first and only attempt to date to pull together the evidence on this entire subject as it exists in the late 1960's, and it constitutes an important addition to existing literature on the subject. Any scholar who now tries to explore these mysteries further will be importantly aided not only by the useful and extensive bibliography but also by the contents of many of the 859 footnotes (though he will, since these notes appear in the back of the book, have to submit to the ordeal of leafing back and forth endless times to establish their connection with the relevant passages of the text). In all, Mr. Smith deserves credit for his courage and persistence in assailing this baffling subject; his book should serve both as an aid and a stimulus to further inquiry.

It should be noted that this is the first published work, to my knowledge, that draws on the archives of the Paris office of the tsarist Department of Police, which have for many years reposed on the shelves of the Hoover Institution at Palo Alto, but were only recently opened to scholars. Of the various documents found there by Smith that bear on Stalin's early life (and it is to be regretted that more of these were not published in full in his work) the most significant and intriguing are two letters from the winter of 1912-1913. One was from Lenin's life companion, Krupskaya, to A. E. Axelrod, then in Petersburg. Of this, only

a few lines are reproduced in the text. The other, printed in full, was from Stalin to R. V. Malinovski, who was of course the notorious tsarist *provocateur* in the Bolshevik faction of the party. Stalin, so far as I am aware, was not previously known to have had any intimacy with Malinovski. Both letters suggest that the relations among the three men—Lenin, Malinovski, and Stalin—were marked at that juncture, the eve of Stalin's final arrest and banishment, by complications and subtleties greater than any we previously had reason to suspect, but ones, unfortunately, that still defy historical clarification.

Smith is convinced that Stalin was not merely a casual informer but an actual agent of the tsarist secret police over most of the period from 1900 to 1913. He has cited much circumstantial evidence that points in this direction. A sharper focus of inquiry on certain points would, in my opinion, have made his case still stronger. The evidence, as it stands today, still fails to provide definite proof of this hypothesis; nor is it likely, given the measures normally taken by police authorities to conceal the identity of secret agents and given further the ample freedom Stalin enjoyed during the years of his dictatorship to destroy or corrupt the record, that such definite proof will ever be found. Nevertheless, the existing evidence, in its totality, is formidable, and this being the case, it is a pity that Smith has weakened his case by repeatedly using language that treats a reasonable hypothesis as though it were a proven and accepted fact.

It should be remembered, in considering suggestions of this nature, that the Bolshevik wing of the Russian Social Democratic Labor party was not only extensively penetrated by the police over much of the period in question; it also plainly enjoyed a curious sort of clandestine support from that quarter in its struggle against the opposing Menshevik wing of the party, which then appeared to the government as the greater evil. Lenin's standards in such matters were anything but fastidious, and a certain amount of intrigue with the police on Stalin's part might not have been wholly reprehensible in Lenin's eyes, particularly had it proceeded, as seems indeed likely, at the expense of individual Menshevik comrades or of the Menshevik faction as a whole. Be that as it may, the record of Stalin's life in these particular years is explicable, as it now stands, only in terms of a relationship between him and the police less respectable than anything the world socialist movement could ever understand or approve. The weight of evidence pointing in the direction of such a police connection is now so great as to leave the burden of proof, in my opinion, to the person who says he was *not* an *agent provocateur*, rather than to those, like Smith, who say that he was. At this point, it would seem, Soviet historians should have the floor.

Institute for Advanced Study

GEORGE F. KENNAN

POLITICAL MEMOIRS, 1905-1917. By *Paul Miliukov*. Edited by *Arthur P. Mendel*. Translated by *Carl Goldberg*. (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press. 1967. Pp. xviii, 508. \$9.75.)

TRANSLATED here are the last 572 of the 816 pages of the text of the Russian edition (2 vols., 1955) of the memoirs of Paul Miliukov, Russia's foremost liberal and perhaps next only to his master Vasilii Kliuchevskii among Russia's historians. The pages deal chiefly with the politics of the period from 1905 to

July 1917, as viewed by Miliukov who was a prominent participant—first as leader of the Liberationists and the Constitutional Democratic party that derived from them; as behind-the-scenes leader of the Cadets in the short-lived First and Second Dumas of 1906 and 1907; as their leader as elected deputy in the Third and Fourth Dumas (1907–1917); and finally as the leading figure behind the organization of the provisional government in 1917 and its Foreign Minister for a few weeks. A thoughtful introduction by Arthur Mendel summarizes Miliukov's life before and after the period covered by the translated portion of the memoirs, emphasizing his political activities.

In Miliukov's memoirs there is interesting material for comment, including the evidence of his opposition to the war during the crisis of the summer of 1914, despite the fact that he later became identified with the imperialist demand for the Straits, and his effort to dissociate himself from the Union of Liberation as of 1905, which requires explanation. The original text of the memoirs has been available for over a decade, however, and therefore a review doubtless ought to concern itself with the translation and editing of the newly published version. The translator obviously knows Russian well, but his knowledge of Russian and European realities is in some ways deficient. References to persons and places are sometimes obscure: few will recognize "Frakian" as Thracian, "Miur and Meriliz" as Muir and Merrilees (a Moscow department store), "St. Afonsky's Mountain" as Mt. Athos, "Nicholas Chernogorsky" as Nicholas of Montenegro; Stolypin's "favorite village Kovenskaia" should read his "favorite village in Kovno province"; a group of Octobrists called *gololobovtsy* was not the "bare-headed" but the followers of Gololobov; the "suburb of Sergei" was the town of Sergiev Posad; the proper translation of *starets* is not "old man" but "elder." The editing also needed further work. There are many minor errors in punctuation, spelling, and syntax. A number of explanations are made in footnotes (some helpfully carried over from the original), but by no means enough. The notes have been mangled, perhaps by the printer, so that footnote five is to numeral four, and all others up to twelve are similarly wrong, out of a total of fifty-seven notes. The answer to *Veĭhi* was not *Problemy idealizma*, as stated in footnote two, for it was published seven years earlier. Miliukov ironically speaks as if Khrustalev and Nosar were different people, but they were the same man, and a footnote is needed to establish this; the date of the Paris congress of opposition parties of 1904 is given wrongly as 1905 (it is also incorrect in the original), and appears rightly as 1904 later, with an explanatory footnote only then; Miliukov's hints about a secret Masonic grouping in the provisional government are unexplained and will be incomprehensible to many. It is a pity that so much painstaking labor should be marred by so many minor faults.

Miliukov's memoirs present us with the picture of a rather vain man who had much to be vain about; a man amply prepared to be a Russian prime minister, but events deprived him of the opportunity he could doubtless masterfully have met; a Russian Wilson or Masaryk who was fated to die largely unrecognized and unrewarded by history. This book may help our generation to come to know him as his memory deserves.

University of Washington

DONALD W. TREADGOLD

PRELUDE TO REVOLUTION: THE PETROGRAD BOLSHEVIKS AND THE JULY 1917 UPRISING. By *Alexander Rabinowitch*. [Indiana University International Studies.] (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1968. Pp. xi, 299. \$8.50.)

ALTHOUGH most American scholars in the field of Russian history agreed in 1967 that the Bolshevik revolution was a pivotal event of the twentieth century, neither their published research nor the doctoral dissertations that they supervise bear out their judgment. The scholars' indifference to events that the Soviet regime considers central to its history and work is all the more puzzling since, to judge by Professor Rabinowitch's book, sound scholarly investigations of crucial moments and issues in 1917 are both possible and profitable, even under existing limitations.

Rabinowitch has investigated the murky question of the Bolshevik role in the July uprising. After studying the available documents, newspapers, accounts by participants, and Soviet historical monographs, he offers a convincing and detailed answer that not only provides additional insight into the Bolshevik party but also into conditions in Russia from February to July 1917. This model of a publishable doctoral dissertation is also attractively written. His analysis hinges on the division within the Bolshevik party between the three major bodies present in Petrograd: the Central Committee (itself split between moderates and radicals), the Peterburg City Committee, and the Military Organization working among the soldiers and sailors stationed in or near the capital. Each of these bodies responded differently to the rising pressures from garrison and workers. What Bolshevik leadership there was in the July Days stemmed from the Military Organization's response to the tempestuous impatience of the most radical military units and competition for their loyalty with the anarchists. The Central Committee, with its all-Russian outlook, was strongly opposed to an early seizure of power; the country was not yet ready. Caught between the fury of the militants and his own adverse judgment of the situation, Lenin was reduced to a helpless wait-and-see attitude while the storm raged. Sukhanov, in other words, was wrong; Lenin had no hand in the uprising.

General readers may wish that the author had gone somewhat beyond the objectives of a dissertation writer. Noting that the author has scanned the files of *Trench Pravda* and *Soldiers Pravda*, they will wonder at the indirect contribution of these newspapers to the question of the German subsidies (covered only by a footnote). They will, furthermore, suspect that the author conforms too readily to Soviet cliché in ascribing "the Bolshevikization of the masses" entirely to Bolshevik propaganda. Even in his analysis the Bolsheviks often lead only because they follow. Certainly the masses, however receptive to slogans about peace, land, bread, and so forth never acceded to Bolshevik demands for discipline and organization. The relation between the Bolsheviks and the masses, in short, remains problematical. Finally, the author advances no explanation for the astounding achievement of Leninist leadership. The book proves that the party was divided in July 1917. What we also need to know, and what no one has yet convincingly proved, is much bigger. How exactly did the party, in the face of the elemental drift toward dissolution and anarchy, rally the superior cohesion and striking power that elevated it above all its rivals? The answer, one

suspects, will emerge from the study not only of political developments but also of their sociological underpinnings, and from a more imaginative and probing use of the sources than is commonly found in the Western study of modern Russian history.

Washington University

THEODORE H. VON LAUE

SOVIET FOREIGN POLICY, 1928-1934: DOCUMENTS & MATERIALS.

Volume II. By *Xenia Joukoff Eudin* and *Robert M. Slusser*. [Publication of the Hoover Institution on War, Revolution and Peace.] (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press. 1967. Pp. xxix, 357-778. \$9.50.)

THIS volume, covering the years 1932-1934, continues the series of documents edited by Mrs. Eudin (in collaboration, successively, with Harold H. Fisher, Robert C. North, and Robert M. Slusser) and provides systematic coverage of Soviet foreign policy and Comintern activities. The editors have sensibly divided the 1932-1934 period into three major components: the challenge of Japan and Germany, and the Soviet search for security arrangements; the crisis of Comintern policy, from the fiasco of the "ultra-left" line to the shift toward a broad "rightist" united front; and the corresponding change in Soviet diplomatic posture, including US recognition, Soviet entry into the League, and the Soviet-French rapprochement.

Like its predecessors, the volume is carefully edited, provided with helpful commentary and an excellent bibliography, and shows a most knowledgeable selection of materials. Compared to its obvious "rival"—the two three-volume sets edited by Jane Degras for Oxford University Press—the Eudin-Slusser work provides a greater number of entire selections, or excerpts from them, but the individual items tend to be shorter; it also includes a greater selection of "unofficial" materials, such as newspaper editorials. While an effort was clearly made not to duplicate what was readily available elsewhere, some overlap was inevitable; a few random comparisons suggest that the present volume may be more literal but less literary in its translations. As before, the editors have provided a valuable and at times illuminating introductory essay.

It is not surprising that most of the materials seem relatively familiar: there have, after all, been other documentary compilations; the number of scholars using foreign languages, including Russian, has increased; some obscure collections have in recent years been republished or reprinted. Even the most conscientious approach requires some subjective selection of documents, or, worse, parts thereof. And by limiting themselves to declaratory and largely official contemporary materials, the editors have necessarily found it impossible to deal with such questions as decision making in Soviet foreign policy, elite conflicts on foreign affairs (other than a tempting reference in the editors' essay), or even the over-all question of Soviet motives and objectives—when Moscow means what it says and when it does not.

It is good to have an additional reliable volume in this series, but one wonders whether the editors' very considerable investment of effort might not more profitably have gone to a more original contribution.

Columbia University

ALEXANDER DALLIN

COMMUNIST RUSSIA AND THE RUSSIAN ORTHODOX CHURCH, 1943-1962. By *William B. Stroyen*. (Washington, D. C.: Catholic University of America Press. 1967. Pp. x, 161. \$4.95.)

Dr. Stroyen, who has served as a chaplain in the United States Air Force, is dean of an Orthodox seminary and editor of the *Orthodox Herald*. With a fluent command of Russian, he is well equipped to write about the Russian Orthodox Church in Soviet Russia.

As a member of the church militant, he makes no profession of neutrality. In Chapter III, "Communist Operations," his citations are largely from strongly anti-Soviet writers, and he arrives at conclusions favorable to the Church with little effort at a balanced interpretation. In the later chapters, however, he assumes a more judicious tone, recognizing that from 1936 on Stalin had a more tolerant attitude, which in 1943 resulted in the restoration of the patriarchate after most of the clergy and their followers had demonstrated their patriotism.

In his discussion of the postwar period the author, on the basis of an analysis of the contents of the ecclesiastical press and of the pertinent Soviet publications, concludes that, with the encouragement of the government, the Russian Church has greatly widened its relations with the other Orthodox Churches and many other church bodies. In 1961 it even joined the World Council of Churches. The government approves this, apparently because the Church has actively supported Soviet foreign policy, with leading churchmen prominent in the massive peace campaigns that began in 1948. Orthodox hierarchs have sharply criticized American actions in the Congo, Korea, and Cuba.

Within the USSR, however, the author believes that the Church has lost ground, for he reports that of late the Orthodox periodicals have mentioned the activities of only three theological seminaries, whereas in 1947 there were eight. Because the clergy are restricted to the performance of divine worship and may not engage in evangelical or social activities, and since there is very scanty publication of religious literature, he fears that the Church is declining under the pressure of an unrelenting and skillful antireligious propaganda. Thus he regards its future as dark. On the other hand, while he mentions the "catacomb church" reported in our press, he does not attempt to assess its significance.

While Stroyen's findings are perhaps unduly gloomy, he gives convincing arguments for believing that the future of the Russian Church is not promising.

The book contains seven useful appendixes of laws and Church regulations for the period since 1918.

Duke University

JOHN SHELTON CURTISS

Near East

BRITAIN AND THE PERSIAN GULF, 1894-1914. By *Briton Cooper Busch*. (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. 1967. Pp. xiv, 432. \$8.75.)

THE Persian Gulf has never developed its own center of power. Thus, its modern history has largely involved contacts of the nations of maritime enterprise with

numerous and undisciplined political entities of the littoral, mainly on the Arabian side. This became a matter of importance during the twenty years prior to the oil era, which was also the period leading to World War I. The situation shows, to some degree, the action of most of the elements that constitute "modern imperialism," including tribal relations, established and innovating commercial motives, technological change (the arrival of the telegraph and anticipation of the railway), naval and military power, strong and very diverse personalities, and, above all, the ambitions and problems of the Great Powers. To all this Busch has devoted very careful and thorough study and necessarily difficult and sometimes tedious reading, but he emerges as an author by no means lost in the trees; he finds his way to clear and persuasive conclusions.

The outside government most concerned with the region was British India, for whom the whole area was deemed of great importance, and India responded most vigorously to threats of change in the *status quo*. Under Lord Curzon, especially, Indian aggressiveness was sometimes distressing to London—Lord Lansdowne on one occasion remarked that his own milder views "would give Curzon a fit"—but it is Busch's deliberate judgment that Curzon should be given much credit for maintaining and extending the British positions along the Gulf during difficult times. As for the petty scenes in which the players acted, British policy was that of a very polite dog in the manger, and British agents were able and devoted. "We don't want Koweit, but we don't want anyone else to have it." The littlest things could cause distant repercussions, however. Five Omani subjects with French papers broke quarantine at Masqat and were recaptured; London and Paris arranged with difficulty for a decision by the Hague Tribunal. Twenty-five tons of coal left by a Russian gunboat at Lingeh; three flagstaves (without flags) erected by the British; a German surveyor at Kuwait at a time when the terminus of the Baghdad railway was under discussion: such incidents led to tensions and cabinet meetings. Busch's work nicely illustrates the interaction of local occurrences with the high policy of the great capitals. One by one the successive and often interlocking challenges of France, Russia, Turkey, and Germany were met, and by 1914 there could be no doubt as to Britain's effective if informal protectorate over the whole Gulf. While the shifting relations of the Powers and the periodic diplomatic crises were perhaps the decisive elements, Busch concludes with a tribute to the effective role of the government of India and to the perseverance and skill of such men as Sir Percy Cox, who were situated in the area.

The index is not so much inadequate as poorly adapted to the use of the reader; almost the same must be said of the maps.

Clark University

H. DONALDSON JORDAN

THE ORIGINS OF COMMUNISM IN TURKEY. By George S. Harris. (Stanford, Calif.: Hoover Institution on War, Revolution and Peace, Stanford University. 1967. Pp. 215. \$7.00.)

COMMUNISM in Turkey has received little attention in the West, largely because it was a political failure. Yet its influence on members of the Turkish intellectual elite continues even today. Recently a number of studies and memoirs have ap-

peared in Turkey that help in reconstructing the story of communist thought and activity there between 1918 and 1925. Dr. Harris has used books, articles, journals, and newspapers in Turkish—some quite ephemeral—as well as in Russian and the Western languages. He has also had information from at least one surviving participant. His painstaking and valuable account of the beginnings of communism in Turkey goes far beyond the work of Walter Laqueur and Ivor Spector.

After a brief but informative chapter on pseudoscientific Marxism and socialism in the Ottoman Empire before 1914, Harris concentrates on the postwar period. The story is complex. Marxist influences came from Germany, from Russia, and particularly from France as filtered through Henri Barbusse's *Clarté* movement. Among those involved were non-Turkish minorities, Istanbul intellectuals, some Anatolian Turks, Russian Turks, and *émigré* Turks returning from abroad. Several protocommunist or communist parties coexisted, weakened or were suppressed, revived, and perished. Mustafa Kemal also created an "official" Communist party to facilitate control of the movement, the course of which was much affected as well by the Allied occupation of Istanbul, the Greek-Turkish War, the establishment of the republic, and Turkey's fluctuating relations with Soviet Russia.

In 1920 it seemed that communism had a chance in Turkey. Mustafa Subhi's party, organized outside Turkey in the Caucasus, was perhaps less immediately dangerous than the "Green Army" within Anatolia, which included several parliamentary deputies and had ties with Çerkes Edhem's considerable irregular forces. But by early 1921 Subhi had been drowned and the irregulars were defeated; thus the chance passed. Legal or semilegal activity was continued by the Turkish Communist party in Ankara and the Turkish Worker and Peasant Socialist party in Istanbul. The former, however, was soon abandoned by the Comintern; the latter, together with its publications, was suppressed in 1925. The tiny communist group that remained went underground or into exile, but many of its important figures, who had always had a nationalist tinge, joined Kemal. Kemal astutely found use for their abilities. The lasting influence of the movement came mostly from those intellectuals whose desires for rapid social and economic change fitted Kemalist patterns.

The tightly written text of 148 pages requires careful reading. It is followed by 2 documentary appendixes, 26 pages of notes, 16 pages of bibliography, and a good index.

George Washington University

RODERIC H. DAVISON

POLITICS AND THE MILITARY IN JORDAN: A STUDY OF THE ARAB LEGION, 1921-1957. By P. J. Vatikiotis. (New York: Frederick A. Praeger, 1967. Pp. xvi, 169. \$7.50.)

RECENT theorizing about the role of the military in political development, especially in non-Western areas, is reflected in this study, but the author refrains from setting forth a general theory and concentrates on analyzing the performance of the Arab Legion. After a brief sketch of political history, the development of the legion is depicted in more detail, with the period 1948-1956 re-

ceiving the most extended treatment. The only two cases of attempted *coups*—the effort of Abdullah al-Tel in 1949 and the much more serious crisis in the spring of 1957—constitute the subject of the most thorough analysis. In addition to his formal statement of conclusions, Vatikiotis has reviewed the effect on the legion and Jordan of two outstanding events: the Israeli raid on Samu in November 1966 and the war of June 1967. The author has utilized some recently published Arabic chronicles and memoirs in addition to the published works of British participants. He has also interviewed many of the British officers and officials.

As a result, his brief treatment of Jordanian politics is not only a reliable sketch, but it also includes some perceptive original interpretations. The book is vague about the actual operation of civilian politics, even when the subject is directly relevant to the role of the military. The author rightly stresses that King Husein has integrated the people of western Jordan into the political life of Jordan and suggests that this has reduced the danger of plots inspired by former Palestinians. While he notes that many politicians from western Jordan have moved from opposition to support of the regime, he fails to note that many people from western Jordan, once pillars of the monarchy, now lead the opposition, sometimes from outside Jordan itself. On the other hand, his main conclusions concerning the military itself are convincing and important. Political reliability was ensured by recruiting largely from the "beduin-tribal" element, for the legion as a whole in the early days and for just the combat units after 1949. With the reliable and efficient legion, Abdullah created Jordan, and Husein has preserved the kingdom in the face of the travail that resulted from the incorporation of western Jordan.

University of Illinois

C. ERNEST DAWN

Africa

DÉCOLONISATION ET RÉGIMES POLITIQUES EN AFRIQUE NOIRE.

By *Pierre Alexandre et al.* Under the direction of *Albert Mabileau* and *Jean Meyriat*. [Cahiers de la Fondation Nationale des Sciences Politiques, Number 161. Relations internationales; Sciences politiques. Centre d'Étude des Relations Internationales, Paris; Centre d'Étude d'Afrique Noire de l'Université de Bordeaux.] (Paris: Librairie Armand Colin. 1967. Pp. 276. 32 fr.)

AMERICAN readers, surrounded by a rich and varied literature on decolonization and political modernization, will not find in this volume of essays much that can be labeled new or unusual. The conceptualization and model building that have seized the thought of the American political scientist do not preoccupy the authors; nor does the need for such a thematic approach—one-party states, former French-speaking colonies—as those which hold together some of the more valuable and popular studies in English. The reader may well seek the rationale behind this set of studies. That the volume initially grew out of collective research undertaken by reputable scholars at the Universities of Paris and Bordeaux does not make the final combination any less questionable or any more satisfactory.

If the reader should complain about the lack of an organizing principle that would set this study apart from others, he will offer no objection to the general quality of each piece. The research is solid; the narrative correct and readable. As might be expected, the sections dealing with French-speaking Africa are more interesting and valuable than those dealing with English-speaking Africa. Yet even here more might be demanded. One wonders why the *Loi Cadre* of 1956, which is widely considered one of the most significant pieces of postwar colonial legislation and at times displayed as an example of neocolonialism, is mentioned, but not provided with a penetrating analysis. The formation of elites (What of the role of the École William Ponty, for instance?) is less than satisfactorily treated also. Perhaps the most interesting aspect of the studies herein included, at least to the American reader, is the assessment of the Gaullist constitution of 1958 as paradigm in much of recent French West African political development.

As with many books addressed to contemporary problems, the swift winds of change have toppled some of the scholarly structure in this volume before it had been publicly presented. The piece on Ghana bears the date December 1965; no further comment is really needed. The less than pleasant conclusion I reach is: while the essays in this volume are individually respectable, the whole will find no obvious place on that already crowded shelf of books dedicated to the problem of devolution of African colonial empires.

Grinnell College

RAYMOND F. BETTS

L'AFRIQUE AU XX^e SIÈCLE. By *Jean Ganiage et al.* [L'histoire du xx^e siècle.] (Paris: Sirey. 1966. Pp. 908. 70 fr.)

THE authors of this cooperative work have undertaken the doubly difficult task of writing a contemporary history of the whole African continent. They have wisely repartitioned Africa into their respective areas of regional specialization. The book, on the whole, is strongest in its presentation of economic history, administrative development and reform, and the military history of the pacification of the continent. In addition there are excellent maps and much valuable information on African demography not readily available to the general reader.

The section on North Africa by Jean Ganiage, roughly one-third of the volume, offers the best scholarship and the most interesting treatment. After an excellent introduction to the internal history of Algeria, Tunisia, and Morocco, he plunges into the tumultuous decades of military conquest and pacification, the awakening of nationalism in each of the three countries, and, finally, the emancipation from European control. The reader is particularly directed to Ganiage's analysis of urban social and demographic change in the Maghrib and to his clear insights into the problem of reconciling progress and tradition in North Africa. Appended to this section is a less successful treatment of the Saharan regions by André Martel. His thesis that the Sahara was the keystone of French Africa is not borne out by the facts he presents. Also disappointing is the lack of bibliographic references, so prominent elsewhere throughout the book.

West, Central, and Northeast Africa are dealt with by Hubert Deschamps, whose emphasis, perhaps disproportionately though understandably, is on the former French territories of West Africa. Deschamps attempts a general syn-

thesis for all of West Africa, but his perspective is essentially European. Although his detailed descriptions of colonial administration and economic development are well done, there is an obvious failure to deal with problems of social change except in the most general way. He would have done well to emulate T. Hodgkin, whose important *Nationalism in Colonial Africa* Deschamps notes in his bibliography. African nationalists will probably be disturbed by Deschamps's bland description of Leopold's Congo, where little mention is made of African or Arab resistance to European conquest and European atrocities are consciously played down. The chapters on the Sudan, Ethiopia, and the Somalias are sketchy at best.

More successful is Odette Guitard's coverage of South and East Africa. Here the reader finds no mere generalizations about detribalization and the creation of new elites but, rather, specific examples of how education and economic development had political repercussions among Africans as early as the 1920's. It effectively demonstrates what V. M. Dean has called the revolution of rising expectations that has taken place throughout the non-Western world. Many problems of contemporary Africa, the author shows, originated in economic problems that first manifested themselves in Africa almost a half century ago.

The least satisfactory section of the book is Guitard's presentation of Portuguese Africa, where there is a confusion of method. Her bitter attack on Portugal is little more than a polemic against the public pronouncements of Portuguese ministerial officials. There is no real presentation of the facts of African resistance in Portuguese Africa, which she is content to describe, in Mario de Andrade's phrase, as "zones of silence." To do so, however, is to ignore significant information about developments within each of the Portuguese African territories available at the time of writing. Especially questionable, and even objectionable to scholarly sensibilities, is her unsubstantiated accusation that the responsibility for the colonial war in Angola is partly attributable to American capitalism. Guitard's statements may in the end be substantiated by the facts, but she presents no such evidence here and mars the quality of an otherwise scholarly compilation and analysis of important materials for the study of twentieth-century Africa.

University of Illinois, Chicago

ROBERT L. HESS

À L'ARRIÈRE-PLAN DES RELATIONS FRANCO-MAGHRÉBINES (1830-1881): LUIS-ARNOLD ET JOSEPH ALLEGRO, CONSULS DU BEY DE TUNIS À BONE. By *André Martel*. [Publications de l'Université de Tunis, Faculté des Lettres et Sciences humaines. Fourth Series, Histoire, Volume VII.] ([Paris:] Presses Universitaires de France. 1967. Pp. 241.)

Luis Arnold and his son, Joseph Allegro, whose forebears left Genoa for North Africa shortly after 1780, made lives and careers for themselves in the Maghrib. Serving as soldiers, as translators in the early Arab Bureau created by the French, and as consuls for the bey of Tunis, they played, at best, minor roles in the new development of an old, conglomerate land. They formed part of the European population that worked and lived in those parts of the Mediterranean area where Muslim met Christian. André Martel's purpose is not to write a duobiography but

rather, through the record of their lives, to illuminate daily relationships, particularly as these applied to Franco-Maghribian affairs. The book rests upon material from archives located in France and North Africa, and Martel possesses a high degree of critical ability and control of the sources.

The senior Allegro (1804-1868) bridged the valley between European and Muslim by placing his knowledge at the disposal of the French. He obtained French citizenship and became an army officer; at the same time his marriage to Khadidja bent Tahar deepened his ties with the Muslim community. Their seven children—Joseph (1846-1906) was the third—were raised as Christians, and their godparents, carefully chosen, provided the best support attainable from the two worlds. Joseph married Alexandrine de Casamayor de Charitte of Pau, fulfilling "one of his dominant ambitions": to marry a French girl of standing.

Most of the volume is taken up with discussion of the official work of the two Allegros. Insights into their private lives are fleeting and superficial. The course of both lives received direction when the French entered Algiers in 1830. Abdel Kader kept Luis Arnold busy with early important liaison opportunities; tribal warfare on the Algerian-Tunisian frontier required Joseph's attention, particularly in the years preceding the creation of the French protectorate in 1881. Martel notes that the decisive phases of both careers related directly to interventions by Jules and Ferdinand de Lesseps.

After reading this study, one reflects that no solid work examining French policy toward the tribes of Northwest Africa has yet appeared. Without such a study we seem to be confronted with innumerable incidents, many of which seem to lack meaning.

A useful glossary, an index of names, and a strong section on sources and bibliography help the reader through this rather complicated and disjointed book.

Oakland University

RICHARD M. BRACE

EGYPT & THE SUDAN. By Robert O. Collins and Robert L. Tignor. [The Modern Nations in Historical Perspective. Spectrum Book.] (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall. 1967. Pp. vi, 180. Cloth \$4.95, paper \$1.95.)

ROBIN Winks, the editor of "The Modern Nations in Historical Perspective," has assured us that each volume in the series will "achieve a fresh synthesis and original interpretation." This latest offering by Robert Collins (for the Sudan) and Robert Tignor (for Egypt) is a fine example of what Winks means. Collins and Tignor have successfully written an interesting and sometimes engrossing interpretive introduction to the complicated histories of two ancient yet, paradoxically, new nations. Covering the period from 1800 to the present, the book provides the background necessary to facilitate an understanding of contemporary Sudan and Egypt. Both authors clearly have enough scholarly depth to make valid generalizations, and they carefully view both countries without the ethnocentrism that has often characterized and marred historical introductions to non-Western countries.

The rationale behind treating Egypt and the Sudan in one book can be found in Mehemet Ali's desire "to transform Egypt into the most powerful

military state in the Middle East." He expanded Egyptian power into the Sudan "in order to exploit its human and natural resources." From then on, as had been the case before, the Sudan was deeply affected by Egypt's domestic and international policies and their results. Collins comments on the negative aspects of the Egyptian period in the Sudan, but states that "although obscured by the Mahdist upheaval and subordinated by the power of the British administration in the Sudan, the legacy of the Egyptian presence during the nineteenth century remains one of the vital influences shaping the modern Sudan." Collins also provides an equally balanced view of the Mahdist period in the Sudan. He then points out that the contemporary conflict between northern and southern Sudan has its roots not only in geography and ethnography; they also stem from the different treatment the southern part received at the hands of both Egyptian and British colonial administrations.

Tignor admirably traces Egypt's early attempts at modernization under Mehemet Ali and Khedive Ismail, Egypt's increasingly severe financial and organizational problems, and the nature of British influence in Egypt after 1881. "The cardinal fact of British rule in Egypt was that Britain's responsibilities for governing Egypt were never total and her powers were inadequately defined. The British were reluctant invaders, hesitant to assume the full powers of government. Hence their impact on Egypt was limited, their programs of social change circumscribed." Egypt's political reaction to the challenges of modern European civilization and technology, so much a part of modern Egyptian history, is well defined by the author. His sketch of the post-1952 situation is remarkably clear to one so accustomed to either journalistic or biased accounts of contemporary Egypt. Then again, the whole book is clear, well organized, and well written. It will be a useful text.

Michigan State University

HAROLD G. MARCUS

THE FULANI EMPIRE OF SOKOTO. By *H. A. S. Johnston*. [West African History Series.] (New York: Oxford University Press. 1967. Pp. xvi, 312. \$8.80.)

This book demonstrates that an old genre of scholar has not yet passed from the scene. Several colonial administrators who made an avocation of investigating the history and culture of the people whom they administered won the respect and gratitude of academic scholars. After nearly a decade since the British and French colonial systems in Africa were dismantled, this new example of the old genre comes as something of a surprise.

Fifteen years have gone into the making of this book. During the earlier part of this period, the author was the resident in Sokoto, and his tours around his territory enabled him to study the "District Notebooks" in which district officers in the early days of the British administration had recorded their collection of facts and opinions on local history. These visits also gave him the opportunity to consult "old gentlemen, repositories of local history . . .," which provided him with some original material for the later parts of his narrative. For the most part, however, he relied on written, but not always published, accounts. In this his knowledge of the Hausa language helped him, but for

Arabic, in which the founders of the Empire wrote their voluminous works, he had to depend upon translations, principally those of M. Hiskett. The testimonies of the nineteenth-century explorers Clapperton and Barth were used, as well as earlier published histories, particularly that of Hogben, which was reprinted three years ago with the additions and editing of Kirk-Greene. More narrowly focused studies, especially those of M. G. Smith and C. Hopen, also helped to enrich Mr. Johnston's history. The most important reference throughout, however, has been Alhaji Junaidu, once his traveling companion on tour, now vizier of Sokoto and himself the author of a history published in Hausa.

The compilation of evidence from these extensive and varied sources is meticulously done and carefully footnoted. The assessment of different interpretations encountered in his sources is not incisive, but it is fair-minded. Johnston's own viewpoint obtrudes at only a few points: he empathizes completely with the Fulani (when they are hard pressed, they are "determined" and "courageous"; when their opponents act in that fashion, they are "dichards"); and he considers this people superior in intelligence to other Africans, which leads to such naïve assessments as that the weak character of Bello's son resulted from his Hausa mother. Johnston's concept of the formation of the Hausa language is untenable, and other references to linguistics are awkward.

The book has more virtues than flaws. Anyone who wishes a smooth-flowing exposition of an important and complex phase of West African history might begin here, but work in progress by Smith and Last will probably soon supersede this book for specialists.

Boston University

DANIEL F. McCALL

AFRICA REMEMBERED: NARRATIVES BY WEST AFRICANS FROM THE ERA OF THE SLAVE TRADE. Edited by *Philip D. Curtin*. With introductions and annotation by *Philip D. Curtin et al.* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press. 1967. Pp. x, 363. \$10.00.)

STUDIES of the slave trade have yielded a sizable literature, although relatively little of it has been based to any extent on African sources or has considered the African background in more than general terms. Now, under Philip Curtin's excellent editing and with expert introductions and annotations by six students of the appropriate times and places (G. I. Jones, Margaret Priestley, Ivor Wilks, H. F. C. Smith, P. C. Lloyd, and J. F. Ade Ajayi), personal narratives by ten of the more fortunate victims of the trade are presented in a fine effort to document some African viewpoints and describe the African setting.

Two of the accounts were originally written in African languages, most of the others in English, either as self-composed recollections of earlier years or by dictation. The letters of Philip Quaque were written as the events themselves occurred. Although the documents transmit information undoubtedly distorted to a greater or lesser degree, they do convey some previously little-known information, and, above all, they provide insight into the feelings and attitudes of people who were caught in the trade and subsequently liberated, educated, and, in a sense, modernized.

The introductions and annotations, together with the clear maps and interest-

ing plates, place the narratives and their authors in the perspectives of times and places and aid in interpretation and evaluation. Without such aid, indeed, some of the accounts would only confuse a reader not otherwise learned in African history. Several of the annotators are themselves occasionally reluctant to provide more than tentative interpretations. One can gain varying insight into eighteenth- and early nineteenth-century West Africa: life in Bondu, Ibo culture, the work and reactions of an African missionary connected more with the merchants on the Cape coast than with the slaves, relations between interior peoples and those of the coastal trade centers, Tombouctou, and trans-Saharan and internal trade routes. The four narratives from early nineteenth-century Nigeria yield various views of the complex wars, revolutions, and personal disasters that struck Yoruba and northern Nigeria, particularly Bornu, during those disturbed years.

Curtin and his associates are to be highly commended for their successful effort to make little-known internal sources more widely available and more comprehensible to specialists, particularly historians and anthropologists, and to provide nonspecialists with greater appreciation of the personal dimensions of the slave trade.

Johns Hopkins University

ROBERT A. LYSTAD

DAHOMÉY AND ITS NEIGHBOURS, 1708-1818. By I. A. Akinjogbin.
(New York: Cambridge University Press, 1967. Pp. x, 233. \$9.50.)

DAHOMÉY is usually listed among the states of eighteenth-century West Africa that participated in the so-called "drive to the sea." As the slave trade wore on, the argument goes, the rulers of some interior states became envious of the large profits being made at their expense by coastal middlemen. The slaves came mainly from inland, yet the purchase price was highest at the shore. Rulers in the interior also did not like having to depend on the good will of coastal suppliers of vital commodities like muskets and gunpowder. Accordingly, they pushed their frontiers southward to the sea in order to have their own ports where they could trade directly with the Europeans.

Dr. Akinjogbin's history of the Dahomean Kingdom from the accession of Agaja to the deposition of Adandozan shows that, for one interior state at any rate, the standard account will not do. The extension of Dahomean power to the coast under Agaja was the result of a desire not to control the slave trade but to discourage it. Agaja, if left to himself, would have favored "legitimate" trade. It was the Europeans, who wanted nothing from Dahomey but human beings, and the Oyos, striving to dominate the Slave Coast, that obliged him to sanction slave trading in Dahomey. Even then, he contrived to make slaving a state monopoly, partly to maintain his revenues but also to minimize its worst effects.

Agaja profoundly modified Dahomey's political institutions: the monarchy became centralized and autocratic, chiefs were appointed to high office because of proven ability rather than hereditary right, and loyalty to the throne took precedence over loyalty to family, lineage, or clan. Although political stability might have been achieved, economic viability was not. Agaja and his successors

found that no permanent prosperity could be built on so fickle an export business as a trade in slaves. The outbreak of war in Europe, for example, might keep the slave ships of one nation or of all nations away from the Guinea coast for years. Once industry and agriculture had been neglected in favor of slaving, moreover, they could not quickly be revived. Dahomey, like other West African states, entered the nineteenth century nearly bankrupt and with little commercial experience except in the slave trade.

To write this story the author has drawn on an impressive variety of sources: oral tradition, contemporary and secondary accounts, and manuscript records in Britain, France, Portugal, and Brazil. Of particular interest is his use of the departmental archives of Nantes and La Rochelle. A complicated task has been efficiently performed, and the volume as a whole makes a valuable and original contribution to the history of West Africa.

Columbia University

GRAHAM IRWIN

KITAWALA: URSPRUNG, AUSBREITUNG UND RELIGION DER WATCH-TOWER-BEWEGUNG IN ZENTRALAFRIKA. By *Hans-Jürgen Greschat*. [Marburger Theologische Studien, Number 4.] (Marburg: N. G. Elwert Verlag. 1967. Pp. xii, 128. DM 18.)

THIS brief volume, a dissertation presented to the University of Marburg in 1965, describes the origins, spread, and doctrines of the Watch Tower Bible and Tract Society—Jehovah's Witnesses—in Central Africa. The role of the generally accepted propagator of this sect in Africa, Elliott Kenan Kamwana Achirwa, is analyzed in some detail, including his most important relationship with Joseph Booth, author of the anticolonial volume, *Africa for the African*. The survey, based upon missionary journals and Colonial Office correspondence, is competently done and further illuminates the research of George Shepperson, Robert I. Rotberg, and others.

Rotberg has described Kamwana as "occupied Nyasaland's first prophet" (*The Rise of Nationalism in Central Africa: The Making of Malawi and Zambia 1873-1964* [1965]), and Greschat closely follows this aspect of the African predicant's career, detailing Kamwana's preaching of millennial doctrines to African congregations already disposed against their European rulers. The end result, not unnaturally, was Kamwana's expulsion from Nyasaland in 1909. But the Watch Tower movement did not die. Greschat analyzes its progress, utilizing, in addition to the records already mentioned, American missionary archives and interviews with concerned participants. He divides the expansion of the Jehovah's Witnesses into three periods—1909-1919, 1920-1936, and since 1937—and follows them into areas now included in Rhodesia, Zambia, Tanzania, and the Congo (including a valuable section upon the Mwana Lesa affair in Katanga). The author closes with a summary account of the beliefs of the African followers of the Watch Tower movement.

Greschat modestly concludes that his researches have uncovered only a partial picture of the spread of Watch Tower doctrines among Africans. He clearly demonstrates, however, that this imported religion has become a vital African movement and that it is a most important component of those African inde-

pendent churches that are now increasingly attracting the attention of those who study the relatively recent African past. Greschat has given us a useful first step to a badly needed study of the Watch Tower group. He, or others, should carry the analysis deeper in the future.

Boston University

NORMAN R. BENNETT

POLITICAL PROTEST IN THE CONGO: THE PARTI SOLIDAIRE AFRICAÎN DURING THE INDEPENDENCE STRUGGLE. By *Herbert F. Weiss*. (Princeton, N. J.: Princeton University Press. 1967. Pp. xxiv, 326. \$8.50.)

A PROBLEM of recent political movements in Africa is the relationship between the elite and the rural masses within each country. Weiss challenges the thesis supported by Rupert Emerson and others that the rural masses supply neither leaders nor political impetus to African nationalist movements. In his careful and detailed analysis of events in the Kwilu and Kwango Districts of the Congo, Weiss demonstrates that the Emerson approach does not apply, thus postulating that there is perhaps a factor of political movements that has not yet received adequate treatment throughout Africa.

The details of Weiss's reconstruction make fascinating reading. The concern of the volume is with the *Parti Solidaire Africain* (PSA), a regional grouping, in the few years before the Congo elections of May 1960. Weiss provides a general analysis of preindependence history in the Congo, following this with detailed work on PSA. Particular attention is given to the relation of the leadership of the PSA to its mass following, bringing out the fact that the rural populations supporting the PSA were considerably more radical than their leaders. As might be expected, the PSA leaders hoped to gain control of the administrative structure created by Belgium once independence came; the masses, however, proved more interested in destroying the whole colonial edifice that had heavily burdened them for so many years.

Weiss proceeds with caution through the turbulent events of the last years of Belgian rule, basing his conclusions upon extensive archival research in the papers of the PSA and upon interviews. Useful charts on the chief characteristics of Congo political parties in the May 1960 elections, plus an appendix containing data on the PSA candidates for the elections, increase the value of the study.

Weiss has made a significant contribution to the study of Congolese, and African, political history. Such detailed analyses of single-party structures will provide the basic materials for African political historians in the future.

Boston University

NORMAN R. BENNETT

LA ROUTE DES ÎLES: CONTRIBUTION À L'HISTOIRE MARITIME DES MASCAREIGNES. By *Auguste Toussaint*. [École Pratique des Hautes Études—VI^e Section. Centre de Recherches Historiques. Ports, routes, trafics, Number 22.] (Paris: S.E.V.P.E.N. 1967. Pp. 540. 65 fr.)

AUGUSTE Toussaint is best known for his innovative *Histoire de l'Océan Indien*, which grew out of his mastery of the sources for the history of Mauritius and

Réunion and their dependencies. He has now made a massive contribution to the history of their shipping. Half of the book consists of statistics, documents and annexes, and maps. The remainder is an admirably analytical introduction that appears both in French and in English.

We are provided with the first fairly complete general statistics of inbound shipping to the Mascarenes from 1773 to 1965. They are followed by more detailed figures for the period 1773-1810, which the author has chosen to emphasize. Toussaint, the chief archivist of Mauritius, identifies the port of origin for ships arriving in that island and divides them into four categories: interisland trade, Indian Ocean trade, voyages from France, and voyages from other distant countries. This is followed by a breakdown of the arrivals in the last three categories, with the addition of unscheduled, in-transit ships, which gives the name of each ship and its captain, nationality, type of vessel, tonnage, and port of registry. The document section contains ninety-three selected statements made under oath by shipmasters to the admiralty in Mauritius upon arrival. Ten concern the slave trade in Africa; eleven touch on privateering. Only one lengthy North American report is included, for the statements of captains from the United States were usually extremely brief.

The statistics show the great increase in United States vessels trading with the Mascarenes in 1796-1808. They easily outstripped all ships flying foreign flags. The attraction appears to have been the cargoes of prizes taken by privateers (annual statistics on the number of prizes are provided). Toussaint is careful to note that economists will not obtain here any considerable data on cargoes and prices. He does demonstrate, however, that Mauritius and Réunion were no longer simply ports of call on the way to the Far East; they had become destinations in their own right. Nor were they so largely cut off from France in wartime as was once believed. Historians of India will welcome the statistics on Indian Ocean trade. Africanists will also find this work useful for Madagascar and for the slave trade from 1773 to 1810.

Syracuse University

VINCENT CONFER

Asia and the East

TRADE AND EXPANSION IN HAN CHINA: A STUDY IN THE STRUCTURE OF SINO-BARBARIAN ECONOMIC RELATIONS. By *Ying-shih Yü*. (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. 1967. Pp. ix, 251. \$6.75.)

SINO-BARBARIAN relations throughout the long period of the Han dynasty are peculiarly complex. A thorough understanding of the changing nature of the relationship depends upon an analysis of the relative strength of the barbarian and the Han empires, of the desires and whims of autocratic emperors, and, after the first century of the Han, of the impact of Confucian tenets, which demanded an increasingly Confucianized rethinking of the relationship that should exist between China and its neighbors.

Dr. Yü's study is much more limited in scope and concentrates, primarily and very selectively, on the economic aspects of Sino-foreign relations and, secondar-

ily, on the institutional factors involved. It begins with broad general sketches of those directly relevant aspects of the Han economy: Han policy regarding merchants, the agricultural and industrial resources of the Empire, and the transportation system. These topics are treated cursorily, but for most readers this is now the most extensive coverage available. In many ways the most interesting chapter is the brief thirty-page history of the evolution of the famous tributary system by which China's subsequent foreign relations were often conducted. Over half of the work is devoted to the treatment of surrendered barbarians and to the patterns of trade that developed on all of China's borders; much of the material is not new, but bringing it together in a meaningful synthesis is. Yü's last chapter explores some of the broader historical ramifications of his topic: he takes up the "Sinicization" of the barbarians and the "barbarization" of the Chinese to suggest the extent to which post-Han history, in which the barbarians played such an important role, owed its beginnings to policies of trade and expansion within the Han dynasty.

This work is not intended to be definitive. It is largely a synthesis of much work already done by Chinese, Japanese, and Western scholars, and herein lies its greatest value. The nonspecialist will find that it provides a general and very readable account of the Han reaction to its foreign neighbors. And, while the specialist will regret that Yü chose simply to survey this involved and vital question, he will, nonetheless, appreciate the volume. It is one of those much-needed summaries that appear from time to time—summaries that provide us with a convenient résumé of the work that has been done and suggest the directions that subsequent research should follow. More importantly, it should remind us that entirely too much work on Chinese history, reflecting the bias of traditional Chinese historians, has focused too narrowly on China itself. The peoples on China's frontiers and their interactions with traditional Chinese states deserve more attention than they customarily receive. Yü's work helps correct that imbalance.

University of Washington

JACK L. DULL

RECORDS OF HAN ADMINISTRATION. Volume I, HISTORICAL ASSESSMENT; Volume II, DOCUMENTS. By *Michael Loewe*. [University of Cambridge Oriental Publications, Numbers 11 and 12.] (New York: Cambridge University Press. 1967. Pp. xi, 212, 16 plates; viii, 481, plates 17-48. \$8.50; \$19.50.)

THESE scholarly volumes are concerned with civil and, especially, military administration of the Han period as it was practiced from about 100 B.C. to A.D. 100. During this period the Chinese had thrust their western boundaries out into Central Asia and had established military garrisons along the frontier, which changed its configuration from time to time. Proper administration of these strong points resulted in a heavy flow of official correspondence between them and the central government. Mr. Loewe's work is based upon the remains of some of this correspondence. It makes use of primary archaeological evidence selected from thousands of inscribed wooden slips discovered by Sven Hedin's Sino-Swedish Expedition of 1927-1935 in the Chü-yen region of present Ningxia Province.

These two-thousand-year-old documents are exactly the type of material mentioned by the great German historian, Leopold von Ranke, as the only proper source material for historical writing (*Geschichten der romanischen und germanischen Völker von 1494 bis 1514* [3d ed., 1885], XXXIII-XXXIV, vii).

The first volume of Loewe's study is intended for the general student of Chinese history, and it is a well-documented account of the slips themselves, the expansion of Chinese authority, organization of the Han military, and the life and work of the soldiers. Excellent indexes guide the reader to the many specific items treated and to the wealth of information contained here. This information was derived from the inscriptions on some seven hundred slips arranged into forty-three groups.

The second volume is more technical and will particularly interest the specialist in Chinese studies. Here Loewe sets forth the evidence upon which the narrative of the first volume is based. The inscriptions on the seven hundred slips are transcribed into modern Chinese, translated, and discussed in detail. Both volumes are models of scholarship and derive from a doctoral dissertation presented to the University of London in 1963 by Loewe, who is now lecturer in classical Chinese in the University of Cambridge.

Two similar major works on other Han inscribed slips were published by the French Sinologists Chavannes (1913) and Maspero (1953), and these aided Loewe in the interpretation of technical terms and other matters. Even more helpful was the comprehensive Chinese study by Professor Lao Kan (1944), which used many more of the same slips than were used here. Lao has published other works based on these same Chü-yen slips since that time, and all of Loewe's main topics can be found in them.

Loewe is not exactly plowing new ground in this work; rather, he refills fields already worked by Western, Chinese, and Japanese scholars. He has rendered an important service by producing the first major work on the subject in English and enriching it with his scholarship.

University of California, Los Angeles

RICHARD C. RUDOLPH

FRIENDS, GUESTS, AND COLLEAGUES: THE MU-FU SYSTEM IN THE LATE CH'ING PERIOD. By *Kenneth E. Folsom*. (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. 1968. Pp. viii, 234. \$5.50.)

LI Hung-chang's use of personally hired specialist-subordinates is here analyzed as an outgrowth of the ancient institution of "tent government" (*mu-fu*), by which provincial officials employed nonofficial private advisers or "tent friends" (*mu-yu*) to handle their legal, fiscal, or other special problems. Mr. Folsom first describes the main types of interpersonal relations, especially male friendship, in the Confucian society and bureaucracy, as opposed to the universalism of the Legalist state and monarchy. He traces the vicissitudes of the *mu-fu* from its first mention in the Han (*Shih-chi*) down to late Ch'ing, when exigencies of modernization required more use of specialists. Tseng Kuo-fan, in combating the Taipings, built up an able entourage. During his thirty-three years' in power, from 1862 to 1895, Li Hung-chang carried on from there: his Anhwei army, its financing, and all his subsequent modernization projects relied on carefully selected

and personally loyal subordinates. As they moved more and more into official posts, which was a new development, they expanded Li's outsize *mu-fu* into his regional-national "network of power." Men from Ho-fei, Li's district, were everywhere, but he also used Cantonese compradors, returned students, and foreign advisers.

This well-organized, well-researched monograph, with career data on some two hundred men, does indeed "penetrate the world of Chinese personal relationships," as the author set out to do. He is not afraid of repetition in his efforts to get illustrative details appropriately summarized under their topics. He brings out the importance of classmate (*t'ung-nien*) relationships, lays out the Li family genealogy with help from certain surviving members, and shows the ambition, imagination, broad scope, and vigorous initiative of Li Hung-chang's efforts "to save China." He sees Li looking at "nepotism and corruption in his organization, not as a reformer, but as a man who accepts things as they are and tries to work with them." The very institutions of personal loyalty by which Li built up his machine were integral to the old order of tax farming and the customary squeeze (*lou-kuei*). Li and his team could not rise above the traditional culture that had produced them, but, unlike the Ch'ien-lung Emperor's evil favorite Ho-shen and other parasitic monsters of the court, they tried.

Folsom does not attempt to penetrate Li's finances. His genetic approach perhaps sees too much continuity in the conflict between Confucianism and Legalism in the nineteenth century, but it is a stimulating and salutary alternative to the usual analysis of Li Hung-chang's achievements in the retrospective terms of "modernization."

Harvard University

JOHN K. FAIRBANK

THE TAIPIING IDEOLOGY: ITS SOURCES, INTERPRETATIONS, AND INFLUENCES. By Vincent Y. C. Shih. [Far Eastern and Russian Institute, Publications on Asia, Number 15.] (Seattle: University of Washington Press. 1967. Pp. xix, 553. \$10.00.)

With the possible exception of P'eng Tse-i's book on *The Revolutionary Thoughts of the Heavenly Kingdom of Universal Peace* (*T'ai-p'ing t'ien-kuo k'o-ming ssu-ch'ao* [1946]), this monograph constitutes the only major work devoted to the ideological aspect of the great movement that ravaged two-thirds of the Ch'ing Empire in China during 1850-1864. It is chiefly divided into three parts: "Exposition of the Taiping Ideology"; "Sources and Interpretations of the Taiping Ideology"; and "Interpretations of the *T'ai-p'ing t'ien-kuo*." As this study was essentially completed in 1954, the author has not been able to use source materials recently published in China and elsewhere.

He contends that Chinese "rebel ideologies tend to have a tradition of their own, a tradition which on closer scrutiny turns out to be part and parcel of the main current of the orthodox ideology." He further maintains that "The Taiping ideology contains some revolutionary elements, but as a whole it falls within the main currents of China's tradition." Although these views must yet be debated among historians, the author has painstakingly ferreted out all the possible sources from which the Taiping ideas may have been derived, especially in

Chapters viii through xi, which pertain to traditional Chinese sources. His evidence appears to verify the continuity of the intellectual traditions of modern China, notwithstanding its inglorious military defeat at the hands of the Western Powers during the middle of the nineteenth century.

Shih, on the other hand, sees that Taiping leaders used Christian ideas in trying to break and eventually replace the traditional outlook. Yet the ineradicable effects of Confucianism, Buddhism, and Taoism, which permeated Chinese society, made it impossible for the Taiping to understand the true significance and meaning of Christianity. He concludes that the Taiping leaders were not particularly successful in applying their theoretical schemes, owing at least in part to a lack of determination to carry them out, and that their lack of determination to execute their ideological schemes can be construed as one of the important factors responsible for the final collapse of the movement.

There are very few errors in this scholarly appraisal of the ideological outlook of the Taiping movement. Through it we gain a vantage point for viewing China in an age no less turbulent than the present.

San Francisco State College

J. CHESTER CHENG

FEUDAL CONTROL IN TOKUGAWA JAPAN: THE SANKIN KŌTAI SYSTEM. By *Toshio G. Tsukahira*. [Harvard East Asian Monographs, Number 20.] (Cambridge, Mass.: East Asian Research Center, Harvard University; distrib. by Harvard University Press, Cambridge, Mass. 1966. Pp. xii, 228. \$3.50.)

THIS Ph.D. dissertation, completed in 1951 during the early postwar boom in Japanese studies at Harvard, has long remained unpublished; it has, however, been known to specialists in the field for some time, and its appearance now as a "Harvard East Asian Monograph" is an occasion for gratitude. It offers as well an opportunity to reflect upon how far the field of Tokugawa studies has developed, both in and out of Japan, in the last fifteen years.

Tsukahira has prepared a carefully documented survey of one of the basic institutions of the Tokugawa regime: the alternate attendance system, which required daimyo to spend half their time and much of their income in the shogun's city of Edo. His information is drawn from a wide range of Japanese secondary works and from some primary sources, chiefly contemporary critiques of the system by Confucian advisers to the government. He also makes interesting use of the observations of foreign travelers who saw the system, or at least its public pageantry, in action.

As a product of its time, there is little to quarrel with in the execution of this monograph. The scholarship is sound, though inevitably limited by the Japanese works available to the author. Chapters deal with the origins of the system, its operation, its economic consequences, and its demise. An appendix contains a still useful table of daimyo (as of 1853) giving information on the size of their holdings, their official status, and their attendance schedule.

While description rather than analysis is Tsukahira's main purpose, two features of the study stand out as contributions. First, the study makes quite clear that *sankin-kōtai*, like many Tokugawa institutions, had precedents and

evolved from practices current at the end of the Sengoku period. Tsukahira's second main contribution is his chapter on contemporary criticism of the system. That men like Ogyū Sorai and Nakai Chikuzan could have had fundamental doubts about the system, and that the shogun Yoshimune could have ordered a temporary modification of the system, reveals more institutional flexibility than is generally thought to have existed in Tokugawa times.

Viewed in retrospect, this study bears the marks of age. Tsukahira's sources come chiefly from the 1930's or even earlier, so that his study is heavily influenced by the legalist interpretations of Miura Shūkō and the older generation of economic historians such as Kōda and Tsuchiya. Tsukahira's study lacks functional explanations that might have come from a broader familiarity with the *baku-han* system or by a utilization of daimyo documents. Nor does it assess on its own terms the role of *sankin-kōtai* within Tokugawa life as a whole. As a control mechanism its role was obvious, but as a way of life it had a deep significance only hinted at by Tsukahira. To what extent did *sankin-kōtai* serve both to diffuse and centralize Tokugawa political and cultural life? Did it indeed give Japan "the tremendous intellectual unity with which it faced the West in the nineteenth century," as Tsukahira suggests? If so, how does this relate to its economic effects, which are described as being mainly wasteful, thus undermining the ability of shogun and daimyo to meet the Western threat? To claim, as Tsukahira does, that the system "may well be considered the key to understanding the economic history of the Tokugawa period" and yet to put the whole weight of interpretation on the drain it placed on daimyo finances fails to view the system in economic terms. *Sankin-kōtai* fed the roots of economic growth as surely as it debilitated certain daimyo. Like the political institutions of the Tokugawa *bakufu*, the system may have been too cumbersome for its purpose, but it carried behind its legal façade some of the main avenues through which Tokugawa Japan achieved its cultural and economic growth.

Yale University

JOHN W. HALL

POLITICAL THOUGHT IN EARLY MEIJI JAPAN, 1868-1889. By Joseph Pittau, S.J. [Harvard East Asian Series, Number 24.] (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press. 1967. Pp. vi, 250. \$6.95.)

THE political thought of Meiji Japan was distinguished by the clash between liberalism and democratic ideas derived from British, French, and American thinkers and the conservatism and state centralist philosophy rooted in native doctrines of imperial sovereignty buttressed by German constitutional theories. This conflict is vividly illustrated in the vigorous disagreements preceding the framing of the Meiji Constitution in 1889. Father Pittau has written an incisive account of these contending currents of thought and the political philosophy that was finally embodied in the Constitution. His account builds on previous studies by Nobutaka Ike, Robert Scalapino, and George Beckmann and incorporates the latest Japanese scholarship, especially the painstaking research of Inada Masatsugu. To these he adds his own balanced interpretation. Through an examination of political party petitions, newspaper editorials, government proclamations, and a string of draft constitutions, he carefully analyzes the varying positions taken by

those concerned with the formulation of the principles that should guide the nation's political system. He concludes that the final document produced "a hybrid 'absolute constitutional monarchy'" that blended authoritarianism and constitutionalism.

Pittau would like to destroy the notion that the Meiji leaders intended to develop an absolute state and that the *kokutai* doctrine which came to dominate the intellectual life of the nation in the 1930's was an inevitable consequence of the philosophy undergirding the Constitution of 1889. More convincingly than previous authors, he shows how the prime movers of the Constitution opposed the extreme conservative view calling for uninhibited sovereign powers almost as vigorously as they rejected arguments favoring a parliament that would place the balance of power in the hands of an elected legislature.

In the course of his discussion the author makes a major contribution in clarifying the sources of the underlying ideas of the Constitution and the relative importance of those ultimately responsible for framing it. Of special value is his analysis of the German influence in the writing of the Constitution. He presents a valuable analysis of the political theories of Lorenz von Stein and Rudolf von Gneist, whose influence on the Meiji Constitution, he feels, has been overstressed, and the part played in the writing of the Constitution by Hermann Roessler, which he shows convincingly to have been decisive. His second major addition to the study of the Constitution is his detailed analysis of the key role of Inoue Kowashi whose ideas, closely associated with Roessler's theories, "constituted the fundamental guidelines in the framing of the constitution." Other narratives of the making of the Meiji Constitution have shown more clearly how the conflicting views regarding a constitution were tied to the political struggles of the times. But, with his disciplined focus on the central question of what the writers of the Constitution intended to accomplish and his excellent use of contemporary documentation, Pittau has written the best account available of the political thought underlying the Constitution of 1889 and the political system of the Meiji era.

University of Michigan

ROGER F. HACKETT

THE D'ANETHAN DISPATCHES FROM JAPAN, 1894-1910: THE OBSERVATIONS OF BARON ALBERT D'ANETHAN, BELGIAN MINISTER PLENIPOTENTIARY AND DEAN OF THE DIPLOMATIC CORPS. Selected, translated, and edited, with a historical introduction, by *George Alexander Lensen*. (Tokyo: Sophia University, in cooperation with the Diplomatic Press, Tallahassee, Fla. 1967. Pp. 272. \$15.00.)

THE purpose of the translated materials composing this book can be best stated by the editor himself: "Cumbersome as my translation may appear at times, it is, if anything, more lucid than the original." Never having examined any of the diplomatic messages of Baron Albert d'Anethan, Belgian minister plenipotentiary to Japan from 1894 to 1910, I will have to accept Professor Lensen's appraisal of his own abilities and shortcomings in this regard. In order to clarify further how he handled the dispatches of D'Anethan, Lensen adds that he has "disentangled long and involved 'trailer' passages" and has "broken them up into coherent sentences, making every effort, of course, to leave the meaning intact." By this process

the editor believes he has "put the material into historical context," thereby giving to D'Anethan's observations "continuity, if not narrative force." Lensen concludes that the significance of the dispatches selected for inclusion in his work "lay in a chronological context."

The work is just that, a chronicle. The book is organized into six parts: a brief historical introduction and five chapters of Baron d'Anethan's dispatches arranged chronologically under the headings "The Sino-Japanese War," "Korea between Russia and Japan," "Manchuria," "The Russo-Japanese War," and "Shifting Sands." For the most part, Lensen allows D'Anethan's dispatches to speak for themselves, almost entirely without critical interpretation. Much of the material does little more than retell a familiar story of a well-known era in Japanese history. Lensen does not overlook this fact; he points out that the period is well covered by English and American sources, but he believes that the historian of this period will find it profitable and "important to refer to more or less neutral sources for information and appraisal." Such a source, says Lensen, "completely unexplored by historians until now, is the collection of unpublished diplomatic dispatches of Baron Albert d'Anethan. . . ." The content of his dispatches is largely factual; at times they are highly opinionated and often biased; they present much local color, official Japanese positions that gained the attention of D'Anethan, and public reaction to some of the great national issues involving Japanese relationships with China and Russia. Commenting on D'Anethan as an observer, Lensen points out that he was "well informed . . . often trenchant and usually right. Obvious as some of his observations may appear in retrospect, they were perspicacious at the time."

Students of the history of East Asia should find this little volume useful even though it tends mainly to confirm much information already known about the period. It gives ready access in English to materials not easily available in their original language and form. Whether D'Anethan is as perspicacious as Lensen believes must be left for the historian of this period to judge. Those who have spent any time in diplomatic service and have been forced to read and decipher official dispatches, often vague and badly written, will find that those of D'Anethan seldom left his home government in doubt as to his meaning and intent.

Bangkok, Thailand

PAUL E. ECKEL

HARA KEI IN THE POLITICS OF COMPROMISE, 1905-1915. By *Tetsuo Najita*. [Harvard East Asian Series, Number 31.] (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press. 1967. Pp. xvii, 314. \$7.50.)

In the Constitution of 1889, Japanese political leaders resorted to a compromise arrangement and adopted a form of government that tried to combine some British parliamentary features with traditional values. Given their conservative values, these leaders detested political parties, which they viewed as divisive organizations inimical to the national interest. Despite the hostility shown them by the leaders, political parties were established, and these parties, operating in an institutional environment where the rules of the game worked against them much of the time, tried their best to enlarge their sphere of influence. Their ultimate goal was the establishment of the principle that the party holding the majority of

votes in the House of Representatives should be allowed to form the government.

Professor Najita's book delves deeply into the ten-year period between 1905 and 1915 when the Seiyukai (Society of Political Friends) became the dominant party in the lower house and attempted through a series of maneuvers to supplant the political oligarchy that had come to power in the Meiji period. The author views this period of political and party history largely through the eyes of Hara Kei, a prominent party leader who later became Prime Minister. Hara emerges from these pages as a tough-minded political realist with considerable organizational skills and ability in political infighting. He was, moreover, a pragmatist who was willing to compromise from time to time. As the author himself admits, however, "Hara was not creative; he was not a political leader with great vision." Perhaps this was the difficulty; what the party needed was a statesman with charismatic qualities.

Since the author focuses on the leadership levels of the Seiyukai, he does not treat in detail the party's local organization. His chapter on the local power base describes briefly how the expansion of the electorate made the local basis of power more unstable and how the Seiyukai built a local following by using the pork barrel and by controlling the prefectural bureaucracy. The description suggests that the Seiyukai was a formidable organization.

This leads to an intriguing question: why were political parties unable to establish the principle of party-controlled governments? It may be, as the author suggests, that party leaders were willing to compromise and were more interested in "infiltrating, usurping, and broadening the avenues of access into the bases of the ruling cliques." Probably such questions can best be answered by using broadly based comparative studies of party development in many countries. Anyone writing such a comparative study in the future will need to read Najita's carefully researched and judicious account of Hara and the Seiyukai.

Stanford University

NOBUTAKA IKE

THE KOREAN MINORITY IN JAPAN. By *Richard H. Mitchell*. (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. 1967. Pp. 186. \$5.75.)

AGAINST the overshadowing concern that historians have manifested in studying China and Japan, scholarly interest in Korea has been latent. This slim volume contributes toward redressing the imbalance in East Asian historiography. Its main thrust follows the twin themes that the presence of the Korean minority in Japan played a crucial role in framing political relations between the two countries and that this vitally influenced the unfolding of nationalistic and Left-wing political movements in Korea as well as in Japan itself.

The broad historical perspective of the Korean-Japanese dialogue is, however, merely prologue to the author's narrative of conditions and consequences of Korean immigration to Japan after 1910: their ineluctable integration into its industrial labor force; the politicization of their frustrated search for national independence and for a viable social niche in Japan; and Japan's ambivalent approach to the question of "forced assimilation" at home and in Korea. The

study cogently demonstrates that Japan's return to jingoism set a tone of rancor and contempt that has marked its Korean problem ever since.

Two distinct elements comprised the Korean minority historically: a small, vociferously militant body of student-intellectuals and a preponderant mass of unskilled proletarian laborers. In the early postannexation years, Japan's unilateral "cultural policy" in Korea produced a rash of sharp protests by Korean students in Japan. Many landless Koreans elected to emigrate to Japan after 1920. Mitchell spotlights the consequences of the "double infusion of labor," whereby newly urbanized Japanese workers found themselves at a competitive disadvantage with cheap Korean labor, which further exacerbated the pejorative image of Koreans. This influx of Korean labor also changed the pattern of minority dissent. Militant student nationalism was gradually sublimated into empathy with the rising anticapitalist and antigovernment labor struggle during the 1920's and 1930's. The author sees this marriage of convenience between Korean and native Left-wing groups resulting in the Korean group being catapulted by default into leadership of the entire Japanese Communist movement as police pressure decimated the ranks of the native group. Certainly one of the most arresting conclusions of the book is that the wellspring of the Korean Communist apparatus lay in the Koreanization of Communist leadership in Japan rather than in Korea or elsewhere.

Postwar Korean-Japanese relations have been deeply embarrassed by the failure of Korean independence. The presence of rival regimes on the peninsula, each striving to be the recognized protector of the entire minority, have kept alive the closely allied issues of repatriation and the legal status of the 600,000 Koreans who would neither accept Japanization nor risk beginning anew in Korea. Japan's relations with the Koreans and its domestic minority factions have been consistently colored by tension between North and South Korea for influence within the minority.

Despite signs that descendants of immigrants are accepting Japanization, the prolonged ferment has left basic problems of assimilation unsettled. Japan must bear much of the blame for this failure, for endemic contradictions between public assimilation policy and perduring discriminatory attitudes, and for a timid approach to stamping out the unflattering "racial" stereotype. The "conservative structure" of Japanese society, its monolithic ethnocentrism, has denied the Korean a viable niche in the Japanese matrix except on wholly Japanese terms. What Mitchell seems to be predicting in his last chapters is not a state of assimilation but strategies whereby the minority can achieve a workable accommodation only by abandoning the most offensive manifestations of loyalty to a foreign government.

This is easily the fullest treatment of the subject available in a rather sparse field. It makes extensive use, for the first time, of Japanese government archives. While the plane of discourse is frankly political history, I cannot resist remarking that the more significant dimensions of the problem relate to sociocultural dynamics. In this sense, it merely scratches the surface.

University of Texas

JOHN B. CORNELL

SOCIALIST PARTIES IN POSTWAR JAPAN. By *Allan B. Cole et al.* [Studies on Japan's Social Democratic Parties, Volume II.] (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press. 1966. Pp. xvi, 490. \$12.50.)

IN the post-World War II era the Socialist parties have functioned as the principal source of organized political opposition in Japan. Only these political parties have succeeded in rallying, as die-hard supporters of socialism or as irreconcilable critics of prevailing regimes, a sufficient number of voters to contest the commanding domination of the nation's political apparatus held by diverse conservative coalitions. An understanding of the hopes and frustrations, mostly frustrations, of this large and apparently permanent minority is manifestly necessary for any meaningful insight into the Japanese political process and patterns of political behavior. To provide this perception is the objective of "Studies on Japan's Social Democratic Parties." The first volume in the series is Cecil Uyebara's *Leftwing Social Movements in Japan: An Annotated Bibliography* (1959); George Totten's *The Social Democratic Movement in Prewar Japan* (1966) is the third.

Uyebara, Cole, and Totten have provided a guide for all subsequent studies of postwar Japanese socialism during the period 1945-1961. Their concern, admirably fulfilled, has been to reduce to intelligible proportions the complex and unwieldy history of Japanese socialism which, in many ways, reached a cross-roads with the assassination of Asanuma Inejiro. They have organized their data under four headings: "Postwar Party History"; "Theories, Tactics, and Policies"; "Organization and Leadership"; and "Electoral and Organized Support." Each topic has been refined, and orderly analysis has brought into sharp relief the main outlines of a distinct stage in the history of Japanese socialism.

It is easy to complain that the authors have attempted to compress into a single volume more than it can comfortably bear; each of the main topics is sufficiently complex to warrant extended treatment. Again, it may be argued that the technique of analysis has resulted in postwar socialism being given a much tidier character than it ever possessed. These are the kind of reservations that historians generally have about the techniques of political science. They do not deter us, however, from the conclusion that this important work on a phase of postwar Japanese history is a pathfinding study in the best sense of the term.

City University of New York

HYMAN KUBLIN

KOREA AND THE POLITICS OF IMPERIALISM, 1876-1910. By *C. I. Eugene Kim* and *Han-Kyo Kim*. [Publications of the Center for Japanese and Korean Studies.] (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. 1967. Pp. x, 260. \$7.00.)

THIS study had its inception a decade ago in two separate dissertations: H.-K. Kim's "The Demise of the Korean Kingdom, 1882-1910," and C. I. E. Kim's on "Japan in Korea (1905-1910): The Techniques of Political Power." Along the way it was fertilized by my study of *The Japanese Seizure of Korea, 1868-1910* (1960) and the considerable storm of scholarly controversy following that allegedly "revisionist" work (*Journal of Asian Studies*, XXII [Aug. 1963], 469-72).

The Kims have combined their dissertations, greatly honed, added new research and new thinking, sharpened the focus and the style, and produced a small, well-balanced, thoroughly informative volume on the victimization of Korea in the politics of imperialism, not excluding Korea's own responsibility therein. Utilizing Japanese-, Chinese-, and Korean-, as well as English-language materials, they not only tell a balanced story, but, considering the small size of the volume, they also present a considerable amount of new information as well. For example, in the Li-Shufeldt negotiations for the American treaty of 1882 they bring out the hitherto neglected importance of Kim Yun-sik in the negotiations. Later they show that this same Kim Yun-sik, as head of the Korean Foreign Office, was the key to the power and influence of Li's "resident," Yuan Shih-k'ai, in Korea; Yuan's role is shown to be less an Oriental mystery than it has seemed previously.

On such matters as the attempted *coup* of December 1884, the Tientsin negotiations of 1885, the "peddlers'" assault on the Independence Club (1898), Ito's "persuasion" of the Korean ministers (1905), and the Korean Righteous Army (1907-1910), new information is introduced. The story of the English newspaperman Bethell, which C. I. E. Kim first presented in the *Pacific Historical Review* (XXI [Nov. 1962], 393-402), is woven into the larger framework.

Points not well explained are few, but, to do my duty, I have searched out one or two. The 1882 abduction of the Taewongun is explained in "must have been" terms, but D. J. Yim in his recent paper on that subject shows that the full explanation is available in Chinese documents ("Papers on China from Seminars at Harvard University," XXI [Feb. 1968]). Regarding the Japanese dispatch of troops to Korea in 1894, the authors employ the term "mixed brigade." "Combined brigade" would be a more meaningful rendition of the Japanese term.

The conclusions of the study are measured and modest. Some might criticize the authors for failing to delve into the long-range and world-wide implications of the subjection of Korea. But it may be more important for Korean scholars, who are especially sensitive to the immediate aspects of the tragedy, to assess objectively the roles of foreign aggressors, meddlers, and "friends" (whether fair or foul weather) and Korea's own failures to make desperately needed internal reforms when opportunity knocked in the 1880's and again in the 1898-1904 period. The authors have accomplished these assessments very well indeed.

University of Pennsylvania

HILARY CONROY

AKBAR THE GREAT. Volume II, EVOLUTION OF ADMINISTRATION, 1556-1605 A.D. By *Ashirbadi Lal Srivastava*. (Agra: Shiva Lal Agarwala and Company. 1967. Pp. xx, 373. Rs. 20.)

THIS is the second of Professor A. L. Srivastava's projected three-volume study of the life and times of Akbar, the Great Mogul (1556-1605). While Akbar was a great and dedicated warrior, he was also an enthusiastic and capable administrator. When he took over the reins of power in 1560, the administrative system was in a state of disrepair. The Afghan Sher Shah Sur (1540-1545) had laid the foundations of a sound revenue system, but that had also largely deteriorated under his successors (1545-1555). It redounds to the credit of the Great Mogul

that he was able to transform what was at best a wreckage into a vigorous, efficient administrative system. The Emperor's intellectual ability and practical sense soon led to remarkable developments in the organization of the army and public finance. The revenue *bandobast* of Muzaffar Khan and Raja Todar Mall soon acquired such renown as to become the ideal for subsequent centuries.

The present volume very ably traces the historical development of Akbar's administration in all its varied nature and functions. The chapters on the ministers, provincial, district, and local administrations, the financial and military systems, law and justice, and relations with subordinate states bring together much interesting material scattered in the *Ain-i-Akbari*, the chronicles, and a host of modern works. Students of Mogul India will find the work a useful compendium.

But the work introduces little that is new since it asks few of the right questions. The numerous pages on revenue and expenditure, for instance, contain little to indicate the nature and consequences of the impact of imperial policies on the life of the people. The long discussion on the *Mansabdari* system fails to explain its origin satisfactorily; nor does it reveal the circumstances under which a primarily military rank became so deeply involved in revenue affairs. The author makes the interesting point that the *Sawar* distinction in *Mansabs* was introduced sometime in 1594-1595, but the explanation of the innovation he offers is still not completely adequate. The use of modern concepts and terms such as Prime Minister, council, budget, central control of provincial administration is confusing, if not misleading. Finally, the attempt to link Akbar's administrative ideas and practices with their Hindu and Islamic prototypes is far from successful or happy. The bibliography could have been much more critical and comprehensive, and the index is barely useful.

Wake Forest University

B. G. GOKHALE

THE MODERNITY OF TRADITION: POLITICAL DEVELOPMENT IN INDIA. By Lloyd I. Rudolph and Susanne Hoeber Rudolph. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 1967. Pp. x, 306. \$8.75.)

THIS study might also have been titled "The Traditionality of Modernity." It challenges the common assumption that there exists in India a political, social, and legal tradition alienated from a modern system that has developed in opposition to it. The analysis breaks new ground in current efforts to understand the modernization process and, in so doing, considers three factors: caste, charismatic leadership, and legal cultures.

Fresh viewpoints emerge throughout. One, long overdue, is that caste stratifications, far from being a reactionary drag upon democratic development, which is a popular theme of Western-oriented critics, have actually made democracy possible. "By providing a structure for the pursuit of political power, social status, and economic interest, the paracommunity based on caste sentiment and interest makes secular concerns and representative democracy comprehensible and manageable to ordinary Indians." The authors demonstrate the complex role of castes by detailed reference to practices throughout India. Although there are exceptions, they see a situation where castes function as the multiple interest

groups that James Madison considered essential in preserving democratic liberties against the tyranny of any single element in the power structure.

The section on charisma, employing psychoanalytic approaches to probe Gandhi's character and activities, is a most readable and thought-provoking interpretation of Gandhism. While the intimate details may prove disturbing to those who have idealized Gandhi, historical realism demands the full picture. The authors seem to be aware of the dangers involved in attempting to delve into motives and events of which they could not have firsthand knowledge, and they weigh and carefully qualify their conclusions. Some will feel, however, that the essential realities of the Mahatma's character and appeal elude all attempts to reveal them by such means.

Perhaps the most important phase of the work for those concerned with the establishment and development of a centralized political system is that concerning legal cultures. The authors' argument hinges on the proposition that traditional Brahmanic law, which Sir William Jones and John Mayne assumed to be basic, was actually far less prevalent than the infinitely varied systems of customary law used throughout India. By adopting and Anglicizing the general principles of the *dharmaśāstra*, the British laid the groundwork for a national law code at the expense of prevailing legal norms. By continuing this trend, modern India has utilized legal tradition to further the processes of modernization.

The study, as a whole, is carefully researched and well documented.

Prescott College

D. MACKENZIE BROWN

THE SWATANTRA PARTY AND INDIAN CONSERVATISM. By *Howard L. Erdman*. [Cambridge South Asian Studies.] (New York: Cambridge University Press. 1967. Pp. xii, 356. \$11.00.)

WITH the emergence of the Swatantra party in 1959, India for the first time had a conservative, noncommunal alternative to the Congress party. In the two general elections held since 1959, Swatantra has doubled its membership in the Lok Sabha (from twenty-two to forty-four, making it the second largest party) and has increased its representation in the state assemblies by more than 50 per cent. It has been a kind of umbrella party, following a policy of mergers, electoral adjustments, and cautious cooperation with other opposition groups and parties. It is "a technologically progressive, secular and constitutionalist party," working well within the democratic framework.

But the success of Swatantra, while qualitatively impressive, has been quite limited, and its prospects are uncertain. Its associations with aristocrats, business interests, and upper-caste groups, and its strong emphasis on antistatism in a country where the rhetoric of socialism is widely used have given it a negative image that it has not been able successfully to counteract. It has strength only in a few states—mainly Gujarat, Orissa, and Rajasthan—and only among certain groups. "There is within the party leadership a strong strain of anti-democratic elitism (aristocratic, administrative and professional) and frequent criticism of universal suffrage. . . . Its official doctrine and many unofficial views still seem relatively remote from popular interests and passions." It is "in some ways an

enigma, one important aspect of which is the diversity of social forces within Swatantra and the balance of power among them."

These aspects, and many others, are analyzed in Erdman's excellent study, which considers the Swatantra party "against the backdrop of *rightist* politics more generally." There are illuminating discussions of the party's inner circle—especially C. Rajagopalachari (Rajaji), M. R. Masani, and K. M. Munshi—of the varied groups and individuals that make up "the Swatantra coalition," of the balance of power within the party, of Swatantra doctrine, and of electoral adjustments with such parties as the DMK in Madras, the Akali Dal in the Punjab, and, above all, the Jana Sangh.

Unfortunately this book was written prior to the fourth general elections in February 1967. While Erdman adds a brief but useful appendix on the elections, he could not revise his manuscript to take account of the many significant changes that the election results stimulated or forecast. The needed revisions, however, are largely matters of detail and of emphasis, rather than of basic interpretation.

As Erdman points out, "Swatantra deserves close study by students of the political process," whether they happen to be particularly interested in India or not. His book was obviously written with this broader purpose in mind. It incorporates the results of solid research in India, including extensive interviews and returns from questionnaires.

One surprising omission must be noted: in seventy-four pages of notes and bibliography Erdman does not even mention the most important single book on the Rightist parties of India, namely Motilal A. Jhangiani, *Jana Sangh and Swatantra: A Profile of the Rightist Parties in India* (1967). This perhaps Freudian slip accounts for the absurd observation in the preface that "nothing of any consequence has been written about the Swatantra Party."

University of Pennsylvania

NORMAN D. PALMER

AFGHANISTAN, 1900-1923: A DIPLOMATIC HISTORY. By Ludwig W. Adamec. [Published under the auspices of the Near Eastern Center, University of California, Los Angeles.] (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. 1967. Pp. vi, 245. \$7.00.)

AFGHANISTAN is, of course, one of the "nonaligned" states, desiring to be let alone, to live at peace with all other countries, especially its neighbors, and refusing to adhere to power blocs or to participate in their ideological or other disputes.

As Dr. Adamec well demonstrates in this volume, there is nothing new in the Afghan policy; "neutralism" and "isolationism" have been essential over the years, and necessarily so if the independence of the country were to be maintained. This study covers the history of Afghan foreign relations from the turn of the twentieth century to about 1923, or during the reigns of the Amirs Abdur Rahman, Habibullah, and Amanullah. In it, the author traces in some detail the development of Anglo-Afghan and Russo-Afghan relations, the Dane Mission, the impact of the Anglo-Russian Convention of 1907, and the neutral position of Afghanistan during World War I, despite Turko-German intrigues in

the country, and he brings the story down through the Anglo-Afghan Treaty of 1921.

The main emphasis of the story deals with the Afghan attempt to maintain an autonomous or independent identity, even in a period before the element of nationalism can be said to have exercised much influence in Afghan society. There can be no doubt, as the author well notes, that the situation in Afghanistan became critical in the later nineteenth century, as the British and Russian Empires advanced in Central Asia, separated only by Afghanistan. A number of factors contributed to Afghanistan's success in remaining independent and avoiding partition, chief of which, perhaps, was the skillful conduct of foreign relations by the Afghan rulers, who premised their policy on the principle that both Great Britain and Imperial Russia were basically hostile to Afghanistan and bent on territorial annexation. The policy of Abdur Rahman called for militant independence, strict isolationism, and a middle course between Great Britain, to which Afghanistan was cautiously allied, and Russia, neither of which was to be unnecessarily or unduly provoked. But other factors contributed to the success of Afghanistan in remaining independent and avoiding partition: the geographical position of Afghanistan, the warlike character of the Afghans, and Anglo-Russian rivalry.

Adamec's work is based on much archival material from India, Germany, and the United Kingdom, and it focuses on trends in Afghan policy that have prevailed throughout the period covered. There are a well-selected bibliography for those who care to pursue their study in this field and an appendix of interesting documents. This is a perceptive work; it provides solid background to present-day Afghan policy.

American University

HARRY N. HOWARD

A SPANIARD IN THE PORTUGUESE INDIES: THE NARRATIVE OF MARTÍN FERNÁNDEZ DE FIGUEROA. By *James B. McKenna*. [Harvard Studies in Romance Languages, published under the direction of the Department of Romance Languages and Literatures, Volume XXXI.] (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press. 1967. Pp. viii, 288. \$9.95.)

"To see the world in a grain of sand," as William Blake wrote, is a virtue given to poetry, but seldom to historical works. This one is an exception. For Professor McKenna has chosen to scrutinize the sole exemplar known to exist of a microcosmic pamphlet of only sixty-two printed pages that covers but five years in the history of Portuguese Asia. Before he is through with it, he has photographed it, measured, translated, charted, indexed, and annotated it until one can scarcely imagine what more might be done to make it reveal its secrets.

But the reader is the gainer, and experts especially will find it interesting and will appreciate McKenna's scholarly treatment, which almost amounts to pampering. The story Martín Fernández de Figueroa tells is extraordinarily interesting. In the first place, though hitherto all but unknown, it is the first known printed account (1512) of the mighty conquests in Persia, Africa, and India by Portugal's conquistadors, Francisco de Almeida and Afonso de Albuquerque. Even more important, the Spaniard has recounted at firsthand parts of the story from a

proximity that none of the four classic chroniclers (Barros, Correa, Castanheda, and Damião de Góis) enjoyed. For example, the four chroniclers did not know so much about the conquest of Sofala and the founding of a Portuguese station there, or of Portuguese exploits in the Persian Gulf. And there is some new, if less significant, detail on other famous events. Apparently they had not heard of Figueroa's pamphlet when they compiled their own works years afterward, and, as McKenna says, it is no small thing that Figueroa acts as an independent means of checking on their accuracy, which, as it develops, was astonishingly good. This is also true of the apparatus that McKenna provides for the reader who might wish to verify them. In his appendix he furnishes four pages of tables, showing where the coverage of each of Figueroa's forty-nine sections, or short chapters, can be approximated in the more voluminous books of the four Portuguese writers.

McKenna's painstaking scholarship can be put to another use, though one that perhaps the author did not have in mind: it makes an ideal introductory tool for scholars just beginning the study of Portuguese expansion. Because Figueroa mentions and McKenna identifies so many of the people, things, and places that figure in the four classic accounts, *A Spaniard in the Portuguese Indies* is ideal as preparation for their reading. His "Commentary" section will save innumerable trips to dozens of reference works for thumbing out the who, what, when, why, and where. The lonely stretches of beach rimming Portuguese overseas history could use many more such grains of sand.

University of Florida

GEORGE D. WINTUS

THE MODERN HISTORY OF CEYLON. By E. F. C. Ludowyk. [The Praeger Asia-Africa Series.] (New York: Frederick A. Praeger. 1966. Pp. ix, 308. \$7.50.)

CEYLON. By S. A. Pakeman. [Nations of the Modern World.] (New York: Frederick A. Praeger. 1964. Pp. 256. \$6.95.)

ONE damned governor after another was my first reaction to both of these books, and, although on a second reading I am more kindly disposed toward them, there can be no question that they are "poop-deck" histories of the sort that J. C. van Leur inveighed against. Well, you may ask, what is wrong with the study of imperialism? Nothing, if the author states this as his subject, but the history of Ceylon and the history of British colonial administration are not one and the same. Had these volumes been entitled "The British in Ceylon and Their Legacy," I would have had less quarrel with the authors.

Within these limits, Ludowyk's is the more substantial contribution. He has made thorough use of the English-language secondary literature, including recent London University dissertations on Ceylon, and, for the nineteenth century, he supplements this with primary material from Colonial Office records. Besides a full, if rather routine, outline of British administrative practice, he gives a useful account of land policy and the regulation of plantation industries. For the twentieth century the work contains all of the constitutional details that one has come to expect in histories of British imperial possessions, and it is accompanied by a fairly lively narrative of politics. Ludowyk provides many shrewd insights into the

manipulations of the Colombo elite, but his vantage points—Government House, the legislature, University College, and the clubs—are not well equipped to prepare him or his readers for the transformation of Ceylonese politics in 1956. For a better understanding of that sudden shift, he should have given careful attention to the persistence of Singhalese cultural traditions and the Buddhist revival, subjects for which the governors and their protégés leave little space.

Both authors witnessed and at times participated in the more recent events they describe, for both held university professorships in Colombo. Pakeman draws on this firsthand experience to give excellent biographical sketches of many of the leading public figures of the last thirty to forty years, and he devotes more than a third of his book to the years since independence when he was personally involved in politics. The earlier sections of his book are undistinguished except, perhaps, his discussion of education, in which he obviously took a special interest. He dispenses with the scholarly paraphernalia of references, and his bibliography and index are too brief to be of much value. Ludowyk, on the other hand, provides an excellent bibliography, and his book is enhanced by sixteen pages of photographs.

Neither of these works is a match for S. Arasaratnam's stimulating short paperback *Ceylon* in the Prentice-Hall "Modern Nations in Historical Perspective" series.

University of Michigan

J. H. BROOMFIELD

THE ADMINISTRATION OF THE WHITE AUSTRALIA POLICY. By A. C. Palfreman. ([Carlton:] Melbourne University Press; New York: Cambridge University Press. 1967. Pp. ix, 184. \$12.00.)

THIS is an excellent study of how a restrictive immigration policy for non-Europeans, commonly known as the White Australia policy, has been administered from 1901 to 1966. By studying the intrinsic nature of the policy itself, the author has shown that Australia is in fact whiter now than when the Immigration Restrictive Act became effective immediately following federation. Complete exclusion of non-Europeans ended, however, in 1956 when certain of these could be naturalized under particular conditions. In 1966 the Australian government, in order to destroy the objectionable image of discrimination, announced that some non-Europeans would be admitted as permanent settlers, eligible for naturalization after five years in the same way as European settlers.

The author shows that complete exclusion was never possible; thus numerous policy decisions were made to accommodate the consensus of national opinion that was to keep Australia white. Palfreman shows the continual adjustment of the policy. His sources are drawn from the general provisions of the restrictive immigration policy coming from the Department of Immigration or stated in Parliament and from the study of case histories. The book falls into three parts: an analysis of the policy, an analysis of the statutes, and a small concluding section.

The Chinese have always been the main problem, and certain exceptions were made on their behalf. The Japanese, Indians, and Indonesians resented the stigma

of exclusion. The author clearly explains the chief reason for the White Australia policy: the desire to exclude cheap competitive labor.

The final section "Whither White Australia?" is in many ways the most interesting. The author eschews polemics, but in the chapter "Pressures on Policy" he describes those for and against. Those who have challenged the policy are the Chinese community, the Roman Catholic Church, the Australian Council of the World Council of Churches, many academics, and the Australian Communist party. A quota system has been discussed since the war, but with few results.

The author writes clearly and concisely and has included numerous appendixes that are unusually helpful. The book has dealt at length with the administrative mechanism because "it is only by resorting to minutiae that an accurate description of the policy is possible" and because of "the central fact that the subjects and objects of this study are not rules, regulations, ministerial decisions and cabinet minutes, but people; people who are sometimes innocent, sometimes cunning; people who are often bewildered, angry or despairing."

University of California, Irvine

SAMUEL CLYDE McCULLOCH

Americas

THE NATIONAL UNION CATALOG OF MANUSCRIPT COLLECTIONS, 1966. INDEX 1963-1966. Compiled by the Library of Congress from reports provided by American repositories with assistance from the Council on Library Resources, Inc. [The Library of Congress Catalogs.] (Washington, D.C.: the Library, 1967. Pp. xxv, 920. \$15.00.)

THE 1966 volume of *The National Union Catalog of Manuscript Collections* continues the pattern set by its immediate predecessor: publishing one year's reports of manuscript collections along with an index cumulating back to 1963. Before 1963, the first two volumes came out at irregular intervals from different commercial houses because the project was funded initially by a grant from the Council on Library Resources. Beginning with the 1963-1964 volume, the Library of Congress' appropriated funds have supported compilation and publication of the work. Of course, the basic reports from which the Library makes the compilations come from repositories across the country, and they receive no financial assistance from the Library.

In the latest volume 177 repositories report 2,020 collections, which make a total of 616 institutions listing 18,417 collections in the five volumes published. Repositories participating most recently include some from Wyoming and Montana. Thus, every state in the country, plus the District of Columbia and the Canal Zone, is represented.

A major problem is that many important repositories have still made little effort to report their holdings prior to 1959, when the *Catalog* began. These institutions obviously find it easier to deal with current acquisitions than to tackle the backlog. They must understand, however, that their contribution to scholarly research partly depends on the extent to which they make their resources known. Scholars should make every effort to encourage the reporting of earlier acquisitions and holdings.

The repository index of this fifth volume reflects a wholesome trend. Whereas the 1965 repository index contained only one page of institutions holding duplicate copies of manuscripts, the latest has almost two. While there probably was not a 75 per cent increase in the number of repositories with duplicates from 1965 to 1966, the reporting was apparently that much better. Even if this information is merely suggestive, it does highlight a salutary and significant trend in research scholarship—the willingness of institutions to share their resources through photoreproduction. Further reports of duplicate holdings will enhance the *Catalog* as a vehicle for apprising researchers of the most convenient locations where primary sources may be used.

University of Oklahoma

WALTER RUNDELL, JR.

ORIGINS OF THE AMERICAN INDIANS: EUROPEAN CONCEPTS, 1492-1729. By *Lee Eldridge Huddleston*. [Latin American Monographs, Number 11, Institute of Latin American Studies, University of Texas.] (Austin: University of Texas Press for the Institute. 1967. Pp. viii, 179. \$5.00.)

WHEN did the first Americans reach the New World? From whence did they come? From whom were they descended? And how did they get to America? Many writers, understandably most of them Spaniards, puzzled over answers to these questions between 1535 (when the first part of Oviedo y Valdéz' *Historia general y natural de las Indias* was published) and 1729 (when an expanded version of García's *Origen de los indios* by Andrés González de Barcia first appeared). All were convinced that the Indians did not originate independently in the New World but rather that they were also descendants of Adam. Beyond these points, there was little agreement. The roster of places posited as likely original hearths of the Indians is long and includes Atlantis, Carthage, pre-Roman Spain, Egypt, Ethiopia, Norway, China, Kurland, Tatary, Israel, and the land of Ophir.

Huddleston laboriously analyzes the views of both major and minor writers who expressed opinions concerning the Indians' origins in works published before 1730, and he concludes that their conjectures fall into two "rival, but not mutually exclusive, traditions." One he terms the Acostan, after José de Acosta, author of the *Historia natural y moral de las Indias* (1590), who rejected the arguments of his predecessors in favor of transatlantic origins, brushed aside their crude attempts at comparative cultural analogies, and on the basis of geographical and faunal considerations concluded that the Indians probably came in the distant past over a land bridge or a narrow strait from some unknown tribe in Northeastern Asia. The other tradition Huddleston designates as the Garcían, after Gregorio García, whose *Origen de los indios de el nuevo mundo* (1607), the first work exclusively devoted to the problem of origins, he contends, has been seriously misunderstood by previous students. García examined the arguments in favor of and against every previously advanced theory of origins, rejected none, and concluded that all were equally plausible. For the remainder of the period covered by this monograph the Garcían tradition remained the popular one in Spain; elsewhere, particularly in Northern Europe, the Acostan prescientific view predominated.

Although the subject was, and still is, an intriguing one, it was, as Huddleston admits, of casual rather than consequential interest to most contemporaries, few of whom engaged in polemics to support their opinions. (The curious literary debate between Hugo Grotius, a Garcían, and Jan de Laet, an Acostan, is a rare exception.) Readers will find this book interesting, though some will object to the author's anthropological notational system, others will lament his penchant for cataloguing titles and editions, and many, including myself, will consider his style clumsy and repetitious.

University of Washington

DAURIL ALDEN

WHITE OVER BLACK: AMERICAN ATTITUDES TOWARD THE NEGRO, 1550-1812. By *Winthrop D. Jordan*. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press for the Institute of Early American History and Culture. 1968. Pp. xx, 651. \$12.50.)

THIS is an impressive book. Working from the implicit premise that the race problem is basically a white man's problem, Winthrop Jordan has read virtually everything in print bearing upon the attitude of Englishmen and their American descendants toward the Negro from the reign of Elizabeth I to the War of 1812. From this mass of sources he has forged a major study that well merits the adjective "exhaustive." Indeed, the author's prodigious research is a cause of weakness as well as strength: in the second half of the volume, which covers only the years 1783-1812, Jordan has allowed the abundance of his materials to overpower him. Themes that were discussed crisply for the earlier period are taken up again and dealt with repetitively in a discursive, rambling style that unduly lengthens the book and exhausts the reader. Though the second half of this study is less original and trenchant than the first, the book as a whole is, nonetheless, an outstanding analysis of the origins of racism in the United States. And while he has written primarily an intellectual history of white attitudes toward the Negro, Jordan has also shown how these attitudes were translated into action. Thus, the book is an important contribution to the history of slavery, segregation, miscegenation, and other everyday manifestations of race relations in colonial America.

The word "black" has always been loaded with unfavorable connotations; it symbolized darkness, ugliness, filthiness, and evil, while "white" symbolized purity, beauty, cleanliness, and virtue. Their language prejudiced Englishmen against Negroes even before the arrival of that famous ship at Jamestown in 1619. Europeans in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries were alternately fascinated and repelled by stories of the savage, heathen, and sexually uninhibited natives of Africa. Caucasians were preoccupied with the blackness of Negroes, and the amount of ink spilled in an effort to explain the causes of this blackness was a measure of the ethnocentrism that produced the doctrine of white supremacy. Europeans assumed that the original man was white and that black men were a deviation that must somehow be accounted for, whether by the curse of Canaan, the rays of the sun, or sexual intercourse with orangutans. To the insular Englishman or provincial American, Negroes were different, their color strange, their customs bizarre, their religion heathenish. From an ethnocentric viewpoint, any-

thing different or strange is *ipso facto* inferior, and hence the assumption of Negro inferiority grew up from the first English contact with Africans. Coupled with the technological superiority of European society, this ethnocentric racism abetted and justified the enslavement of Africans. There was, in Jordan's words, "a mutual relationship between slavery and unfavorable assessment of Negroes. Rather than slavery causing 'prejudice,' or vice versa, they seem rather to have generated each other."

Jordan treats many themes in detail: the rise and decline of antislavery sentiment in the eighteenth century, the impact of the Revolution, Thomas Jefferson's complex and ambivalent attitude toward the Negro, early scientific treatises on racial differences, popular myths about race, and others. The chapter on Jefferson, a sharp critique of his racism, is perhaps the most controversial part of this study. The central theme of the book concerns the role that white sexual desires and fantasies played in race relations. There was probably more miscegenation in the eighteenth century than at any time since, accompanied by constant aspersions on the Negro's degraded sexual morals. In a brilliant psychological analysis, Jordan argues that the white man's professed abhorrence of Negro sexuality was essentially a projection of his own fears and desires. It was the whites who committed sexual aggression against the blacks (the symbolic meaning of the book's title), but by transferring the blame to the Negro's "libidinous nature" the aggressor made the black man bear the white man's burden of sexual guilt. Thus the taproot of racism in colonial America, and by implication in all of American history, was sex. This is the most important thesis in one of the most significant books on race relations to appear in recent years.

Princeton University

JAMES M. MCPHERSON

THE CONSCIENCE OF THE STATE IN NORTH AMERICA. By E. R. Norman. [Cambridge Studies in the History and Theory of Politics.] (New York: Cambridge University Press. 1968. Pp. 199. \$6.50.)

DR. Norman is at pains to make it clear that his book is intended as neither a history of religion in the United States nor as an account of relations of church and state. "It is an interpretative introduction," he says, "to those relations, in the light of similar experience in Britain." The purpose has been fulfilled in this well-informed work, which shows a wide acquaintance with the literature on the subject, although William Kailer Dunn's work, *What Happened to Religious Education? The Decline of Religious Teaching in the Public Elementary School, 1776-1861* (1958), and Charles H. Metzger's *Catholics and the American Revolution. A Study in Religious Climate* (1962) would have served him well. Those acquainted with the author's volume, *The Catholic Church and Ireland in the Age of Rebellion, 1859-1873* (1965), will anticipate a high degree of competence, and they will not be disappointed.

Religious pluralism has been a phenomenon in Britain, the United States, and Canada, and it was the dissenting religious groups who rendered an established church anomalous. Yet, as Norman states, "it was not this pluralism *per se* which threatened the state churches, but the alliance of dissent with radical constitutionalism." That there should have been similarities between the three

countries is understandable given their history, and there were few more marked similarities than their common anti-Catholicism throughout the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, a fact that the author makes evident. But in spite of the secularist thought that has more recently dominated political policy and action in all three countries, there has been relatively little open hostility to religion, and one meets with odd survivals of an earlier age, such as the prayer with which each session of the United States Supreme Court opens: "God save the United States and this Honorable Court," in a body that, as Norman says, has in recent years done so much "to define the strict neutrality of the state. . . ."

Norman's book fulfills his purpose: to show that the redefining of the relationship of the state to religion from the mid-eighteenth century on "followed an essentially similar though chronologically uneven course" in the three countries embraced in his study. He does not pretend that his material is new, but he has given it a fresh approach along comparative lines, and students of church-state relations will find the book a well-written treatise. The final chapter, "The Problem of Education," embodies a series of examples that illustrate the principles and the history through which they evolved in the previous chapters.

University of San Francisco

JOHN TRACY ELLIS

HUSBANDMEN OF PLYMOUTH: FARMS AND VILLAGES IN THE OLD COLONY, 1620-1692. By *Darrett B. Rutman*. (Boston: Beacon Press for Plimoth Plantation. 1967. Pp. xi, 100. \$5.95.)

DARRETT Rutman's modest book, *Husbandmen of Plymouth*, belongs in the same tradition as Sumner Powell's *Puritan Village*; in describing the agricultural life of the Old Colony from 1620 to 1692, Rutman has dispelled many of the stereotyped notions held about farming in New England's first colonial communities. Even more important, Rutman demonstrates the degree to which farming determined the institutions and social attitudes of Plymouth's pioneers.

First, regarding economic institutions, farming and not fish or furs formed the basis of Plymouth's prosperity. Puritan immigrants in Massachusetts Bay provided the initial market for Pilgrim cattle and grain during the 1630's. When Massachusetts Bay merchants sailed forth later in search of new markets, Plymouth's agricultural products found their way to the Azores, Madeira, Spain, and the Caribbean islands via Boston. Hence, Plymouth's economic institutions were oriented primarily toward agriculture until the Old Colony was absorbed by its newer and bigger neighbor.

Social institutions were similarly influenced by farming. Communal agriculture was practiced in Plymouth during the early years; all persons were compelled to work in the larger fields laid out beyond the villages, the produce of which went into a common storehouse. Artificial "families" were formed during the first winter as unattached males were joined to natural families for the purpose of cultivating the same garden plot. Family structure, the manner in which home lots were laid out, the pattern of settlement repeated in one Plymouth village after another, according to Rutman, all reflected the farmer's way of life.

Social attitudes also evidenced the mind-set of the farmer. Since everyone was a part-time or full-time farmer, irrespective of class or occupation, Rutman argues

that Plymouth's backwardness and resistance to change can best be accounted for by the common outlook of a rural people. Change, when it did come, was the slow product of consensus. Agricultural methods and attitudes in Plymouth were modified slowly and without much controversy, and, Rutman suspects, the same was true of the settlers' methods and attitudes toward other areas of human activity—family, church, community, and state.

Rutman's approach to Plymouth's history presents one point of view. Charles M. Andrews, writing about Plymouth thirty years ago, presented a different point of view when he ascribed the colony's conservatism and essential sameness to the religious motivation of the settlers. Rutman is saying that men's ideologies may be formed more by what they do rather than by what they believe. In writing about Plymouth's husbandmen, he makes a convincing case for his kind of history.

Clark University

GEORGE ATHAN BILLIAS

FROM SACRED TO PROFANE AMERICA: THE ROLE OF RELIGION IN AMERICAN HISTORY. By *William A. Clebsch*. (New York: Harper and Row. 1968. Pp. xi, 242. \$5.95.)

PROFESSOR Clebsch has, he tells us, approached the subject of the role of religion in America first as church historian and later as intellectual historian. In this brief, interpretive study he brings together insights from both of his "ultimately complementary" fields.

His thesis owes much to Harvey Cox's influential *The Secular City*, which argued that secularization stems from the beginning of the mission of Judaism and Christianity. Clebsch says that in each of six "campaigns" American religion has fostered movements leading first to sanctification of society and then beyond this to secularization. In each case the church has finally turned against its own secularized product. The six campaigns were for newness, equality, the spread of education, reform of society, nationhood (turning to nationalism), and finally pluralism. With special emphasis on the last of these, Clebsch urges that the church, which once aspired to provide overarching unity for the nation's secular cities, should now accept for itself the status of being one city among others. Clebsch dislikes the neo-orthodox style of the recent past, considering it a typical manifestation of reaction against religion's own successful campaigns for pluralism and reform.

The thesis is certainly fertile and usable, and therefore in large measure valid. Yet it seems to me to be applied in a somewhat too pat and optimistic manner. It fits some of the "campaigns," notably that for public education, better than others. And secularization has had its costs as well as its triumphs, a point that Clebsch occasionally suggests but generally slights. Pluralism, as many writers have shown, can turn into mindless as well as creedless religiosity. The secularization of the missionary impulse can have disastrous results in foreign policy.

This book is full of striking incidental insights on such important topics as race relations, religion in the Far West, and Sunday schools. Sometimes, however, its orbiter dicta are too simple: that the Civil War turned America into an urban and industrial society, that dollar diplomacy made us a Pacific power, that pioneer fears of fire and animal predations led to prohibition.

Like the theory, the writing is both interesting and occasionally overstrained. The use of metaphor is relentless and often awkward: "the proof of Scripture's pudding became history's eating." New verbs are created even beyond the current vogue: a western minister "optioned" a lot; the church's functions include both "traditioning" and "pastoring"; Solomon Stoddard "grandsired" Jonathan Edwards.

Clebsch admirably commands the immense and diffuse secondary literature on American religion, and he has effectively used miscellaneous manuscript collections at the Huntington Library. His book is difficult to read, well worth reading, stimulating, and sometimes convincing.

University of California, Berkeley

HENRY F. MAY

NEWCASTLE'S NEW YORK: ANGLO-AMERICAN POLITICS, 1732-1753. By *Stanley Nider Katz*. (Cambridge, Mass.: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press. 1968. Pp. xi, 285. \$6.95.)

IN this description of the flexible and "free flow of personnel, interest, and influence between England and New York," over which the Duke of Newcastle presided from 1732 to 1753, Professor Katz concludes that, despite its confusion and inefficiency, this "was the golden age of imperial politics in New York." He has examined the administrations of Governors Cosby, Clarke, and Clinton in their imperial context, discussed Anglo-American politics from the vantage points of the mother country, the governors, and province, and has deftly woven the story of negotiations for patronage and influence between provincial and imperial capitals into the whole.

Katz suggests that the Great War for the Empire altered the imperial government's permissive attitude, for it prompted officials to impose "specific demands" and "strict accountability" on the colonies in ways that aggravated Anglo-American relations. After 1754 "the easy interaction" of Yorkers and Englishmen "began to disappear," communications grew formal, administration became more stylized, "and there was less room for maneuver." Parliament increasingly intervened in imperial administration despite danger signals in the assembly's display of initiative and local leaders' resistance to attempts to reassert the royal prerogative. Katz's substantial account supports the arguments that, after 1763, imperial innovations endangered the fabric of liberty to which provincials had grown accustomed and that the crisis of the Empire was the result of years of too little government—too much indifference, vacillation, and reliance upon men and factions instead of measures or "policy." It also fits the argument that the patriots were the real conservatives who struggled to maintain their liberties in the face of threatened ruin.

Readers might expect a more direct line of comparison between British and New York politics than the author draws. He does show that colonial missions to Britain were inconvenient and inefficient and that colonists lacked important connections in an age when these were more important in determining programs and patronage than hard work and constitutional arguments. He does not, however, otherwise make clear why Americans seemed so ill-equipped to deal with their English counterparts, except to point out that the character of indi-

viduals and their connections determined the nature of imperial control. Only briefly does he indicate that provincial politics mirrored the factionalism and confusion of early Georgian England. It would be interesting to know why experience in the complexities of provincial politics did not enable the colonists to deal successfully with those in Britain.

Largely based on manuscripts in British and American archives, the book is heavily documented and very well written. However, Katz apparently did not consult several biographies like Henry Noble MacCracken's *James Alexander*; such omissions, especially where a Namierist emphasis on men and patronage is concerned, are questionable. One also wonders why works cited in the footnotes were omitted from the bibliography. Yet the book's merits lead one to hope that scholars may provide other colonies with studies of comparable scope and theme and with as much excellence as Katz has demonstrated in this work.

University of Akron

DON R. GERLACH

THE UPPER HOUSE IN REVOLUTIONARY AMERICA, 1763-1788. By Jackson Turner Main. (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press. 1967. Pp. xii, 311. \$7.50.)

THIS book attempts to determine, through study of the upper houses of the legislature, whether the American Revolution democratized political life. In the decade before independence, native elites and placemen dominated colonial councils. Provincial aristocrats were more likely to take the American side in the dispute with Britain than were placemen, men alien to colonial society and dependent on royal favor. An intensive careerline study indicates that the post-revolutionary senates were more democratically recruited though the upper strata were still well represented. Conceived as protectors of aristocratic elements, the revolutionary upper houses failed to perform their prescribed functions as checks on the democratic lower houses. This occurred, Main argues, because the senates recruited their membership from interests rather similar to those controlling the lower houses and because they became "arenas for disputes between incipient parties" rather than cohesive defenders of elite privilege.

In this study, as in the earlier *Social Structure of Revolutionary America*, Main repudiates much of the Beardian conceptual framework that organized the data in *The Antifederalists*, but he has not formulated an adequate alternative interpretation. Hence the analysis, though impressive for the indefatigable research on which it rests, lacks clarity and consistency. Main diligently searched for evidence of class conflict and found some, but he also found a "surprising" degree of political harmony among presumably rival classes. Main fails to reconcile conflicting evidence or to generalize coherently. He affirms that the senates "did protect property rights and the status quo far better than did the lower houses" but four lines later we are warned that "such an unqualified statement . . . is misleading" because "The senates ordinarily neither defended particular economic interests nor served as the instruments of faction" and were "almost indistinguishable from the members of the lower houses, except that they were somewhat more conservative and, perhaps, wiser." Maryland, however, is an anomalous exception, though why politics polarized sharply along class lines

there and not elsewhere is puzzling. Main finds that intrastate sectionalism, rivalry among religious groups and between newcomers and established elements, as well as among factious personalities generated conflict, but he has not reconciled these findings with the class conflict thesis that he never quite repudiates.

Main is handicapped by a formalistic conception of the political and social orders. A legislature, he assumes, is democratic if the percentage of farmers in the two houses is about the same as the percentage of farmers in the adult male population. Furthermore, Main persists in assuming that members of a "class" have uniform interests and predictable political attitudes. Nor does he appreciate the dynamics of legislative or electoral politics. Thus no account is taken of the impact of deference on political behavior. Moreover, by using fixed amounts of property to classify individuals as "wealthy," "rich," "well-to-do," and "moderate," Main forgets that the amount of property necessary to make one "wealthy" varied from colony to colony; it took less property in Connecticut than in South Carolina.

The principal contribution of this book is to suggest that the upper houses were more democratically recruited after independence, but the reasons for this shift and its significance await further study.

University of California, Davis

PAUL GOODMAN

THE NATIONAL WATERWAY: A HISTORY OF THE CHESAPEAKE AND DELAWARE CANAL, 1769-1965. By *Ralph D. Gray*. (Urbana: University of Illinois Press. 1967. Pp. xi, 279. \$8.95.)

GRAY prefers "connected narrative" rather than "analysis of . . . economic impact"; his stated "aim" is "to tell the story" of the "origin, construction and operation" of the Chesapeake and Delaware Canal, to "estimate" to some degree "its national significance," to consider matters of finance, modernization, and "the struggle leading to government acquisition."

The fact that the Chesapeake and Delaware was truly a mixed enterprise that represented state, federal, and private investment does not make much difference. In its general outlines, this tale is much like that of many other canals and railroads. Heavy debt, low earnings, delayed repairs, inadequate maintenance, and incapacity to meet the needs of changing maritime technology, especially the requirement for enlargement, were the burdens of corporate poverty that faced the Chesapeake and Delaware. The history of this company, extending from 1824 until 1919, was as bleak as it was long. What is most astonishing is that a fourteen-mile canal linking the two bays, involving the trade of Philadelphia, Baltimore, the Susquehannah River, and points north and south on the Atlantic Coast, should not have been a more profitable venture.

Gray has suggestions along this line. He concludes, probably correctly, that the company suffered from an initial ailment of undercapitalization from which it never recovered. Competition from railroads and from coastal as opposed to inland waterway transportation added to the company's difficulties. Rebuilding and enlargement would have helped, but only government purchase and financing, unavailable until the twentieth century, could have made this possible.

Gray's rash promise to evaluate the "national significance" of the canal is not fulfilled, a failure of minor importance. More significant are some of his lapses of judgment: company reports are not to be taken at face value; pressure groups like the Atlantic Deeper Water Association, which mounted an assault on the government to subsidize transportation improvements in coastal waters, deserve some investigation and critical analysis; the same holds true for the actions and rhetoric of both corporate executives and congressmen.

Some interesting details do emerge: the rivalry of the ports of Baltimore and Philadelphia for the Susquehannah trade in the early years; later collusion between the Chesapeake and Delaware and the Pennsylvania Railroad; the victimization of the canal company by shippers who were pacified only with rebates. Most impressive, of course, is the fact that the company was always a dismal failure as a profitable venture. Whether it fulfilled a social usefulness for the bay region and beyond is presumed but not established in this study.

University of Wisconsin, Milwaukee

NATHAN MILLER

AMERICANS FROM WALES. By *Edward G. Hartmann*. (Boston: Christopher Publishing House. 1967. Pp. 291. \$6.50.)

WITH some exceptions, notably Berthoff, Shepperson, and Conway, most writers on Welsh migration to America have been either too parochial or too eulogistic to be of much interest to historians. To his earlier, solid work on immigration history, Dr. Hartmann has now added an intensive and comprehensive study of newcomers from Wales and their place in American life; it reflects competence both in the language and in the use of census data. The author shows a sustained awareness of the importance of conditions in Wales at different periods in its emigration movements, he handles the "Welsh Indian legend" critically and understandingly, and he traces with meticulous detail the establishment of Welsh communities in the colonial period and in the nineteenth century.

Americans from Wales documents the parts played by this small but self-conscious group in the American Revolution, the westward movement, agricultural developments, and mining and the mining crafts, especially ironwork and tin-plate techniques. Of special interest is the analysis of the religious commitments of the Welsh immigrants and their essentially "fundamentalist" position, whether Congregationalists, Baptists, Presbyterians, or Calvinistic Methodists. Also, the role played by the Welsh press is greater than one might expect. A most informative part of the book is the account of the cultural and recreational societies—the Gymanfa Gano, Eisteddfod, and Gorsedd—and students of church music and choral singing will find these subjects amply discussed.

Avoiding excessive parochialism and filiopietism, Hartmann has, in short, reported in detail the contributions of Welsh immigrants and their offspring to many aspects of American life. Biographical and geographical appendixes provide supporting evidence for his claims for these contributions, and the classified bibliography is especially useful. Finally, students of acculturation and of cultural pluralism will find the treatment of "Americanization" informative and thoughtful.

This monograph, the result of more than a decade and a half of resourceful and dedicated research, is likely to remain the standard study of a small but important culture group that is generally neglected by historians of immigration.

University of Wisconsin, Madison

MERLE CURTI

GEORGE WASHINGTON IN THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION (1775-1783). By *James Thomas Flexner*. (Boston: Little, Brown and Company. 1968. Pp. xvii, 599. \$10.00.)

JOHN Bach McMaster once remarked that we know a General Washington and a President Washington, but we do not know George Washington. James Thomas Flexner, in this second volume of a projected three-volume biography, has undertaken the challenging task of trying to uncover the flesh-and-blood Washington, separating the man from the myth. The human Washington who emerges from these pages is quite different from the figure presented by the panegyrists of the nineteenth century, by the debunkers of the early twentieth century, or in the massive biography of Douglas Southall Freeman.

Flexner's approach to his subject was spelled out in his first volume (*AHR*, LXXI [July 1966], 1427). The facts about Washington's life were all there, Flexner claimed, but the resulting interpretations had erred either on the side of adulation or debunking and had failed to catch the true character of the man. Freeman's multivolume work, on the other hand, was a "scientific" biography with as little subjective emphasis and interpretation as possible. Although Flexner greatly admired the Freeman work, he felt that it did not address itself primarily to the main concern of his own biography: to reveal Washington's personality. Flexner's method for getting at the real Washington involved three stages: to master the original documents and to ignore all secondary sources except Freeman's work which he considered practically a primary source; to complete the research of Washington's entire life in this manner before beginning his writing; and to consult secondary sources only during the third and last stage of writing.

What have been the results of Flexner's approach in this volume? He has succeeded, perhaps better than any recent biographer, in capturing the contrasts in Washington's complex personality: his compassion and great rages, his optimism and moods of despair, his toughness and sensitivity to private and public criticism, and his frankness and generosity that was sometimes marred by spite and lack of candor.

One virtue of Flexner's method in working mainly from primary sources is that it often leads to fresh insights. In his generalship, Washington is portrayed as both fighter and Fabius. Flexner touches constantly upon Washington's belligerent streak, especially upon his often overlooked plan for a bold attack upon the British in Boston in 1775.

But there are vices as well as virtues in the author's approach. Leaving secondary sources until last has resulted in serious omissions involving the research of recent historians. Among other things, scholars have shown that loyalists were not all wealthy, that Washington was not necessarily right and Lee wrong at Monmouth, and that De Grasse played a greater role at Yorktown.

This biography, because of its imbalance in relying upon primary and secondary sources, is superb when the spotlight is on Washington; it is less satisfying when the focus is elsewhere.

Clark University

GEORGE ATHAN BILLIAS

JOURNALS OF THE COUNCIL OF THE STATE OF VIRGINIA. Volume IV (DECEMBER 1, 1786–NOVEMBER 10, 1788). *George H. Reese*, Editor. (Richmond: Virginia State Library. 1967. Pp. vii, 403. \$7.50.)

THE Virginia Constitution of 1776 provided the commonwealth with an executive arm consisting of a governor and eight councilors. All of these officials, including the governor, were to be elected by joint ballot of both houses of the legislature. The Council of State, thus created, seemed, according to St. George Tucker, "to possess whatever power to deliberate, that may remain with the governor." "The governor," continued Tucker, "can constitutionally perform no one official act without their advice." This awkward arrangement prompted Madison to observe that the council actually consisted of "eight governors and a councilor." It also explains why H. R. McIlwaine, editor of the first volume (1931) in this series, was able to note that the "journals [of the council] frequently give preciser information and more of it in regard to important matters than do the letters [of the governor] themselves, even when all of the executive letters bearing on any transaction are accessible." Part of the apparatus of control exerted by the legislature over the executive, as a matter of fact, required the Council of State to lay the full record of its proceedings before the General Assembly.

Jefferson, perturbed by recollections of his gubernatorial experiences, sought unsuccessfully, in proposals for revising the Constitution, to reduce the council to the status of an advisory board. But distrust of a strong chief executive persisted in the Old Dominion until the adoption of the Constitution of 1850–1851. The revamped Constitution provided that the governor be elected by the people, not the legislature, and abolished the Council of State. Madison, long before then, had decided that the council was "the grave of all useful talents."

This fourth volume of the journals of the Council of State, capably edited by George H. Reese, covers the administration of Governor Edmund Randolph. Editorial comments, in the form of footnotes, are kept to the barest minimum, though Reese, a better mathematician than the council clerk, on one or two occasions calls attention to errors in addition and in other instances cites differences between the text of the journal and that of an unpublished minute book of the council for the period December 5, 1787–October 2, 1788. Earlier difficulties in obtaining a quorum, especially during Jefferson's administration, no longer appear to impede the transaction of business, though now and then the proceedings embrace those of an earlier gathering that seemingly had been ruled unofficial because of inadequate attendance. The administration of a commonwealth headed by an executive wholly subordinate to the legislature unfolds here, at the same time that the Congress of the Confederation was fading away.

Virginia Historical Society

JOHN MELVILLE JENNINGS

THE PAPERS OF ALEXANDER HAMILTON. Volume XII, JULY 1792–OCTOBER 1792; Volume XIII, NOVEMBER 1792–FEBRUARY 1793. Harold C. Syrett, Editor. Jacob E. Cooke, Associate Editor. (New York: Columbia University Press. 1967. Pp. xv, 677; xiv, 620. \$12.50 each.)

IN these volumes we see Hamilton, at perhaps the most difficult stage of his career, struggling bravely and on the whole effectively as Secretary of the Treasury to solve manifold problems that threatened to overwhelm him. The panic of 1792 and the failure of Duer seemed to demonstrate that those critics who charged in 1790 that the funding would become a mere engine for speculation were authentic seers. Stung by manifold, unfounded accusations of culpability, Hamilton lashed back. A series of icy letters to Congressman John F. Mercer almost led to a duel. Recognizing Jefferson's fine, Italian hand behind the newspaper attacks by Freneau, Hamilton, under a series of *noms de guerre*, wrote cogent rebuttals striving to make plain that the funding was an indispensable condition for America's continued growth and prosperity.

But despite these efforts his troubles multiplied and spread into other areas. Financial aid to the hard-pressed Bank of New York placed him in an equivocal position with the Bank of the United States. Having enthusiastically promoted the Society for Useful Manufactures as an embodiment of his Report on Manufactures, he was drawn ever deeper into the management of that doomed and faltering enterprise. Revolt against the whisky excise simmered in western Pennsylvania. The threat to his career and reputation contained in the Giles resolutions forced him, by Herculean efforts, to draw up exhaustive, detailed reports of Treasury operations. And all the while he was being blackmailed by the precious Reynolds couple.

These and many other subjects well known to biographers are covered by the documents in these two volumes. But perhaps the most original contribution lies in the presentation of the mass of letters and documents relating to the work of the Treasury Department. Here we see Hamilton in a new dimension—as a creative administrator—bringing rational policy and workable procedures out of a mass of hazy congressional legislation.

The splendid editing needs little comment in view of the commendation bestowed upon it by reviewers of the previous volumes. The editors' search for papers has been uniformly thorough; their voluminous notes provide clear background for all references and inferences in the documents. Particularly enlightening in this connection are the notes relating to the Mercer dispute and to the newspaper controversies. The fifty-five pages of correspondence between William Short and Gouverneur Morris considerably illuminate the complicated financial transactions accompanying the funding of the debt to France. The meticulous scholarship with which the papers are presented constitutes a fitting tribute to a great man and a great American.

University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill

ELISHA P. DOUGLASS

ANDREW JACKSON. By *Robert V. Remini*. [Twayne's Rulers and Statesmen of the World Series, Number 2.] (New York: Twayne Publishers. 1966. Pp. 212. \$4.95.)

ANDREW JACKSON AND THE BANK WAR: A STUDY IN THE GROWTH OF PRESIDENTIAL POWER. By *Robert V. Remini*. [The Norton Essays in American History.] (New York: W. W. Norton and Company. 1967. Pp. 192. \$4.50.)

THESE two volumes are in general based on the same materials, chapters in each being amplifications or abridgments of corresponding chapters in the other. As they are also informed by a common outlook and shaped toward a single conclusion, they may be reviewed as one. The first is a short biography; the second is focused on a single episode. While Remini is quite aware of significant recent work done by other scholars in the field, the terms in which he writes are essentially those of personality and politics rather than economy and society. Breezy narrative, fast moving and colorful, predominates over exposition and analysis. From the wealth of surviving anecdote Remini has chosen carefully, and he tells each story with spirit, style, and point. Strengths and weaknesses of all major characters are identified and demonstrated. Jackson is "the Hero" almost as often as "general" or "president." Biddle, president of the Bank, is also praised, but Webster and Marshall are almost ignored, and Clay is described as "one of the most overrated men in American history."

Since Remini is less concerned with the abstractions of social science and with nebulous metaphor than with the personality and will of the main actors, the dramatic clashes among them are in a sense subjective. He still reifies "the people": other men had been President of the United States; Jackson was the first President of the American people. "Jackson went to the people and asked for their support. . . . The people supported [him]." He defines Jacksonian democracy clearly, however. It preached the equality of men in their relations with the federal government, and it appealed for increased party participation by a mass electorate. Like Jackson, Remini attaches much importance to the organization and operation of political parties. The characteristics and achievements for which Jackson was condemned by his opponents, such as his passion for power and his "towering ambition," which the author candidly acknowledges, seem in his restatement of them to be attractive. So, too, appear other features of the period. The wildcat banking that began in 1834, severely criticized by some historians, is described as "a new and unfettered entrepreneurial thrust of heroic strength and dimension. . . . This currency and credit inflation constituted a tremendous boon to the country." Tariff, slavery, and sectionalism are given less emphasis.

Jackson gave the country leadership and thus created a new patriotism and a new nationalism. This nationalism, the author seems to imply, was political rather than constitutional, economic, or ethnic. "The Hero's" "dynamic and aggressive executive leadership," in which his greatness consisted, meant primarily enlarging the powers of one branch of the government at the expense of another. Whether readers will be delighted by these volumes or not, they are

likely to be captivated by Remini's incisive comment, vivid language, and energetic pace.

Ohio University

HARRY R. STEVENS

KING COTTON & HIS RETAINERS: FINANCING & MARKETING THE COTTON CROP OF THE SOUTH, 1800-1925. By *Harold D. Woodman*. (Lexington: University of Kentucky Press. 1968. Pp. xiv, 386. \$9.75.)

THE title of this book is a deliberate, ironic misnomer. Cotton, though a king, according to Mr. Woodman, was but "a puppet monarch," and the cotton-growing region, both before and after the Civil War, was a colony financially dependent on an undefined entity called "the North." The evidence presented to justify this hypothesis comes from the writings of many people, some contemporary with the situation they describe and others with knowledge based on study. In almost every instance, however, these writers were either politicians with causes, ideological propagandists, or students who had accepted this interpretation before beginning their research.

Only rarely have those who described "the southern economy" seen cotton as it was: a valuable commodity that was the basis of a network of interdependent and mutually profitable relationships between the areas in which it was grown, the seaports and river or railroad towns from which it was shipped, and those places where it was purchased by manufacturers. Instead, it has been seen as the means through which "the capitalists" of "the North" (that is, New York) have exploited "the South." The banks of the cotton-growing areas have erroneously been presented as debtors of those in New York, requiring "northern capital" to sell or ship cotton.

Woodman, as indicated above, shares this view, but, unlike many who have preceded him in this field, he has examined the surviving records of hundreds of cotton planters, factors, and merchants from the early nineteenth century to the present. His research, exhaustive and exhausting though it was, concentrated on the planter and the factors or local purchasers of the crop, however. He did not study the other "retainers" in any detail, and, though he occasionally mentions cotton buyers and brokers, his interest is centered primarily on the ante bellum factorage system, its resurrection and decline after the Civil War, and the failure of the cotton farmers in their effort to gain what he calls "economic independence" in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.

He also has three chapters on banks in the cotton-growing areas, but he does not describe the real work of these institutions, which provided the credit through which the factors were able to finance and market the crop for the growers and which, by the purchase and sale of bills of exchange based on the movement of cotton from producer to ultimate consumer, provided an easy and effective means for interregional and international collections and payments. The author, unfortunately, does not understand banking, credit, or money, and, consequently, though he has given a much more adequate account of the relation between planter and factor than any previous student, he continues to believe that the reason for the relative poverty of "the cotton South" was its dependence on outside capital.

University of Oregon

THOMAS P. GOVAN

AMERICAN SCIENCE IN THE AGE OF JACKSON. By *George H. Daniels*. (New York: Columbia University Press. 1968. Pp. viii, 282. \$7.95.)

WHEN Perry Miller died leaving his *Life of the Mind in America* unfinished, the section on "Science—Theoretical and Applied" was sufficiently sketched in to make it possible to judge what it might have done for the literature. George H. Daniels' *American Science in the Age of Jackson*, although restricted to the years 1815-1845, provides a substitute for Miller's section that is a very considerable improvement. Most American historians of Miller's generation were caught in a set of unproved generalizations about American science: natural history dominated the physical sciences among American research interests; science was dominated by interest in the practical, as opposed to the merely theoretical; there was a marked absence of specialization during the first half of the century; science was still largely a pursuit of amateurs. Daniels succeeds in dethroning all these sacred cows. In their place he finds a carefully defined community of professionals, largely born and trained in America, who worked from an implicit but highly structured set of philosophical ideas that added up to a scientific orthodoxy for the time.

Daniels does a good job of describing scientific orthodoxy in detail, including its empiricism, its connection with evangelical Protestantism and Scottish common-sense philosophy, and its quest, especially by analogy, for generalizations that would organize the facts so assiduously collected by American professionals. He makes a valiant case for calling this orthodoxy "Baconianism" and for connecting it with those ideas the nineteenth century thought that Lord Bacon held. This ingenious and beautifully executed exercise leaves me with only two reservations. The people who talked most about Bacon and spun out the philosophy of Baconianism were not major members of Daniels' professional community. Indeed, Samuel Tyler did not even make Daniels' basic list of fifty-five American scientists. At the same time, at least one of the professional people considered Bacon a mere sciolist. Secondly, the choice of botanical taxonomy as the perfect Baconian science is most dubious. That George B. Emerson called A. P. De Candolle a Baconian is much less important than that De Candolle's *Théorie élémentaire de la botanique* was the one important vehicle for carrying continental ideas into the American scientific orthodoxy. Specifically, the natural system from the first contained an ambivalence about whether affinity meant resemblance of parts or genetic connection. The resolution of the ambivalence in favor of the latter principle is precisely the route by which an orthodox American became a Darwinian. But the real strength of Daniels' analysis lies in his inclusion of all the sciences, some of which did indeed follow a Baconian pattern.

This book is important in itself, and it moves scholarship in the history of American science in a constructive direction.

Center for Advanced Study in the Behavioral Sciences A. HUNTER DUPREE

INDUSTRIAL EDUCATION: AMERICAN IDEALS AND INSTITUTIONS. By *Berenice M. Fisher*. (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press. 1967. Pp. xiii, 267. \$6.50.)

ARGUMENTS about industrial education, Professor Fisher tells us, are essentially arguments concerning the role of industry in American life. And as industry has

passed through successive transformations over the past 150 years, conceptions of industrial education have changed significantly. Fisher sketches three clusters of images and ideals, each of which came to the fore at a particular stage of industrial development. The "philanthropic ideal," first enunciated during the Jacksonian era, cast industrial education as an instrument for preserving the independence of the new factory "artisan" by immersing him in culture through mechanics institutes, lyceums, and common schools. The "ideal of success," which came into its own along with the self-made man after the Civil War, conceived of industrial education as a device for group and individual mobility through the diffusion of scientific and technical knowledge. The "ideal of the skilled workman," which was closely tied to early twentieth-century concerns for efficiency, conceived of industrial education as trade training coupled with appropriate vocational guidance. These three ideals, Fisher goes on to say, have been interpreted differently in different regions of the United States, and so she follows the explicatory chapters with two case studies: one traces the development of industrial education in the South from the earliest efforts to advance southern manufactures through the massive programs of the General Education Board in the years before World War I; the other traces the development of industrial education in the Far West, focusing on southern California with its lively aircraft industry. A final chapter treats the period since the passage of the Smith-Hughes Act in 1917, stressing the persistence of the three ideals and their relevance to present-day political and educational discussion.

One need only compare the substance and sources of this treatise with those of the classic in the field, Charles Alpheus Bennett's two-volume *History of Manual and Industrial Education* (1926, 1937), to sense the freshness of Fisher's approach. What she has really done is to place the problem of industrial education in a much broader perspective, examining a number of relatively unexplored connections with other aspects of American social and economic history. The very breadth of her inquiry, however, coupled with a certain lack of precision in her terminology and style, has lent a measure of diffuseness to the discussion that one hopes will be corrected as Fisher and others pursue further work on the problem.

Columbia University

LAWRENCE A. CREMIN

REAR ADMIRAL JOHN RODGERS, 1812-1882. By *Robert Erwin Johnson*. (Annapolis, Md.: United States Naval Institute. 1967. Pp. xiv, 426. \$10.00.)

EXCEPT for the War of 1812 at one end and the Spanish-American War at the other, this book is virtually a history of the US Navy in the nineteenth century.

A naval officer register that did not include one or more members of the Rodgers family was as unthinkable as taking a ship to sea without a rudder. This John Rodgers joined the service in 1828, and, until his death fifty-four years later, he actively wore the navy blue.

Midshipman Rodgers entered a small, tightly ingrained sailing navy where his father, the commodore (also John), could readily obtain choice assignments for him. Young Rodgers went first to the Mediterranean in the USS *Constellation*, captained by his uncle. This was followed by duty in the sloop of war *Concord*,

commanded by Matthew Calbraith Perry who was related to the Rodgers clan by marriage. The apprenticeship of John Rodgers was well guided.

The Civil War offered Rodgers and other officers of his generation a chance for daring deeds and personal recognition, and his combat experience during the conflict was extensive and varied. He took part in many of the more important naval actions. With the monitor *Weehawken*, he captured the Confederate iron-clad ram *Atlanta*. Rodgers' most far-reaching strategic achievement was the purchase and outfitting of the first three Union gunboats on western waters. They were the beginning of a river force that fatally severed the Confederacy along the Mississippi.

Rodgers' long span embraced important events and revolutionary changes in the weapons of naval warfare. The Civil War was preceded by the Mexican War, and before that the Seminole Wars were fought in the forbidding Everglades. Improved technology brought steam propulsion, ironclads, rifled cannon, and steel ships.

Mr. Johnson's work is detailed and well-documented naval history. He writes "navalese" with a sailor's flair that becomes a little heavily salted at times. This book is a solid narrative account. However, it is one that is difficult to evaluate as biography.

The reader, and I suspect even the author, does not get to know John Rodgers or his influence and total impact on the navy. He never seems to be cast in the leading role. Rodgers lacks the flamboyancy of David Dixon Porter, the personal appeal of Farragut, the lasting intellectual stimulus of Mahan. Rarely do we hear his voice alone. Therein, perhaps, as an effective catalyst, lies the essence of John Rodgers.

Johnson foregoes the customary summation of his subject's attributes and contributions. In almost a final sentence he does note that the admiral's "career had encompassed so much of the Navy's history." To this one can only reply, "Yes, it did."

Navy Department

WILLIAM J. MORGAN

SOLDIERS ON THE SANTA FE TRAIL. By *Leo E. Oliva*. (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press. 1967. Pp. xi, 226. \$4.50.)

IN *Soldiers on the Santa Fe Trail*, Leo Oliva sets out to provide "an integrated military history of the Santa Fe Trail from the first escort in 1829 to the arrival of the railroad at Santa Fe in 1880." He has no difficulty in establishing the important role the US Army played in guarding caravans and immigrants on that historic route or in convincing the reader that the trail was also a strategic military lifeline for the Indian fighting army on the Plains and in the Southwest.

After a brief and nicely balanced summary of the familiar history of the origins and rise of the Santa Fe trade, Oliva proceeds at once to detail a thorough, accurate chronicle of the early military escorts, the troubles with such Texan raiders as the Snively and Warfield expeditions, and the march of Kearny's "Army of the West." Along with O. O. Winther and others he correctly observes that the old Santa Fe trade operated exclusively by merchants ended with the Mexican War, but that gold-rush immigrants and a new freighting trade in military

supplies pointed up the continuing importance of the trail until 1880. The Civil War period, highlighted by the Sand Creek Massacre and the Hancock campaign, marked the climax of the Indian troubles. After that the soldiers settled down to more routine tasks. The book closes with a clear description of the individual forts located on the trail and comments on the life of the soldiers stationed at these posts.

One cannot quarrel with Oliva's obvious mastery of his specific, if somewhat modest, subject, or his attractive, precise style. He has also gleaned some new sources for military history from the National Archives, although these materials confirm rather than revise our present knowledge about the trail. Still, by confining his story almost literally to the chronicle of on-the-spot military action, he weakens and limits his contribution in a number of ways. First, he must trace events the real cause of which lie outside the province of the narrative. Many California Argonauts and Pike's Peakers, for example, used the trail in the 1850's. But, since the gold rushes did not occur on the trail, they are not discussed here. Yet the gold rush and the Civil War together provoked the greatest period of Indian hostilities in the history of the route. Granted that detailed and accurate information about symptoms and aspects rather than causes can be useful, Oliva still might have mentioned the over-all strategy for the defense of overland routes or noted what role the trail played in defending the Southwest beyond Santa Fe. These broader defense and pacification concepts, which have been treated by Averam Bender, Max Heyman, Chris Emmett, and others, are largely ignored, as is the national government's policy. Military posts on the Plains were also centers for information about Indians of other than a military sort. After 1846 there must have been amateur investigators, various officers, surgeons, or soldiers who compiled information about the Plains Indians, collected data on road conditions, or even listed the local flora and fauna. These sources are, unfortunately, missing. Finally, we have little by way of comparison of the Santa Fe Trail with other routes. Since Oliva himself maintains, very correctly, that the story of the Santa Fe Trail is but part of our national history, these omissions limit the scope of an otherwise useful and readable little monograph.

Yale University

HOWARD R. LAMAR

AMERICAN REFORM: THE AMBIGUOUS LEGACY. *Daniel Walden*, Editor. Foreword and afterword by *Ralph T. Templin*. (Yellow Springs, Ohio: Ampersand Press. 1967. Pp. xii, 117. Cloth \$3.95, paper \$1.45.)

AMERICAN reformers and reform movements have been so numerous and disparate in their aims and methods that the phrase "American reform" is little more than an abstraction. We have had reforms and more reforms, looking to different ends, advocated by different individuals or groups in response to different motivations, and supported or opposed by other people for a variety of reasons, prejudices, or loyalties. Despite the difficulty of generalizing about these varied activities, books purporting to analyze the American reform tradition continue to flow from the presses. This book originally appeared as the autumn 1967 issue of *The Journal of Human Relations*. It contains a foreword and after-

word by Ralph Templin, editor of *The Journal of Human Relations*, an introduction by Daniel Walden, editor of the special issue, and eight essays dealing with selected aspects of American literature and politics from the 1830's to the 1960's. The contributors teach in the departments of history, English, and American thought and language at Rutgers, Wayne State, Pennsylvania State, and Michigan State Universities, and several other institutions. The work is poorly edited and seems not to have been proofread. The editorial errors are so numerous and glaring that they distract the reader's attention from the book's content.

The essays are a random collection linked only by the New Left-New Negro point of view shared by the editors and some of the contributors. The articles, however, are not substantial enough to constitute a demonstration of New Left scholarship. They may be written from a new point of view, but they offer no fresh insights. The ones I found most interesting are by Marvin Gettleman, Fred Greenbaum, and Warren Sussman. Gettleman's "Liberal Reform and United States Foreign Policy" has a provocative and important subject. The article starts out well, but turns into a polemic in which the author asserts rather than proves his points and cites his own works as authority. Greenbaum's "The Anti-Lynching Bill of 1935," the most informative essay in the collection, is not definitive, but should prove helpful to other scholars. Similarly, although Sussman's "The Persistence of American Reform" leaves some questions unanswered and others unasked, it is a thoughtful and succinct characterization of several patterns of American reform.

Ohio State University

ROBERT H. BREMNER

THE BURDEN OF RACE: A DOCUMENTARY HISTORY OF NEGRO-WHITE RELATIONS IN AMERICA. By *Gilbert Osofsky*. (New York: Harper and Row. 1967. Pp. xvi, 654. \$7.95.)

LIKE flotsam from the current storm of race relations, publishers are tossing up reprints of dubious pertinence, superficial surveys of Negro history, catchpenny nonbooks, warmed-over rejected manuscripts of the previous decade, and pastepot documentaries by the dozen. Almost by nature documentaries are composed of shreds and patches, and this book is far from seamless. Yet, as its editor's "personal and selective vision of some of the most significant ideas that explain America's racial past," it merits serious attention from historians and others interested in the historical background of our present racial concerns.

Professor Osofsky achieves timeliness and pertinence in two ways. He groups his documents around what he calls "significant ideas," such as civil rights, white and Negro racial ideologies, Negro nationalism, urbanization, and recurrent debate between Negro militants and conservatives. And his sharply interpretive headnotes are not only empathetic to the Negro freedom movement but also conversant with the latest scholarship on Negro affairs.

Balance is maintained between themes, between records of thought and of action, between whites and blacks, between public documents and private testaments. The standard federal documents such as the Plessy and Brown decisions and the civil rights acts are included to register the tides of race relations, but

the emotional timbre of racial attitudes also comes through in such vivid statements as William Wells Brown's choosing of a name, a white racist's and a Black Muslim's accounts of creation, and letters of sit-in students from jail. The final selection, a speech of Stokely Carmichael, will surprise readers who have heard only one or two sentences at a time on television.

Despite the editor's skillful transitions and the nuggets of scholarly interpretation in the notes, the book is a little too episodic or jerky to stand alone as a history of race relations. There are also some imbalances of selection. Two-thirds of the book is devoted to the twentieth century and one-third to the period since 1945. Though this no doubt provides a more usable past for the present-minded, it also limits the book's value for the student of slavery or of antislavery. Osofsky has a perfect right to his judgment of what is more meaningful, but the reader must anticipate such glaring omissions as those documents of the 1880's that might either attack or confirm the Woodward thesis concerning that decade of racial indecision before the "final solution" approach of the 1890's. Slavery is treated statically, whereas it evolved considerably over two centuries. There is a certain lack of subtlety in dealing with shades of race relations short of confrontation, and southern rural race relations are presented mostly in terms of struggle and flight.

Both the selections and the notes reflect the hardheaded reappraisal of white shams and pretenses, which also characterizes the current mood of the civil rights movement. In so doing, the book becomes an interesting document of its time.

University of Maryland

LOUIS R. HARLAN

THOSE EXTRAORDINARY BLACKWELLS: THE STORY OF A JOURNEY TO A BETTER WORLD. By *Elinor Rice Hays*. (New York: Harcourt, Brace and World. 1967. Pp. xviii, 349. \$6.95.)

THE Blackwells were certainly an extraordinary family. Mama and Papa Blackwell emigrated from England in 1832, bringing their eight children, of whom the oldest was sixteen. Their ninth child, George Washington, was born shortly after their arrival. Elizabeth grew up to become the first accredited woman doctor; Emily also became a doctor; Henry, a lifelong reformer, married the feminist Lucy Stone; Samuel was the husband of Antoinette Brown, the first woman ordained a minister in the United States; Anna was a writer, Ellen an artist and writer; only Howard, Marian, and George achieved no fame. A joint biography of Elizabeth and Emily has long been needed; whether the addition of the other seven could result in a successful family biography is questionable.

One standard by which a biography must be judged is the degree to which the subject "comes alive." By this criterion Mrs. Hays's book fails. Perhaps any attempt in three hundred pages to bring to life nine individuals, eight of whom receive almost equal attention, is doomed to failure. Many chapters consist of one- or two-paragraph catalogues of the travels, housekeeping details, visits, and business transactions of each Blackwell in turn. To be significant, such personal data should enhance that which justifies the biography in the first place, yet in this book the trivia are recorded seemingly because the author had them in her notes. Motives and ideas receive far less space.

Another criterion of good biography is whether it illuminates the mutual impact of the individual and his society. Here too the work falls short, and with less excuse. Occasional paragraphs on the historical setting in Europe and the United States are on the level of history textbooks, of which seven are listed in the bibliography. In their place one would have preferred to find several works not there, such as Eleanor Flexner's *Century of Struggle*, Alma Lutz's biographies of Elizabeth Cady Stanton and Susan B. Anthony, Gilbert H. Barnes's *Anti-slavery Impulse*, and Arthur Mann's *Yankee Reformers in the Urban Age*. The book was evidently intended for the general reader; its usefulness to the scholar is further limited by the failure of the endnotes to show locations of manuscript letters, while the bibliography's list of libraries does not indicate which manuscript collections the author consulted.

This volume, then, is a good starting chronology and factual catalogue for the still-needed biography of the Drs. Blackwell.

Sir George Williams University

AILEEN S. KRADITOR

NORWEGIAN-AMERICAN STUDIES. Volume XXIII. (Northfield, Minn.: Norwegian-American Historical Association. 1967. Pp. 256. \$4.00.)

SEVERAL contributions in this mixed collection of essays are translated from Norwegian originals. One, for example, sketches the life of Knud Knudsen and then prints the fairly typical America letter he wrote to his home newspaper in 1839, which describes his passage. When he finished the letter in Detroit on his way westward, he could already declare: "We have everything we had longed for, and are convinced that we will find what we are looking for." Clarence Clausen translates six letters home from the Gasmann brothers: ebullient Hans, who acquired 1,160 acres of Wisconsin farmland for his thirteen children and who vigorously confirmed the propaganda Johan Reiersen was writing about America and condemned the derogations of Pastor Dietrichson; and staid Johan Gasmann, a former sea captain who was only moderately successful in Wisconsin after he migrated at the age of fifty, was depressed by the Civil War and the skulduggery of politicians, and, after twenty years, still yearned for the mountains of Norway. Letters from youthful Knute Nelson at the Mississippi front in the Civil War vividly foreshadowed the energy and civic responsibility of the later public man.

Two papers bring out the significance of the Lutheran Church in immigrant experience. Eugene Fevold, professor of church history, minimizes the importance of religion as a cause of emigration, but quite rightly maximizes the role of the Church for the immigrant in America. Nina Draxten, who is preparing a book on the eleven years of Kristofer Janson in America, portrays in a second article (the first appears in Volume XXII) the tensions produced by the eloquent Unitarian's invasion of the Lutheran stronghold in the Minneapolis-St. Paul area in 1881-1882.

In two articles on well-known literary figures, Marc Ratner traces the developing thought of "The Romantic Spencerian," Hjalmar Hjorth Boyesen, and Arlow Andersen carefully interprets Knut Hamsun's disillusionment in America. Hamsun's intemperate attack on American culture in *Fra det moderne Amerikas aandsliv* (1889) was the response of a sensitive and angry young man to dis-

appointment; it was later regretted by the author and never appeared in English.

The volume includes a bibliography of Norsk-Americana published chiefly in 1964 and 1965 and a four-page listing of accessions to the association's archives. Carlton Qualey, as editor, maintains the standards of scholarship that have given Norwegians the best-recorded history of any national group in the United States; with this twenty-third volume of *Studies* and twenty-five other books, the Norwegian-American Historical Association is well on the way to producing a "five-foot shelf" all its own.

Northwestern University

FRANKLIN D. SCOTT

HOUSES OF BOSTON'S BACK BAY: AN ARCHITECTURAL HISTORY, 1840-1917. By *Bainbridge Bunting*. (Cambridge, Mass.: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press. 1967. Pp. xvii, 494. \$12.50.)

ANY inference drawn from the title of Professor Bunting's book that its major insights relate to local domestic architecture would be unfortunate. Its impact will be felt most in the field of urban history, to which the book offers a fresh approach. That the approach is so rewarding here may derive partly from the special circumstances attending the area's development.

The Back Bay's houses were constructed on new land, filled in and opened to building at intervals between 1857 and 1890, comprising a defined area along the estuary of the Charles from the recently opened Public Garden to the streams and flats out of which Olmsted's Fenway would be developed. As befitted an important civic improvement, the basically uniform lots were laid out on wide, straight, tree-lined streets, designated for residential use, and planned by a single designer, Arthur Gilman. Comprehensive building restrictions were a part of all deeds issued. In orderly progression between 1860 and 1900, principally on the three thoroughfares closest to the river and on the eight streets that divided their length, over thirteen hundred houses and apartments were built. The block-by-block development, largely by individual owner-occupants who were of a class that valued the unostentatious, produced a homogeneous ensemble in which the individual buildings yield interest to the urban area that was created. If the dedication of the area largely to the residential use of a narrowly diverse social and economic group limits the significance of the planned development, the fact that it occurred at a time when, in most American cities, individual initiative was generally uncontrolled and in a city that was then exerting its strongest influence on the national life confers upon the district's history considerably more than local importance.

The study, appropriately, has been conceived to give ample place to the effects of the introduction of machine production, mechanical equipment, and electricity, to measure shifts in the availability of materials, wage scales, servant supply, and public taste, and to delineate the characteristics of the late nineteenth-century American town house in its several styles and phases. The conclusions are soundly based on detailed examination of the houses themselves and on careful exploitation of municipal records. The 250 illustrations are clear, of good size, and placed close to the relevant text. The well-designed appendixes provide the construction date, the original owner's name and length of ownership, and the

architect where known (fifty-two are named), for each of the buildings in the area. Excellence also characterizes other elements of the physical book.

The inclusion of material beyond the limits of the study and adequately treated elsewhere ("Topographical Development of Boston: 1790-1965," for example), extensive recapitulation at chapter openings, and considerable iteration in details make the text somewhat longer than was needed. Certain leading ideas seem overstated. One such is the influence of Baron Haussmann's boulevards on the plan for the Back Bay's streets. Despite the wide corridors Gilman provided, the system owes as much to the gridiron plan used in countless American cities as to the new Paris. Similarly, despite the mansard roofs and the academic detailing of the façades, the influence of contemporary French architecture in Boston may not have been of the importance suggested. These or other reservations do not impair the usefulness of this original study.

The Adams Papers

MARC FRIEDLAENDER

ORIGINS OF THE WAR WITH MEXICO: THE POLK-STOCKTON INTRIGUE. By *Glenn W. Price*. (Austin: University of Texas Press. 1967. Pp. x, 189. \$5.00.)

MUCH of Mr. Price's book reviews the evidence for regarding the Mexican War as a war of territorial aggression and asks why the main body of scholarly opinion, especially textbooks, has been so skittish about announcing forthrightly the conclusions to which this evidence points. While Americans have been at least as warlike as other peoples, the author tellingly reminds us, they have felt more constrained than other warlike peoples to develop an ideology and a rhetoric proclaiming their peculiarly peaceful disposition.

The book's contribution to historical knowledge rests on its analysis of a single incident: the effort by American agents to persuade President Anson Jones of Texas, on the eve of annexation, to provoke hostilities with Mexico. Price seeks to substantiate Jones's belief that these agents were acting on the instructions of President Polk and that Polk wished to annex a war along with the Lone Star State.

Unquestionably the American agents, navy Captain Robert F. Stockton and Charles A. Wickliffe, together with a group of Texans who had long agitated for a Texan offensive on the Rio Grande frontier, sought to persuade Jones to authorize a Texan military expedition. The only direct evidence of Polk's complicity is Jones's report that a spokesman for Stockton said that the scheme was approved by the American President, plus Jones's assertion that he later received some unspecified corroboration of the fact from the Texan representative in Washington.

Beyond these statements by Jones, the argument for Polk's involvement rests on a series of strained interpretations of various facts. It is contended, for example, that Stockton would not have reported to Secretary of the Navy Bancroft his intention to support the scheme with his private fortune unless he had previously been authorized to take such action. According to Price, Bancroft's instant response—ordering Stockton to avoid any act that might be construed as unfriendly to Mexico—was designed not to be obeyed but to be used later in ex-

culpating the administration from responsibility for the affair. Where the Polk administration instructed its official diplomatic representative in Texas, Polk's old friend Andrew Jackson Donelson, to encourage the Texans to resist an actual Mexican invasion but to discourage them from initiating hostilities, these instructions are viewed as meaning the opposite of what they said. Where Donelson helped President Jones block the Stockton-Wickliffe project, it is argued that he had deliberately been kept uninformed about the scheme so that the United States could deny responsibility for it. These are some of the major arguments for Polk's complicity.

If these strained interpretations are to be credited, some evidence that the author has ignored must be explained. For example, Wickliffe wrote to Secretary of State Buchanan outlining the scheme and asking that Polk consider it and inform Donelson whether he favored or opposed it. More important, the scheme was inconsistent with the efforts of the Polk administration to reopen diplomatic relations with Mexico.

My disagreement with Price has to do, not with the objectives and general tenor of Polk's Mexican policy, but with the tactics he was pursuing at this particular time. His tactics, as I have argued in a book that appeared too late for Price to consider, were: to insist on the unfounded Rio Grande boundary claim; to rush American troops into the disputed border area as soon as annexation was formally accepted by Texas; and to use this military threat and the claims question to coerce the Mexicans into a diplomatic surrender of the territory Polk coveted—California, above all. The role of his unofficial agents was to assure the Texans that the United States would uphold their claim to the Rio Grande and, in this and other ways, to hasten their acceptance of annexation.

Stockton's machinations are best explained by his notorious independence and impetuosity, by his acquaintance both with Polk's general designs on Mexico and with his unscrupulousness, and by his susceptibility to those Texans who had repeatedly hatched militaristic adventures against Mexico and who were the most rabid supporters of annexation. Stockton faithfully reflected the spirit of Polk's Mexican policy. But Polk differed from his agent in more astutely recognizing the danger of an adverse public reaction at home and the possibility of achieving his ends by pressures short of military assault. Of course, when the tactics of peaceful coercion failed, Polk did not hesitate to resort to the alternative of military assault. But that was a full year later; and even then he contrived, in good American presidential fashion, to make the assaulters appear the assaulted.

University of California, Berkeley

CHARLES SELLERS

JOHN O. MEUSEBACH: GERMAN COLONIZER IN TEXAS. By *Irene Marschall King*. (Austin: University of Texas Press. 1967. Pp. xii, 192. \$5.00.)

INFECTED by French liberalism, Baron Carl Hartwig Gregor von Meusebach and his sons, Charles and Otfried Hans Freiherr von Meusebach, were disillusioned by the repressive atmosphere that prevailed in the German states following the Napoleonic Wars. After his admission to the bar in 1836, young Otfried served in several municipal administrations in a futile effort to arouse them from their political doldrums. Gravely concerned about the renewal of the Carlsbad Decrees

and the restrictions on liberty supported by Prince Metternich, he began reading more and more about the American states. This book is the story of this young aristocrat's personal quest for freedom and his efforts to help five thousand of his countrymen find new homes in Texas.

In 1845 Otfried joined the Society for the Protection of German Immigrants, which had been founded by a group of German nobles three years earlier, and he accepted the position of commissioner-general to handle its affairs in Texas. When he arrived, as simply John O. Meusebach, he was appalled at the condition of the colonists sent by the society without proper supplies or money.

With the family motto "Perseverance in Purpose" firmly embedded in his character, Meusebach managed to transport, feed, and maintain the German settlers at New Braunfels and to found a new settlement at Fredericksburg. He negotiated successfully with the Comanche chiefs for the right to bring colonists onto the society's Llano lands, establishing several more communities. After two years of caring for settlers and constantly worrying about the society's inability to understand the problems and finance the venture, he resigned his position.

After a brief trip to Germany, Meusebach returned to his adopted homeland to find that his friends and neighbors had elected him to the Texas Senate. He married into a distinguished German immigrant family, and his wife bore him eleven children. He continued to look after his property, but he spent more and more time visiting old friends until his death in 1897.

The author, granddaughter of John Meusebach, former instructor and dean of women at Baylor University, and dean of women at West Chester State College in Pennsylvania, used the archives in Europe as well as in the United States; she has also used family files extensively. The book contains no criticism of Meusebach. Perhaps quite naturally, the author tends to justify his actions against all critics. She does, however, present a scholarly, fascinating story that makes the reader wonder how Meusebach would overcome his many obstacles. We see German colonization through the experiences of an able, cultivated man whose search for personal liberty and whose perseverance enabled many people to find new homes on our frontier. It is quite fitting that his tombstone carries the inscription: *Tenax Propositi—Texas Forever.*

University of Texas, Austin

JIM B. PEARSON

CALIFORNIA RANCHOS AND FARMS, 1846-1862: INCLUDING THE LETTERS OF JOHN QUINCY ADAMS WARREN OF 1861, BEING LARGELY DEVOTED TO LIVESTOCK, WHEAT FARMING, FRUIT RAISING, AND THE WINE INDUSTRY. Edited with an extended introduction by *Paul W. Gates*. (Madison: State Historical Society of Wisconsin. 1967. Pp. xx, 232. \$9.00.)

A BRIEF introduction of some ten pages, an "extended introduction" of five chapters and more than eighty pages, plus comprehensive as well as copious footnotes, and, finally, a series of special notes embodied in an appendix at the end of the volume provide the scholarly setting for the letters of John Quincy Adams Warren, which were written while on a tour of California in 1861. More important, the substantive information contained in the notes and the bibliographic citations

more than validate the high esteem in which the editor of the volume, one of the high-ranking scholars in the fields of agricultural and public lands history, is held by the historical profession.

In addition to delineating the essential setting for the Warren letters, the extended introduction provides a brief history of California agriculture prior to 1862. The work begins with a discussion of the Mexican land grants, and succeeding chapters deal with livestock farming, grain farming, fruits and wine, and irrigation. It should not be surprising that such topics interested Warren as he traveled through the countryside, south to Los Angeles and north to the Sacramento Valley. Curiously enough, the two letters that focus on particular topics instead of geographic areas, agricultural fairs in one case and wool growing in another, are neglected in the extended introduction.

It is the editor's reasoned judgment that the Warren letters "provide an insight into farming in California that excels any other contemporary account." These letters originally appeared in the *American Stock Journal*, of which none of the known files containing the Warren letters exist on the West Coast; Gates has made them readily available to scholars in that area. He makes clear his editorial procedures including corrections of obvious errors in spelling and his checking of data when the sources noted by Warren are still available. In doing this, no errors were found.

In addition to the hallmarks of meticulous scholarship and the wealth of information that characterize an impressive bibliography of books, monographs, and articles, another indication of Gates's approach to the history of the public lands is not entirely absent: speculators, large-scale landowners, rings, and land-grabbers receive at least occasional mention. More importantly, at least two somewhat different, but quite significant impressions result from reading the introduction and the letters. The first of these concerns the replacement of mining by agriculture as the dominant economic activity of California before two decades of statehood had elapsed. The second undercuts any survival of the notions that "long-drives" of livestock originated in the late 1860's and that native cattle, whether Texas longhorns or California scrubs, monopolized the interests, the energies, and the funds of men involved in the livestock industry. The record of importation of purebred and high-grade livestock into California from eastern farms is impressive and convincing. A helpful index and some pictures enhance the value of the volume for general readers, as well as researchers. A map indicating exact locations visited by Warren would assist users of the book who are unfamiliar with California geography.

University of Kansas

GEORGE L. ANDERSON

THE JOURNAL OF PRINCE ALEXANDER LIHOLIHO: THE VOYAGES MADE TO THE UNITED STATES, ENGLAND AND FRANCE IN 1849-1850. Edited by *Jacob Adler*. (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press for the Hawaiian Historical Society. 1967. Pp. xxix, 155. \$8.00.)

WITH rank of "Special Commissioner and Plenipotentiary Extraordinary," Dr. Gerrit P. Judd was sent to seek equitable treaties for Hawaii with Western Powers and redress of grievances from France. The trip lasted from September 11,

1849, to September 9, 1850, and he visited San Francisco, Panama, New York, Washington, London, and Paris and then returned. Judd secured treaties with the United States and Britain, but accomplished little with France. He was accompanied by two nephews of King Kamehameha III: fifteen-year-old Alexander Liholiho, later Kamehameha IV (1854-1863) and eighteen-year-old Lot Kamehameha, later Kamehameha V (1863-1872). Both boys were restive and subject to moral lapses involving, among other things, women and liquor. Judd used them, nevertheless, as examples of Hawaiian culture and civilization, and he had each keep a journal of the trip.

The swarthy Hawaiian princes were received everywhere with respect, and even enthusiasm, save by a few Americans. In France, the American minister, William C. Rives (from Virginia), offered Alexander "two fingers" as a handshake. In America the Princes had brushes with a dining hall steward and a railroad conductor. This was not unusual in mid-century America, but the Princes appear to have been anticipating discrimination and promptly ascribed the treatment they received to the color of their skin. Too much has been made of these incidents in attempting to trace the reasons for the anti-American and pro-British attitude of the later rulers.

Alexander's journal shows that both boys were quite mature and had an eye for beautiful women. But under Judd's close supervision there were few "indiscretions" mentioned although the boys complained of being "confined to quarters." The volume contributes little to our knowledge of things Hawaiian. There is corroborative detail about gold-rush San Francisco and the trip to the East via Panama, but nothing really new. Much of the journal discusses Paris, but it is often tedious reading. The Princes took little part in the diplomatic negotiations, but, where Alexander does comment, there is need for more background than the editor furnishes. The introduction often duplicates the notes in which there are strange omissions and a failure to recognize important personages. While it is regrettable that the notes do not accompany the text, the index is very full.

University of Hawaii

CHARLES H. HUNTER

THE DIARIES OF PETER DECKER: OVERLAND TO CALIFORNIA IN 1849 AND LIFE IN THE MINES, 1850-1851. Edited by *Helen S. Giffen*. (Georgetown, Calif.: Talisman Press. 1966. Pp. 338. \$10.00.)

PETER Decker's diaries are among the most informative of countless extant documents logging the overland trek to and the description of life at the California gold fields. These diaries have often been consulted in manuscript form at the Society of California Pioneers, where the originals are deposited. They will, henceforth, enjoy much more extended and well-deserved use in their present printed form. Their claims to pre-eminence among "overlands" are many. Peter Decker, an Ohioan, was literate, sober, tersely informative, and unpretentious. His entries en route were made daily with few if any exceptions, and although there were gaps in his diary kept while at the diggings, this latter portion of his record is an added informational dividend. To be sure, Decker was as lacking in imagination as he was indifferent to much of the human drama constantly being

staged in his presence. The essential richness of his record is its lavish spread of information and commentary on all segments of the great gold-rush saga: organization of a company; departure from his home in Columbus, Ohio; the rendezvous near St. Joseph; the central overland experiences with teaming; river crossings; Indians; traders; the elements of nature; and, lastly, life at Sacramento and the Yuba River mines, with an exact record of amounts of gold obtained from each day's work at the diggings.

The overland company with which Decker traveled was called the Columbus California Industrial Association. Twenty-eight men comprised the group, which traveled in light wagons drawn by mules. All livestock, gear, and supplies were transported from Cincinnati to St. Joseph by river steamer. The overland trek began April 30, 1849, and it followed the well-established California-Oregon Trail to Fort Hall near which place the party took the Humboldt fork leading directly across the Sierra to Sacramento. The trip was successfully completed in exactly one hundred days. Even though Decker and his companions worked the Yuba diggings with considerable success, Decker soon discovered that, with prudent management, more profits could be made as merchant and banker than as a panner of gold, with much less toil. Decker ended his days as a respectable and affluent businessman whose address was San Francisco's Palace Hotel.

The editing, along with an ably written introduction, is the work of Helen S. Giffen, the society's librarian. Decker was himself a member of the society, which was founded in 1850.

Indiana University

OSCAR OSBURN WINTHER

THE FRAGMENTED METROPOLIS: LOS ANGELES, 1850-1930. By Robert M. Fogelson. [Publication of the Joint Center for Urban Studies of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology and Harvard University.] (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press. 1967. Pp. xv, 362. \$11.95.)

THAT mass of settlement between Boston and Washington recently identified by eastern scholars as a special and novel American urban environment might as aptly have been observed to be Los Angeles with a few old core cities scattered through its matrix. In urban studies it has long been clear that if we are to understand twentieth-century America we must learn the history of Los Angeles. Until now, however, no full account has been available. Fogelson's scholarly work at last makes it possible to place Los Angeles with some confidence in the framework of American urban history.

Fogelson offers a complete narrative of the transformations of the Los Angeles municipality from the admission of California to the Great Depression, covering such events as the arrival of the Yankees, the railroad competition with San Diego, the establishment of boss rule, the conflict between public and private utilities, and the major charter revisions that created the modern bureaucratic rule of the city. He gives a careful account of the post-1880 waves of migration to the city and does some intelligent guessing about this demographic contribution to the city's uniqueness. Next he surveys street railway and water supply history to tell of their powerful impact on the city's physical form. Fogelson proves that a combination of streetcar lines and subdivision practices of the 1890-1920 era created

the characteristic Los Angeles form. The automobile only continued this inheritance. His section on the commercial and industrial history of the city is more a review of promotion campaigns and the harbor projects than an exploration of the special qualities of this twentieth-century American industrial metropolis. The care and documentation that characterize Fogelson's presentation of this basic narrative make the book an excellent addition to the small but growing shelf of serious urban historical studies.

The major shortcoming of the book lies in the unsuitability of the historical materials to Fogelson's theme of Los Angeles as a fragmented metropolis. His theme runs as follows. Because the citizens of Los Angeles were unable to work out a democratic community that would include all citizens, of whatever class or race, and because they were unable to work out a structure for planning that could manage the development of the metropolis, the city soon ceased to be the small-town paradise Fogelson says Angelenos were seeking and became instead a conflict-ridden society of unhappy people who retired into suburban privatism where they "turned towards themselves and away from society, abdicated responsibility and accepted fragmentation." The chapter on "The Quest for Community" simply does not have the evidence to support this thesis, while the real estate, municipal government, utilities, and political evidence of the rest of the book does not lend itself to this categorization.

What Fogelson has done, without explaining it to the reader, is to measure the development of the city from 1850 to 1930 according to some of the planning standards fashionable today. For example, the Angelenos are chided for abandoning their transit system and thereby ending their chance for a single, large, central downtown. Some current planning doctrine, but by no means all, says a downtown is essential if a metropolis is to be a "community." Or Fogelson points out that subdivisions were managed so that there were few or no parks, so that grid streets ran without concern for the possibilities of the landscape, so that shopping strips straggled along the main arteries instead of being clustered. I sympathize with such criticism. Surely in urban history it is useful to employ the past as a testing ground for current planning ideas. To conduct such historical operations successfully, nevertheless, the historian must make a careful assessment of the potentials of the past and then try to guess what the alternative choices might have produced before rendering his final judgment.

Consider the transit issue. Fogelson says that the abandonment of the transit lines by the municipality was a "disaster." During the twenties and thirties some American cities pushed transit development, and some did not; yet subsequently all American cities have followed the Los Angeles pattern of development to a marked degree. Privatism and irresponsibility of the citizenry are as rampant in transit cities like New York and Philadelphia as in Santa Monica, which has no transit system. Therefore one doubts whether transit is a powerful determinant of community. Similarly, if the "City Beautiful" plans for boulevards had been carried through in the twenties, would the scenic articulation resulting therefrom have saved Los Angeles from fragmentation?

Such subjects perhaps can be investigated historically, but Fogelson's narrative does not support his judgments in this realm. Instead I recommend that the reader find here in the conventional subjects of urban history carefully researched

evidence that will enable him to understand the sequence of development in our most important new city. He will as well find such a reliable report that he may confidently make comparisons of his own with other cities whose history he knows.

University of Michigan

SAM BASS WARNER, JR.

THE EQUITABLE LIFE ASSURANCE SOCIETY OF THE UNITED STATES, 1859-1964. In two volumes. By R. Carlyle Buley. (New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts. 1967. Pp. xxviii, 699; xi, 701-1475. \$35.00 the set.)

R. CARLYLE Buley is the dean of insurance historians. His monumental *The American Life Convention: A Study in the History of Life Insurance* set new standards in the field when published twenty years ago. His present work shows many of the strengths of that pioneering effort. It is encyclopedic, clearly written, and offers valuable insight into the operation and philosophy of a major insurance company. On the other hand, these two volumes also suffer from several difficulties that have marred many company histories written in the last two decades.

First of all, Buley is unsure of his audience (although the size and price of the work indicate that it will have a large internal distribution at the Equitable). His first two hundred pages contain an excellent account of the insurance industry in the nineteenth century, but most of this will be familiar to historians and is rather basic. For the rest of the first volume, the author alternates simple and somewhat naïve sections, in which he places Equitable in the context of the industry and the times, with informative pages on the internal growth and development of the firm. His chapters on the Armstrong investigations at the turn of the century and the fascinating career of James Hazen Hyde, the playboy president, are well done, but contain little that is new. Then, after a fine chapter on Equitable's World War I operations, Buley begins to concentrate his attention once again on internal operations. The last two hundred pages are almost exclusively devoted to office politics, policies, and program development.

In short, this is not one, but three, books. The author has written a history of American insurance for initiates and has drawn upon his earlier work for much of the information here. He has also shown the development of a major insurance company and how it met challenges along the way. Finally, he has written a book that will appeal to and interest those presently employed by the company, as well as their competitors in other insurance firms. This comprehensive study follows a brief, earlier work, *The Equitable Life Assurance Society of the United States, 1859-1959*, published in honor of the centennial of the company (*AHR*, LXV [July 1960], 995).

Each part of this work necessarily has a different audience. One would recommend the first to initiates in business history, not only as a guide to the subject, but also as an example of how it can be made interesting to the lay reader. In this respect Buley's book resembles the several company histories written by men like Marquis James. The second book should be required reading for business historians; it would go far in advancing their knowledge of developments in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. The last would be important for the

Equitable family, who helped in its preparation and to whom the work is dedicated.

I am tempted to suggest that graduate students read Chapters I-II and VII-VIII, while professional business and economic historians overlook these and concentrate on Chapters IV-VI and IX-XI. Chapters XII and XIII on Equitable today, are apparently for the people at Equitable and might well be reproduced as a brochure for internal distribution. On the other hand, such readings would not give a full picture of the firm, so that perhaps each of the three groups should be prepared to overcome familiar, uninteresting, or arcane material in order to mine the valuable nuggets in these volumes.

New College, Hofstra University

ROBERT SOBEL

ROCKY MOUNTAIN MINING CAMPS: THE URBAN FRONTIER. By Duane A. Smith. (Bloomington: Indiana University Press. 1967. Pp. xii, 304. \$6.95.)

THE MINING FRONTIER: CONTEMPORARY ACCOUNTS FROM THE AMERICAN WEST IN THE NINETEENTH CENTURY. Collected and edited by Marvin Lewis. (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press. 1967. Pp. xxii, 231. \$4.95.)

THESE two books represent a departure from the stereotyped study of the mining camp in the West. In *Rocky Mountain Mining Camps*, Professor Duane Smith describes the growth cycle that characterized mining towns from Arizona to Montana during 1859-1890, emphasizing the positive, constructive aspects of town life, and purposely avoiding the colorful, the interesting, the unique. In *The Mining Frontier*, Martin Lewis narrows his focus to the frontier journalist, presenting a scrapbook of fifty-six items, mostly newspaper articles, that illustrate the vigor, humor, and pathos of mining life. Although both works mirror familiar information, they reflect a healthy trend toward portraying the mining West in a more realistic light.

For his study, Smith drew on primary and secondary materials concerning eight mining towns in the Rocky Mountain West, with special reference to Colorado and Montana. In eleven of fifteen chapters, he discusses the camp as an extension of the urban frontier, the mining population, district organization, boom conditions, local problems, and community leadership. Concluding chapters touch on working conditions, amusements, and the demise of the town. Chapters IX and XII are particularly interesting. Chapter IX describes the rise of town government, the influence of the council, taxation and ordinances, and the striving for order and decency. Chapter XII generalizes on the high living costs, health problems, and unemployment.

Perhaps because of the general nature of the book there is an occasional feeling of repetition in the discussion, which in places becomes extremely prosaic and dull. The statement that the mining camp, unlike the cattle town, has failed to catch the public fancy is questionable, considering the pile of books written on Tombstone, Arizona, where farmers, cowmen, and miners all rubbed elbows. In the bibliography no reference is made to Earl Pomeroy's stimulating article on the mining West, or to the San Francisco *Mining and Scientific Press*, one of the

basic sources on the mining frontier. Finally, the index is to subjects, rather than proper names. On the other hand, sixteen illustrations and a map enhance the book. In his study, Smith has pointed out a much-neglected aspect of western history; others will, it is hoped, mine the vein with even greater diligence.

Following a well-written, perceptive introduction, Lewis divides his book into three parts: "Placer Mining"; "Hard Rock Mining"; and "Comstock Mining." Within each part are about twenty articles, including poems and songs, portraying the varied sides of camp life in the Rocky Mountains and the Far West. These articles were published in early-day San Francisco newspapers, in the *Lake City Mining Register* (Colorado), in the *Virginia City Territorial Enterprise* (Nevada), and in a dozen other newspapers and journals. The continuity and the reading are often uneven, and the stories vary in quality. A delightful complement to the book are the illustrations depicting the "Miners Ten Commandments." There also is an index. Although promising much, this book presents little in the way of new material about the mining West.

University of Arizona

HARWOOD P. HINTON

THE AMERICAN WEST: A REORIENTATION. Edited by *Gene M. Gressley*. [University of Wyoming Publications, Volume XXXII.] ([Laramie: University of Wyoming Press.] 1966. Pp. xiv, 172. \$5.00.)

The American West consists of six essays and a preface of fairly uniform merit. Contributions, other than that by the editor, include: "California Oil Boom of the 1860's: The Ordeal of Benjamin Silliman, Jr.," by Gerald White; "The Horn Silver Bonanza," by Leonard J. Arrington and Wayne K. Hinton; "The Western Irrigation Movement 1878-1902: A Reappraisal," by William Lilley II and Lewis L. Gould; "Government Enterprise in the West: The San Francisco Harbor, 1863-1963," by Gerald Nash; "Railroads in Western History: The View from the Union Pacific," by Wallace Farnham; and "Senator Burton K. Wheeler and Insurgency in the 1920's," by Richard T. Ruetten. Each contribution increases our knowledge of western history and, where possible, links eastern and western institutions. Nash's skillful essay on municipal and state efforts to develop the San Francisco harbor is particularly fresh and imaginative, and Farnham's assertion for the need of more perceptive research on western railroads is indisputable.

In this preface Gene M. Gressley explains that the essays are a partial effort to correct "the deficiencies of Western history." He notes that "Western historians have been more inclined to perpetuate legends than to search for understanding." Gressley also suggests that it would be profitable for western historians to abandon nineteenth-century themes and concentrate upon twentieth-century western history. Yet only one contributor in the volume devotes himself entirely to a twentieth-century topic. This imbalance indicates that western historians contributing to this volume are more willing to restudy the nineteenth century than to venture into the twentieth century.

University of Oklahoma

DONALD J. BERTHRONG

HISTORY OF THE SANTEE SIOUX: UNITED STATES INDIAN POLICY ON TRIAL. By Roy W. Meyer. (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press. 1967. Pp. xvi, 434. \$7.50.)

THIS book deserves to be widely imitated for Professor Meyer has given us a realistic picture of an important Indian group. Too often historians, in dealing with the relations of the American people and their government with the various Indian tribes, have overstressed the sensational and the spectacular. Meyer has successfully resisted this temptation. Although the outbreak of 1862-1863 was the central event in the history of the Santee Sioux, it does not receive undue emphasis or attention, and those events that preceded the outbreak are faithfully recorded and evaluated. The attempts of government agents to transform a tribe of nomads into a community of farmers almost overnight were foredoomed to failure as were the efforts of missionaries to force the Santee into abandoning their tribal deities and attending Christian services regularly.

The most valuable part of the book deals with the period since the outbreak. Here the author covers comparatively new ground, dealing with the exile from Minnesota, the fragmentation of the tribe into small communities, and the relationship of those communities both to the alien groups surrounding them and to the United States government.

While there has been a tremendous amount of research and, as a result, the book abounds in detail, this never interrupts the even flow of the narrative. The bibliography alone gives ample evidence of the enormous amount of research involved. The illustrations are well chosen, the maps adequate, the index full and complete. This volume can be highly commended. Perhaps more professors of English should write history.

Cheney, Washington

EDGAR I. STEWART

PATRIOTISM LIMITED, 1862-1865: THE CIVIL WAR DRAFT AND THE BOUNTY SYSTEM. By Eugene Converse Murdock. ([Kent, Ohio:] Kent State University Press. 1967. Pp. viii, 270. \$7.95.)

THIS is a study of the bounty system and desertion during the Civil War. The draft was introduced after volunteering and a system based on state efforts failed. One of the clauses of the draft law that aroused much criticism permitted providing a substitute or paying three hundred dollars to be exempted. As a result of numerous abuses the three-hundred-dollar clause was limited to conscientious objectors in 1864. As Murdock shows, the draft provided very few men; the total in New York State was 3,210, with 18,197 commuting and 13,332 furnishing substitutes. The draft also encouraged bounties for volunteers. Local governments vied with one another in paying bounties so that the draft would not affect them. This in turn led to bounty jumping: collecting the bounty, deserting, and volunteering again to collect another bounty. Often brokers would provide the men. This system also invited corruption, and many "volunteered" while drunk, drugged, or intimidated.

Murdock seems convinced that the draft did not make the war "a poor man's fight," at least in New York and Ohio. He states that "in none of the three

matters, commutation, substitutes and the actual draft is there any correlation with the wealth of the particular district." But popular opinion at the time was not convinced. The army provost marshals had the double, and almost incompatible, tasks of executing the draft and also catching spies and deserters. The enrollment officers were to visit every place of residence and copy down the name, address, and age of every male between twenty and forty-five. This task was quite difficult in the cities, and many people refused to cooperate.

Murdock seems overcritical of Governor Seymour and sees no fault in General Fry. Seymour did protest the draft quotas, particularly in New York and Brooklyn, and Lincoln consequently reduced the quotas, not "solely by the desire to appease Seymour" but because they were obviously unfair. The Republican *Tribune* spoke of the crews of ten ships that had been enrolled at a single pier. Republican Governor Fenton said New York's quota was "too well calculated to justify unfavorable criticism," and the Allen Commission report said the enrollment was imperfect and erroneous "and certainly excessive in the cities of New York and Brooklyn."

This book covers its subject well, and it may lead to further work in this almost neglected topic.

Manhattan College

BROTHER BASIL LEO LEE

BEYOND EQUALITY: LABOR AND THE RADICAL REPUBLICANS, 1862-1872. By *David Montgomery*. (New York: Alfred A. Knopf. 1967. Pp. xi, 508, xix. \$10.00.)

PROVOCATIVE but badly organized, this study attempts unsuccessfully to impose a new pattern of interpretation upon a turbulent decade by fusing labor and political history. According to the stated thesis, Republican radicalism foundered on the "submerged shoal" of class conflict created by the demands of wage earners in a period of stable costs and downward prices. The relevant evidence points to the more modest conclusion that Republicans in the postwar years differed in their attitudes toward labor and their response to labor's demands, specifically to pressure for greenback and eight-hour legislation. Any proof that such differences undermined the assumed hegemony of the Radicals from 1866 to 1868 completely eludes me. Most of the book is unrelated to the central argument, and some statements appear to contradict it.

The analysis is also delimited by questionable assumptions and a diffused focus. Accepting the status of the freedman as the central issue of Reconstruction politics, the author yet insists that the interests and influence of businessmen were root determinants of political behavior. Secondly, he assumes that the epoch's "scattered fragments"—all of its happenings—can be gathered together and synthesized into a unity of meaning. Finally, he identifies Radicals with the individualistic entrepreneur and the advocacy of "soft money" policies while defining radicalism in terms of general concepts, including "optimistic utilitarianism." This compounds the current uncertainty as to the nature of radicalism and the identity of the Radicals, a problem now under attack by quantitative techniques. Without a clear identification of "the Radical Republicans" of his title,

it is hardly possible for the author to establish their reaction to the demands of labor.

Despite a defective structure, the substance of the volume has much to offer the student of the period. The author's view of the Stalwarts as a new leadership bloc adept at the politics of accommodation, including concessions to labor, is intriguing. In dealing with the economy and with a variety of efforts to improve labor's lot, he presents many fresh explorations of familiar and unfamiliar material. Census statistics are used to show that by 1870 the United States was predominantly a nation of "hirelings." Data on ninety-six wage earning labor leaders of the 1860's have been assembled and analyzed. Those almost forgotten men prove to have been predominantly native- or British-born, not churchgoing but religious, advocates of temperance, and sons of wage earners rather than of farmers. Little-known figures in the world of labor are brought to life in a series of vignettes. The impact of the ten-hour movement on the old whaling village of New Bedford, Connecticut, becomes an intimate story of how good will between millworker and benevolent bosses turned into bitterness and frustration. This is but a sampling. The author's breadth and depth of research are attested by appendixes, footnotes, and bibliography, and stimulating ideas are prodigally scattered throughout the book.

Hunter College

LA WANDA COX

A CENTURY OF LABOR-MANAGEMENT RELATIONS AT McCORMICK AND INTERNATIONAL HARVESTER. By *Robert Ozanne*. (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press. 1967. xvii, 300, \$7.50.)

DESPITE clumsy form and heavy style, this study of industrial conflict, "welfare capitalism," and collective bargaining at the McCormick Works and the International Harvester Company from 1862 to the present is very valuable. Too much labor history ignores manuscript company records and draws largely from labor journals, newspapers, and public documents, while the inner workings of corporate labor policy remain a mystery. Robert Ozanne has written a different kind of work that draws deeply from the McCormick Collection at the State Historical Society of Wisconsin, and the yield is rich, selective, and important. No work in labor history that covers so long a period has mined so much buried in massive company archives. Ozanne shows how little is yet known about historic corporate labor practices.

A few themes will be noted. Running throughout (backed by solid evidence and sodden prose) is the convincing argument that wage increases and other improvements did not result from increased productivity, company benevolence, or changing attitudes among employers. Instead, these were responses to threatened or actual strikes, occasional displays of union power, and fear of legislative investigation. A continuous company record also allows Ozanne to test, modify, and even gently discard some widely held "theoretical" formulations by labor economists serving as historians. Here the work is most useful. The vitality and periodic success of nineteenth-century craft unions, shared by unorganized, unskilled workers, are demonstrated; the fact that this firm fought the well-organized

iron molders from 1885 to 1886 by mechanizing their work and, incidentally, raising rather than lowering unit costs is also shown. Chapters dealing with the multiplant corporation and the era of "welfare capitalism" (1900-1941) examine in devastating detail how a multiplant corporation with huge financial resources regularly repulsed collective bargaining. Early stock gifts and sickness, accident, pension, and profit-sharing programs are explored in context and in consequence. Their relationship to threatened strikes from below and public scrutiny from without is convincingly illustrated. Ozanne also shows that the Harvester Industrial Councils (Works Councils), "company unions" that lasted from the First World War until 1941, were "mercilessly manipulated by Harvester management." Ozanne does not succeed in explaining fully why industrial unionism came so late and then only after two convictions for violating the Wagner Act, substantial government pressure, and agitation from below sparked by radical CIO unions. Later chapters illuminate changes since 1941, especially the struggle between the Farm Equipment union and the UAW and recent accommodations between labor and management.

It is interesting that the book serves other than labor historians. The company records reveal conflict within the McCormick family over labor policies (even a "generational gap" between the founder's widow and her young manager-son, fresh from Princeton) and efforts, since criticized but seemingly innocent, by Gertrude Beeks, Jane Addams, Graham Taylor, and John Dewey to humanize Harvester. The mind of plant manager and executive emerges superbly from heavily quoted minutes of conferences held during the critical 1903-1904 labor troubles. Brody's and Garraty's view about the differences between resident managers and banker executives such as George Perkins of the House of Morgan are significantly qualified. Supporters of the National Civic Federation, Perkins and McCormick nevertheless bitterly fought union recognition at Harvester. Perkins emerges from these pages less glossy than in recent studies. Finally, Ozanne gives careful attention to company policy toward Negro workers.

Despite this fund of new information, the study is not without serious weaknesses. It is too closely tied to company manuscripts, and the use of other sources is too narrow. The workers and their world inside and outside the factories never come to life and are seen largely through company records. Nor is enough attention given to the ethnic dimension among the workers, for example, restricting Work Council membership to American citizens. The style is heavy throughout; the organization confused in places. There is much repetition and didactic or tendentious rhetoric, as well as occasional, jarring labor relations jargon. What a rich and talented stylist could do with a self-serving Pinkerton detective (1885) accusing Irish Chicago police of "Molly Maguire" sympathy, a firm that bans interplant football games to weaken worker solidarity and distributes free *Saturday Evening Post* and *Ladies Home Journal* subscriptions to win worker loyalty (1903), an industrial relations "expert" who checks labor absenteeism the day of Sacco and Vanzetti's execution (1927), and a Work Council that spent the summer of 1932 figuring ways to sell employees Mason jars and prevent pilferage from garden plots. Ozanne's work also lacks a comparative dimension. He wants us to believe that "the significance of the Harvester story . . . may be its representativeness." That will only be known when a fuller

record is in and manuscripts of other large corporations have been studied intensively. This work is a welcome beginning.

University of Rochester

HERBERT G. GUTMAN

THREE CARPETBAG GOVERNORS. By *Richard N. Current*. [The Walter Lynwood Fleming Lectures in Southern History, Louisiana State University.] (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press. 1967. Pp. xiii, 108. \$3.75.)

ACCORDING to the *Nation* (X [May 19, 1870], 320), the New York *World's* claim to have invented "the excellent word 'carpetbagger'" soon after Appomattox was wrong. The *Nation's* literary critic insisted that the word "carpetbagger" was four hundred years old instead of four. He had traced it back to Enguerrand De Monstrelet's fifteenth-century *Chronicles* where it appeared as *saquemain*. Whether or not the *Nation's* or the *World's* etymology is correct, it is clear that in medieval France or in Reconstruction America a carpetbagger was not a nice person. Instead, again quoting from the 1870 *Nation* column, a carpetbagger "was an adventurer from abroad, for the time being in a post of some consequence, and making the most of his opportunity by pillage. . . ."

This pejorative estimate of American carpetbaggers took form soon after Appomattox, and for close to a century it has remained the basic stereotype. Until recently, savants insisted—many still do—that the carpetbaggers were men of base characters and low purposes, fit for association only with the equally venal scalawags and the tragically credulous freedmen. If these tenacious evaluations are to be believed, unrelieved vindictiveness and self-interest motivated these white men and their dark measures.

But it appears probable that as a profession we shall overcome this traditional depiction. In company with his "Carpetbaggers Reconsidered" essay in the 1964 Frederick B. Artz *Festschrift*, Professor Current's *Three Carpetbag Governors* adds significantly to the growing literature that makes it increasingly difficult to credit this demonology. Current suggests that, like Republicans generally, carpetbaggers were too diverse for simple cataloguing. Even this trio of governors—Harrison Reed, Henry Clay Warmoth, and Adelbert Ames—ranged the Republican political spectrum from conservative to radical as men measured matters a century ago, not as we do more recently. Whatever else they were, Current's trinity were not cynical demagogues or corrupt dictators, either by mid-nineteenth-century standards or by our own.

The space allotted for this review is too brief for extended consideration of this impressive little book; the book itself is too small to be more than a suggestive introduction to its important subject. Questions more than answers crowd its pages, always the sign of useful scholarship. Current has whetted appetites again for his full study of the carpetbaggers, which, I hope, these lectures anticipate.

When it appears, I hope also that Current will re-evaluate his suggestion on page 23 that Andrew Johnson's impeachment "set the fashion" for others in southern states directed against carpetbaggers. But, as matters stand, Current's contribution to the useful revision of the entire Reconstruction experience, in

which the profession is engaged and in which he is a front-runner, now looms even larger.

Rice University

HAROLD M. HYMAN

WASHINGTON GLADDEN: PROPHET OF THE SOCIAL GOSPEL. By Jacob Henry Dorn. ([Columbus:] Ohio State University Press. 1967. Pp. x, 489. \$8.00.)

THE late Arthur M. Schlesinger, Sr., pointed out many years ago that American Christianity in the late nineteenth century faced two great challenges, that of the new science and scholarship on the one hand and of urban-industrialism on the other. The career of the Reverend Washington Gladden, who lived from 1836 until 1918, is a good vantage point from which to view the progressive response to both of these challenges. Although Gladden published his *Recollections* in 1909, he has not been the subject of a full-length biographical study until now. This book, done originally as a doctoral dissertation at the University of Oregon, admirably fills a longfelt need.

The first chapter deals briefly with Gladden's childhood in Owego, New York, and his education at Williams College in the era of Mark Hopkins. The next three chapters take his career chronologically through his early pastorates in North Adams and Springfield, Massachusetts, his work as religious editor of the *Independent*, and his ministry at the First Congregational Church of Columbus, Ohio, where he served for more than thirty years. The remaining eleven chapters are organized topically. One describes Gladden's prominent place in the national councils of Congregationalism; another covers his contributions to the movement for greater church unity. Two show his part in the development of Protestant Modernism, particularly his ready acceptance of evolutionary science and his accommodation to higher criticism of the Bible and his opposition to fundamentalism as represented by Billy Sunday. The remaining seven chapters, comprising about half of the book, detail his role as "Prophet of the Social Gospel": his interest in the labor movement, his rejection of laissez-faire economics, his protest against acceptance of a Rockefeller donation ("tainted money") by the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, his attitude toward the problems of poverty and race relations, his work for civic betterment, and his views on international affairs.

The book is based on prodigious research in original letters and sermons as well as Gladden's voluminous published writings. The relevant secondary works have been effectively utilized. The documentation is thorough, and the footnotes appear at the bottom of the page. The writing is excellent; the author has resisted what must have been a constant temptation to quote too much verbatim. The book has been attractively printed and meticulously proofread. The author has made an admirable contribution to American church history.

Pennsylvania State University

IRA V. BROWN

GOVERNMENT IN SCIENCE: THE U.S. GEOLOGICAL SURVEY, 1867-1894. By *Thomas G. Manning*. ([Lexington:] University of Kentucky Press. 1967. Pp. xiv, 257. \$7.00.)

In the late nineteenth century federal support for science materialized for two areas: agriculture and geology. This excellent monograph narrates the origins and early history of the US Geological Survey, focusing on the directorship of J. W. Powell. The survey had its origins in several post-Civil War, trans-Mississippi surveys. Founded in 1879, it achieved permanence in 1886 and flourished until Powell encountered congressional difficulties in 1892 that ultimately forced his resignation and led to a brief decline in the survey's activity. During these early years the survey undertook important investigations in economic geology, geological theory, paleontology, and topography; gave support to the growing conservation movement; and undertook a major irrigation survey of the arid West, an investigation that ultimately meant political disaster for Powell. A brief epilogue recounts the development of the survey in the twentieth century and suggests why a more detailed history in this period would not be a particularly profitable enterprise.

Much of the book is devoted to the politics of science in late nineteenth-century America. Here Manning does not substantially modify the account in Dupree's *Science in the Federal Government*, but he does provide much more detail, and the detail is both illuminating and fascinating. Most of the actors in this political drama, with the possible exception of Powell, remain shadowy individuals, but Manning is providing political analysis, not biography, and his judgments seem in all cases judicious and well supported.

Manning also surveys and appraises the scientific activities of the Geological Survey. It would take a professional geologist to tell whether the author is accurate in all details. But I was impressed by the clarity of his account and by the balance of his appraisals. Certainly most historians who read this book will be pleased to learn that the history of geology in this period can be presented so clearly and understandably. Writing a history of the scientific achievements of an organization is often a dangerous enterprise. It can produce a dull listing of disparate and unrelated scientific projects. But Manning does an excellent job of putting the survey's research into the larger context of late nineteenth-century geology. So successful was the survey in attracting excellent American geologists to its staff that the history of the Geological Survey comes close to being a history of American geology in this period.

Four other features of this book add to its excellence. The author has provided brief chapter summaries; there is a brief but judicious critical bibliography; the footnotes are at the bottom of the page; the index is exceptionally full. This is a first-rate monograph, the result of years of research, and it is written with exceptional clarity. It cannot be overlooked by anyone with any serious interest in the history of American science.

State University of New York, Albany

KENDALL BIRR

A PLACE OF LIGHT: THE HISTORY OF WAYNE STATE UNIVERSITY.
A CENTENNIAL PUBLICATION. By *Leslie L. Hanawalt*. (Detroit:
Wayne State University Press. 1968. Pp. 512. \$8.95.)

OFFICIAL accounts of American universities must be judged by increasingly rigorous standards as social and intellectual historians enrich the cultural context of our educational history. Certainly the dramatic rise of Wayne State University in Detroit merits national attention; a distinguished faculty, arresting architecture, and an experimental undergraduate college mark an institution providing one of the few civilizing influences in a brutal metropolis. Wayne University dates from the unification in 1933 of five colleges operated by the Detroit Board of Education. The oldest, the Detroit College of Medicine, founded in 1868, justifies the current centennial. The focal unit, the College of the City of Detroit, grew from a junior college created in 1917 by David Mackenzie, distinguished principal of Central High School. Backed by Detroit's school superintendents, Wayne developed into an outstanding municipal college during the 1930's. Reorganization as a state university in 1956 gave appropriate recognition to its role and promised ampler resources for the future.

This book, by a veteran of Wayne's English faculty, is unworthy of its subject. Hanawalt's research is assiduous, but his interpretation is trivial and his writing uncouth. An opening section depicts unification in 1933. Subsequent chapters trace the history of the constituent colleges from their foundation, deal with internal development during the 1930's, and, less extensively, with postwar transformations. There is important information here, particularly on the Detroit College of Medicine, but Hanawalt inadequately defines Wayne's educational significance. His models are journalistic rather than scholarly; often he writes for fellow old-timers. ("Alumni of that period will recognize in the lists below a number of the live wires.") Such lists of names and odd statistics clutter his narrative; discursive footnotes occasionally contain more important information than the text. Hanawalt's portrait of college life resembles an old-fashioned yearbook. He fails to measure the impact of the modern university on the careers of its students and, through them, on metropolitan Detroit. Wayne's leadership is more extensively portrayed, though without systematic consideration of its political and social context. Here, too, the author mingles the trivial with the significant. Instead of providing the expert editing Hanawalt vitally needed, Wayne's press has multiplied his typographical errors, substituted a photograph without altering what becomes an anachronistic caption, and consistently misnumbered pages in the list of illustrations.

University of Denver

THEODORE R. CRANE

AN EARLY VIEW OF THE LAND-GRANT COLLEGES: CONVENTION
OF FRIENDS OF AGRICULTURAL EDUCATION IN 1871. (Urbana:
University of Illinois Press for the Committee on the Centennial of the Uni-
versity of Illinois. 1967. Pp. xv, 147. \$5.50.)

IN many respects this volume is unique. Except for a brief introduction it is almost completely a verbatim transcript of a single informal, largely unstructured

conference that met in Chicago for two days in August 1871. The summons "To the Friends of Agricultural Education" had been issued by a dozen leaders of agricultural colleges and kindred institutions. The response brought together a score of representatives ranging geographically from Massachusetts to Kansas and from Mississippi to Minnesota and ranging academically from two superintendents of university farms through professors of agriculture to college presidents.

At the outset "The Convention resolved itself into a sort of experience meeting." In this "see and tell" situation lies the usefulness of the book for the historian. Individuals interested in the level of research and experimentation at the time will find the informal reports and discussions amateurish by modern standards, though presented with obvious earnestness. Other items considered by the participants were more revealing. They opposed the concept of manual labor institutions, and where student labor might be required, it was to be paid for at the current rate of about twelve and a half cents an hour. The representative from the Pennsylvania Agricultural College reported that student labor did everything from kitchen work to cleaning out the privies. Coeducation received solid support, an Iowan declaring that, "Sexual isolation for the purpose of culture is contrary to nature; it makes boys rough and girls silly." A wide range of other topics also received consideration.

The book's value for the historian rests in the glimpses provided of the debate on the comparative merits of practical and theoretical training current at the time and its revelations of student life. Individuals interested in the history of agricultural education will find it valuable, both for the broader concepts and for vignettes of particular institutions. Administrators of agricultural colleges will find that problems that seem to be contemporary agitated their counterparts a century ago, including the public and private pressures operating on their institutions, the balancing of theory and practice, the need for efficient public relations, and the effective dissemination of the results of research and experimentation.

The book would have benefited from a somewhat fuller introduction and the addition of an epilogue, both designed to fit the Chicago convention more completely into the history of land-grant education in its early years.

Pennsylvania State University

NEIL A. McNALL

THE SOUTH REJECTS A PROPHET: THE LIFE OF SENATOR D. M. KEY, 1824-1900. By *David M. Abshire*. Foreword by *Ralph McGill*. (New York: Frederick A. Praeger. 1967. Pp. xii, 250. \$5.95.)

DAVID M. Key figured only briefly in national politics. On the death of Andrew Johnson in 1875, he was appointed to Johnson's place in the United States Senate. There he made speeches in favor of sectional reconciliation and in support of the compromise of 1877. His stand offended the Democratic boss of Tennessee, Isham G. Harris, who promptly ended Key's senatorial career. But the Republican Rutherford B. Hayes, once he was safely in the presidential office, rewarded Key with the position of Postmaster General, though Key was a Democrat and had been an eager secessionist and then a Confederate colonel. After three years,

during which the "star-route frauds" in his department began to come to light, Key resigned from the cabinet to accept appointment as a federal district judge in Tennessee.

Key's biographer does not claim great political importance for the man, conceding that he was "too void of personal ambition and diplomatic acumen to achieve real political effectiveness." Instead, the author presses the theme that Key was a "prophet" who looked toward the elimination of the racism and machine politics upon which the Solid South was based. According to the evidence presented, however, Key was hardly very far advanced in his thinking on racial matters. He believed in white superiority, upheld the "separate but equal" doctrine, and approved of Booker T. Washington.

In an effort to portray his subject in vivid scenes, the author has engaged in "minute human-interest research." He might better have put a little more time into the study of American history. Incorrect or dubious statements abound. Two errors are packed into a single sentence when the Reconstruction Acts are described as providing for the readmission of a state after it "had drawn up a constitution disfranchising those who had fought for the Confederacy and enfranchising the Negroes by ratifying the new Fourteenth Amendment." The familiar Radical leaders are scarcely recognizable when they are pictured as "pock-marked Thad Stevens, and Senator Charles Sumner, who walked with a limp and seemed to curse life itself."

The book takes a rather naïve view of Key as well as of his times. It adds nothing of value to what Vann Woodward has long since revealed about the national events in which Key had a part.

University of North Carolina, Greensboro

RICHARD N. CURRENT

JOHN ROGERS, THE PEOPLE'S SCULPTOR. By *David H. Wallace*. (Middletown, Conn.: Wesleyan University Press. 1967. Pp. xv, 326. \$20.00.)

In the 1870's and 1880's, John Rogers was a popular sculptor, and his elaborately detailed and amusing little groups appeared on many a Victorian parlor table throughout the United States. Almost more than any other achievement in the arts, Rogers' groups reflected the middle-class tastes of a middle-class nation. It was not a courtly or elegant art, but rather one that told a charming story, presented an acceptable moral, and conveyed a simple idea. While it might actually have been shallow, provincial, and superficial, according to David Wallace it wrought a "revolution in the people's attitude towards . . . sculpture" that was important for the development of that art in the United States.

The value of Wallace's competent but limited study of Rogers' work lies in the information it presents about one aspect of popular taste during the second half of the nineteenth century, with its preference for anecdote, sentiment, gentle humor, action, and an identifiable personality. Wallace briefly suggests that these qualities in Rogers' work were in the mainstream of American nineteenth-century realism, with its emphasis on the normal, the optimistic, and the documentary, but he does not explore this relationship in any depth or with much discrimination. To link, as Wallace does, Rogers' realism with that of Eakins and Homer is to minimize the depth of those painters' grasp of reality and to distort the cul-

tural picture. Eakins and Homer were not trivial, as Rogers frequently was; nor were Howells and Twain, who also are linked with the sculptor in a grand parade of names. The all-inclusive definition can produce some strange bedfellows. Although this is a minor point, a more careful and extended exploration of these relationships might have produced a more interesting and less repetitious book.

One can cavil also at Wallace's hesitant agreement with the judgment that the inexpensive groups "made American sculpture possible" by assuring its practitioners wide public respect and patronage. Such an exaggeration of an influence seems more eulogistic than accurate. Sculpture had come to be regarded in the United States as a respectable art form before Rogers' groups appeared, and his example of mass-producing three-dimensional miniatures for home decoration found few imitators, except perhaps Remington. The better and more successful sculptors of his generation and after—Ward, French, Saint-Gaudens, Barnard, and Bartlett—continued to give their attention to monumental sculpture or outdoor statuary in the earlier tradition. Wallace's failure to place Rogers in this perspective obscures the anomalous nature of his subject's efforts.

Within the limits he sets for himself, however, Wallace has written a well-researched book that may be useful to sociologists and historians interested in exploring the phenomenon of mass culture.

University of Wisconsin, Milwaukee

LILLIAN B. MILLER

JOHN P. HOLLAND, 1841-1914: INVENTOR OF THE MODERN SUBMARINE. By *Richard Knowles Morris*. (Annapolis, Md.: United States Naval Institute. 1966. Pp. xviii, 211. \$8.50.)

THIS perceptive biography of America's reknowned pioneer in submarine design represents a major contribution to what is often narrowly episodic literature on undersea navigation. Utilizing the papers of Holland and his close engineering associate, Charles A. Morris, the author has fashioned a disquieting account of the vicissitudes that beset men of inventive genius.

John Holland's hardscrabble rise, from parochial schoolteaching in his native Ireland to years of successful submarine engineering in New Jersey, is re-created in prose that retains the Spartan wit of the inventor's journals. Born amid stark reminders of the "levelling" movement, Holland tempered his early Anglophobia under the discipline of the Irish Christian Brothers, in whose schools he continued to teach following immigration to America in 1873. Untrained as a mechanical engineer but with a mind that roamed restlessly through history, navigation, astronomy, aerodynamics, hydrostatics, and music, "Professor Holland" somehow capitalized on his association with the Fenian movement to gain financial support for his "porpoising" submersible which was first embodied in *Holland No. 1*, launched at Paterson in 1878. In the trials, Morris concludes, Holland "demonstrated the merits of maintaining a constant reserve of positive buoyance in conjunction with a low and fixed center of gravity," vital conditions for achieving the stability that Fulton had sought in his *Nautilus*. Undaunted by the inconstancy of Fenian backers or the surveillance of British agents, Holland systematically refined his design principles in the *Fenian Ram* (1881), the *Zalinski Boat* (1885), the steam-powered *Plunger* (1897), and the *Holland VI* (1897).

Acceptance of the *Holland VI* as the navy's first commissioned submarine in 1900 marked the apogee of this tenacious inventor's career.

Morris has effectively related Holland's accomplishment to the work of such contemporaries as Bauer, Nordenfeldt, Drzewiecki, Goubet, and Lake, few of whom shared his vision of the high-sea submarine. For readers with the patience to collate a technical narrative assisted by an excellent selection of plans relegated to appendixes, Morris affords exceptional technological insights. Most revealing, however, is the author's account of how Holland's business associates "traded on his matchless genius," discarding him when naval officialdom rejected his dynamic hull forms in favor of lengthier hulls that ironically proved regressive in the evolution of the modern submarine.

Smithsonian Institution

PHILIP K. LUNDEBERG

GROVER CLEVELAND. By *Rexford G. Tugwell*. (New York: Macmillan Company. 1968. Pp. xviii, 298. \$5.95.)

In the poll conducted some years ago by Arthur M. Schlesinger, Sr., Grover Cleveland was classified among the "near great" American Presidents, sharing the honor with John Adams, James Polk, and Theodore Roosevelt. In this new book, which is not a "full-scale biography" as claimed by the publisher, Rexford G. Tugwell makes it clear that he thinks Cleveland has been overrated. He contends that Cleveland's much-touted honesty and courage, while real enough, were not adequate to meet America's needs in the 1880's and 1890's and that he had little else to offer; stubborn virtue was all he had going for him. His honesty was like a crisp sea breeze making its way to a stagnant inland swamp, but it "was not a radical principle," and it did not save Cleveland from failure as President, in both domestic and foreign affairs and as party leader. He failed because he lacked imagination and was almost totally devoid of curiosity. A man of narrow education, he knew almost nothing of the world beyond Buffalo, New York, at the time he assumed the presidency.

We have known all this for some time, of course, the story having been related at length and more favorably by Robert McElroy and Allan Nevins, and briefly by Horace Merrill. Merrill's *Bourbon Leader: Grover Cleveland and the Democratic Party* (1957) is particularly suitable for comparison with this work. Merrill ends his story in 1897 without narrating the last eleven years of Cleveland's life, but his work is far superior in historical analysis, more complete in detail despite its brevity, more thoroughly researched, and still the best short account available.

Tugwell's book, briskly written, includes many testimonials to its author's belief in strong reformist government and, also, an interesting endorsement of *fin-de-siècle* imperialism. It is also excessively didactic, being laden with political maxims and conventional wisdom about presidential leadership. Some outdated historical interpretations are in evidence, involving such topics as Reconstruction and the causes of the Spanish-American War, and the work contains a few minor errors of fact. In both its interpretation of history and its political analysis, the book bears the mark of the 1930's and 1940's.

This is not to say that Tugwell has written a poor book; it is just that there

is nothing new for scholars, and the general reader has been offered no good reason to forsake Merrill's better study.

American University

ROBERT L. BEISNER

A PICTOGRAPHIC HISTORY OF THE OGLALA SIOUX. By *Helen H. Blish*. Introduction by *Mari Sandoz*. (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press. 1967. Pp. xxii, 530. \$17.95.)

THIS beautiful volume is the product of a collective labor of love extending over a period of more than eighty years. Amos Bad Heart Bull, cousin of Crazy Horse, arrived at the Pine Ridge Sioux Reservation in 1881 at the age of twelve. Defying agency taboos, he sought out stories of the customs and deeds of his people, taught himself to draw, and learned to write the Dakota language. As a twenty-one-year-old Indian scout at Fort Robinson, Nebraska, he was persuaded by a storytelling uncle to compile a history of his nation. Amos purchased a ledger from a local merchant; in this ledger he made several hundred pencil-and-ink drawings, coloring them with crayons, ink, and pencil. The role of band historian, the use of drawings in calendric history, and the recording of individual exploits in pictorial form were traditional among the Oglala Sioux, but a full pictographic account of customs and events such as the one Amos compiled is unique, and the artist's conventions and techniques are largely original.

Amos Bad Heart Bull died in 1913. In 1926 Helen Blish, a student at the University of Nebraska, found his manuscript in the possession of Dollie Pretty Cloud, Amos' sister. Professor H. B. Alexander of the University of Nebraska procured grants from the Carnegie Foundation, for whom Blish wrote a report on the paintings. In 1938, Alexander published twenty hand-colored reproductions of the Bad Heart Bull drawings. He made and retained black-and-white photographs of the entire corpus. Now the University of Nebraska Press has published the black-and-white reproductions, together with thirty-four color plates and the text written for the drawings by Blish in the 1920's. Her introduction attempts to place the work of Bad Heart Bull in the context of Indian art and to analyze it from the historical, technical, and aesthetic points of view. Her very extensive and useful notes accompanying the prints rely heavily on Bad Heart Bull's original informants—his uncles, Short Bull and He Dog. In addition, she translates the author's own notes, written to accompany the drawings.

Bad Heart Bull's favorite theme is warfare; several drawings deal with the Battle of the Little Big Horn, the Ghost Dance War, and the Wounded Knee Massacre. Most of the themes (151) concern encounters between Sioux and Crow. The individual subjects on whom he lavishes greatest attention are horses and costumes. Perhaps his favorite topic is a profile view of the mounted warrior in full regalia. But warfare is by no means the exclusive theme. The paraphernalia of warrior and honor societies, ceremonials, courting scenes, games, methods of tanning hides, and Indian and cowboy scenes of the reservation period are all preserved.

The only major frustration confronting the reader is the contrast between the black-and-white originals and the colored versions of thirty-two of the drawings included at the front of the volume. Since the text refers frequently to the artist's

use of colors, the frustration is compounded. Unfortunately, the originals were buried with Mrs. Pretty Cloud in 1947.

Ohio State University

MARY YOUNG

THE PENDERGAST MACHINE. By *Lyle W. Dorsett*. [The Urban Life in America Series.] (New York: Oxford University Press. 1968. Pp. xiv, 163. \$6.00.)

THIS slender volume traces the life cycle of the Democratic machine that grew to dominance in Kansas City and Missouri politics during the half century between 1890 and 1940. Its founder was Jim Pendergast who, the author tells us, "became a ward boss in the classical tradition by providing welfare services to his underprivileged Negro, Italian, and Irish constituents" in the dingy working-class sections of town. After Jim died in 1911 his younger brother Tom assumed command, and by broadening its range of "services" to include other population elements, the organization gradually extended its control to embrace the whole of Kansas City and adjoining Jackson County. When the Great Depression spawned the New Deal, the machine's dominant position in Missouri's Democratic party made it the natural conduit for the transmission of federal largess to the people of that state.

Joining the ranks of revisionists who question the validity of "The Last Hurrah" thesis, which holds that New Deal welfare statism hastened the demise of the boss system as a feature of American politics, Dorsett contends that the New Deal actually strengthened the Pendergast machine's grip. Pendergast's personal venality, coupled with a particularly glaring vote fraud scandal—and not the incursions of federal welfare statism—account for the organization's precipitate downfall between 1936 and 1940, the author maintains. By the beginning of 1940 the "Boss" himself was in prison on tax evasion charges, and a Citizens' Reform ticket won the municipal election later that year. Thereafter, the organization's remnants disintegrated. Dorsett necessarily enters into considerable local detail concerning the political maneuverings whereby the Pendergasts built and then lost their power, but the author's taut prose style paces his story well and sustains interest. This same terse brevity, on the other hand, may also account for the sense of incompleteness that some readers will experience upon finishing Dorsett's book. Several inviting avenues that his researches revealed are left relatively unexplored. Although we are told, for example, that the Pendergast machine was built in the "classical tradition," the author also indicates that "foreign-born voters never numbered much over 6 per cent of the population" of Kansas City. How, then, does the Pendergast machine measure up against the stereotype of the "typical" urban machine, which is commonly described as an outgrowth of the particular needs and political style of the immigrant workers who crowded into America's cities in the late nineteenth century? Dorsett's material suggests either that the Kansas City machine was really an atypical one, not molded after the "classical" model, or, more significantly, that the stereotype of the supposedly immigrant-oriented "typical" machine is not consistent with the facts. Dorsett touches upon interesting questions of this sort, but only obliquely. One wishes he might have permitted himself greater freedom to consider their

ramifications more explicitly. Perhaps he will do so in a later volume. With this illuminating, if somewhat constricted, study of the Pendergast organization, he is off to a good start in that direction.

Rutgers University, New Brunswick

J. JOSEPH HUTHMACHER

WINTHROP MURRAY CRANE: A STUDY IN REPUBLICAN LEADERSHIP, 1892-1920. By *Carolyn W. Johnson*. [Smith College, The Edwin H. Land Prize Essays.] (Northampton, Mass.: Smith College. 1967. Pp. ix, 100. \$2.00.)

For every Theodore Roosevelt, Woodrow Wilson, or Franklin D. Roosevelt who self-consciously bequeathed to historians massive collections of their public and private files, there are surely dozens of Winthrop Murray Cranes—influential public figures who studiously avoided leaving a written record of any kind. The historian would do well to consider how differently history would appear were there some way to learn such men's stories.

Murray Crane was an immensely important but taciturn Yankee businessman with interests that ranged from the family paper mills (until about 1964, they exclusively made the silk thread paper for the national currency and Treasury bonds) to Otis Elevator and AT&T. He was also one of the most powerful Republican leaders in the country for at least one and possibly two decades. How many students of US history, who know well Crane's articulate colleague, the elder Henry Cabot Lodge, have ever heard of him? Crane, more than any other individual, arranged the break in the coal strike deadlock of 1902—a task President Roosevelt, on knowing advice, chose him to perform. He was only governor of Massachusetts at the time. Though a senator from 1904 to 1913, Crane never made a speech nor introduced a bill, yet the letters and memoirs of his more chatty cohorts argue strongly that he was one of the top three or four most important members in the Senate. There are hints in TR's papers that it was Crane who, probably with sly intent, persuaded Roosevelt to make his self-defeating abnegation of a third term shortly after his election to his one full term in 1904 after Lodge and other confidants had advised the President against such a statement. Resigning from the Senate in 1912 for personal reasons, Crane continued to represent a potent force in Republican politics, including nurturing the career of one Calvin Coolidge. At the end, behind the scenes as usual, Crane made a heroic fight within the party to save the League of Nations from the insidious work of his never-cordial compatriot from Nahant, an act, incidentally, of considerable personal courage since it almost certainly shortened the fragile Crane's life.

We owe a debt, then, to Carolyn Johnson for this competent, freshly researched, and documented résumé of Crane's political career; her book will now serve as *the* general source. The only previous account, now about forty years old, was a pietistic presentation by Solomon Griffen, a Springfield editor and personal friend of Crane. Although there is not very much in this book that Griffen had not already mentioned, for the first time we have the right to feel confident about it. All the same, probably the better part of the Crane career is lost to history, buried with the bones of the reticent little Berkshire patriarch and with those of so many

of his equally secretive confidants in the Old Guard. Now, let us get on with "The History of Progressive Era Politics"!

University of California, Berkeley

RICHARD M. ABRAMS

THE DISCOVERY OF ABUNDANCE: SIMON N. PATTEN AND THE TRANSFORMATION OF SOCIAL THEORY. By *Daniel M. Fox*. (Ithaca, N. Y.: Cornell University Press for the American Historical Association. 1967. Pp. xiii, 259. \$9.00.)

As President Franklin D. Roosevelt's New Deal got under way, one of his leading brain trusters, R. G. Tugwell, proclaimed that the people and the government must realize that the nation had long passed from a "deficit" economy to a "surplus" economy. Properly organized, the surplus would lead to an abundant life for all. The terms "deficit" and "surplus" came from Tugwell's mentor, the eminent professor of economics at the University of Pennsylvania, Simon N. Patten, as Tugwell clearly showed in his 1923 essay, "Notes on the Life and Work of Simon Nelson Patten."

Now a young American historian has used the Tugwell thesis to organize a full-scale, well-researched study of Patten. In *The Discovery of Abundance*, Professor Fox points out the difficulty of reproducing "the complexity of Patten's economics in summary form." He has, therefore, left the detailed economic analysis to an earlier, competent dissertation, J. L. Boswell's *The Economics of Simon Nelson Patten* (1934). His own book is a biography of Patten and a comprehensive examination of Patten as a social theorist. This involved following Patten through 21 books and monographs and over 150 articles, as he boldly ventured into all the social sciences, biology, philosophy, psychology, and religion.

The findings that emerge from Fox's study are not novel, but he provides additional evidence for the conclusions of previous scholars. These results include: The German historical school had a deep influence on Patten in helping him to comprehend the complexity of human nature and to seek a middle-of-the-road policy between extreme laissez faire and Marxian socialism. More positively, Patten revived the interest in consumption as a basic field of economic theory, and he saw in its proper organization one of the most effective means toward a rising standard of living. As the contemporary British welfare economist John A. Hobson put it in 1916, among recent writers Patten made "the most important contributions towards a systematic treatment of the economics of consumption." Finally, Patten helped to formulate the philosophy of modern social work as something more than voluntary almsgiving and relief, and he spearheaded the establishment of social work as a profession.

The author does not ignore the "confusing arguments and muddy style," the "tortured ambiguity and contradiction" in Patten's important publications, but he does reveal Patten's sanguine belief in the social progress of the nation. *The Discovery of Abundance* should prove a fruitful mine of materials and suggestions for the growing interest in a neglected thinker.

Columbia University

JOSEPH DORFMAN

HOMER FOLKS: PIONEER IN SOCIAL WELFARE. By *Walter I. Trattner*. (New York: Columbia University Press. 1968. Pp. xii, 355. \$10.00.)

A MICHIGAN farm boy who went to Harvard for graduate study in modern languages, Folks became interested in social work and, in 1890, became executive of the Children's Aid Society of Philadelphia. He had no training for the task, but within a year he addressed the National Conference of Charities as an expert on childsaving. From 1893 to 1947 he was secretary of the State Charities Aid Association of New York; during these momentous decades he was a link between the host of private philanthropic groups and foundations concentrated in New York and the public social services that took form in that populous, problem-ridden, wealthy state. For a time he was in New York City politics, fighting for housing legislation and reorganizing the municipal charities, a major and successful job. His interest in children turned from foster home placement to juvenile courts and then to preventive legislation—child labor, widows' pensions, and maternal health. Other preventive measures—mental hygiene and especially public health—occupied his middle years. He was an executive of the Red Cross during the First World War, and after 1929 he helped shape state relief policies that Roosevelt and Hopkins made national.

Drawing on an unusually full public record, a collection of Folks's papers and memorabilia, other unpublished collections, and many interviews, Professor Trattner presents a detailed account of Folks's interests and contribution. He easily shows that Folks was a "pioneer" who early espoused causes and programs that became fundamental in contemporary social welfare and who shrewdly avoided the foolish dogmatism of so many instant experts in his generation. It is good to amplify this record, and the author's professional skills are evident by comparison with the volume by David Schneider and Albert Deutsch (1941) that covers many of the same topics, but his organizing idea is rather perfunctory. It adds factual detail to familiar developments rather than affording a new conceptual framework; its focus on programs leaves vague Folks's problems in adapting the Charities Aid Association to changing conditions of public interest and involvement. Perhaps, for example, his long tenure in office indicates that his role was a peculiar possibility of his historic situation, as well as a beacon of progress. The bibliographical essay is full and helpful.

University of California, Berkeley

JAMES LEIBY

THE AUTOBIOGRAPHY OF W.E.B. DU BOIS: A SOLILOQUY ON VIEWING MY LIFE FROM THE LAST DECADE OF ITS FIRST CENTURY. ([New York:] International Publishers. 1968. Pp. 448. \$10.00.)

THIS work is an event in American historiography. It reflects a great career, including milestones of sociological and historical studies, as well as major achievements in Negro life and progress. The uses of this autobiography for history, however, must be carefully spelled out. So emotional an issue as that of race makes easy praise and acceptance an evasion of judgment, especially when that issue is transmitted through so sensitive and assertive a figure as Du Bois. But Du Bois was not only a Negro spokesman. He accepted the "line" and interpreta-

tions of the Communists. How ought his musings to be viewed and utilized?

Du Bois felt keenly his own human wants, which he saw as reflecting the wants of Negroes as a people. He was throughout his career partial to their views of American history, as in his chapter "The Propaganda of History," in his *Black Reconstruction* (1935), which argued that Negroes had been maligned and Negro history falsified by standard historians. In the present "soliloquy," he expands his outlook to take in the entire world. Part I is a paean of praise to the Communist world, its derogation being reserved for "Western Europe," which received support for its reactionary programs from United States funds. Some 280 pages, then, survey Du Bois' life and opinions and provide a journey through such vital movements and concerns as Negro and white universities in the 1890's, the famous Niagara movement, and his work with *The Crisis* and the NAACP. An interesting chapter on "My Character" crystallizes many of his attitudes dispersed throughout. Part III follows Du Bois' course among radicals and adds up to a total indictment of American social and cultural life. There are useful notes and a selected bibliography by the editor.

But as one individual scholar might insist on controverting Du Bois' account of Reconstruction, so another might feel it necessary to qualify his views of Communism, and even of Negro perspectives. After all, Du Bois saw Russia and China as a distinguished friend and visitor; it was his fifteenth trip abroad. Many other distinguished Americans, white as well as black, have seen these matters differently. Incidentally, considering Du Bois' sense of having been ill-used, it may be noted that many of them were less accepted, less materially successful than Du Bois, from Thomas Paine and Henry D. Thoreau to Louis Sullivan, Randolph Bourne, and Arthur C. Townley. They were not inhibited by their color, but neither were they aided by it.

Du Bois' judgments, then, from his approval of John Brown to his approval of Hungarian Communism, are controversial and should be argued with established historical means. Over-all, his "soliloquy" plows deep into our social system and experiences and as such can be read and cited for penetration into the psychology of Negroes and their direct associates, as well as for what it tells us about a great American.

Antioch College

LOUIS FILLER

SASS: FIFTY YEARS OF SOCIAL WORK EDUCATION. A HISTORY OF THE SCHOOL OF APPLIED SOCIAL SCIENCES, CASE WESTERN RESERVE UNIVERSITY. By *Thomas F. Campbell*. ([Cleveland:] Press of Case Western Reserve University. 1967. Pp. xiv, 131. \$5.00.)

DEVELOPMENT in any profession is usually reflected in the history of any professional school. *SASS* is not only a lucid description of the intricacies and conflicts inherent in the development of the School of Applied Social Sciences at Western Reserve, but also, in many ways, it is a brief historical review of social welfare in the United States. Campbell's volume offers the reader an exciting adventure as he moves with social work from a task-related movement of the early 1900's to the complex institution it is today.

Born in the era of poverty, social work has undergone many changes in

aims and emphases. We see these modifications in this book as social work shifted from its emphasis on social reform to its preoccupation with method. Western Reserve became wedded to the psychoanalytic movement in the 1920's and, like other schools of social work in recent years, attempted to incorporate the findings of the social sciences into its teaching and scholarly efforts.

SASS was the first graduate school of social work to be established within a university. Its history, well described by the author, portrays the inherent differences and views between those interested in the development of a professional school and those championing the norms of the academy. It was difficult for many of the administrators to understand why, for example, the SASS faculty spent so much of its time advising students, conferring with personnel of social agencies, and buttressing social work activities in the community while they neglected their own empirical research. The book dramatically illustrates the dialogue between the professional school and the university and among those on the faculty who resisted considering themselves primarily as educators rather than as practitioners.

Different deans with different orientations to social work are exposed, and their interaction with peers and colleagues is described with rich quotations. Each dean was pressed by financial problems that threatened the very existence of SASS, and it was only through courageous hard work by community social workers and supporters, together with the faculty, that the school was preserved. It has become an integral part of the university—two of its deans have become provosts at Western Reserve—and its financial basis has been strengthened. "By the 1960's when the society again turned its attention to the burgeoning problems of social welfare, the profession was ready; its base of knowledge had expanded to encompass the rapid growth of the social sciences; its method had been developed to include intervention in the community process, as well as individual and group processes; and the foundation had been laid for scientific inquiry within the profession. The School of Applied Social Sciences was ready to live up to its name."

Rutgers University, New Brunswick

HERBERT S. STREAN

PETROLEUM PIPELINES AND PUBLIC POLICY, 1906-1959. By *Arthur M. Johnson*. [Harvard Studies in Business History, Number 24.] (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press. 1967. Pp. xvii, 555. \$15.00.)

PROFESSOR Johnson has written an appropriate supplement to his *Development of American Petroleum Pipelines, 1862-1906*. His is an exhaustive work, telling most readers considerably more about the subject than they would want to know. It is typical of its genre in that the author is committed to the view that the oil pipeline industry has been a beneficent force and that public policy for the most part has been ill-considered and inconsequential.

The point of inconsequentiality is well taken. Johnson makes it clear that the twentieth-century development of the pipeline industry has had very little to do with the activity of legislatures, courts, and regulatory bodies. Standard Oil dominated the industry at the beginning of the century, and early government action aimed primarily at that classic trust. But neither the regulatory flurries of

the progressive years nor the more acquiescent tenor of the twenties really mattered very much. What change came to the industry was due to the opening up of vast new oil fields, the rise of a host of new companies—Gulf, Texas, Sun, Shell, Sinclair—to exploit these resources, and the enormous increase in demand spurred particularly by the automobile.

Public policy matters more after 1930, but not in any straightforward way. It served two masters: the major companies themselves, who successfully sought regulatory protection from the ogre of overproduction; and the old ideal of anti-trust, seeking to separate pipelines from producers. As always, producers and distributors outside of the large integrated companies were the most important single force behind divestment attempts. Their success was minimal. The major constraint imposed upon the pipeline companies was a 1941 consent decree limiting the dividends that integrated oil companies could derive from their pipeline subsidiaries.

Again, government policy palls when compared with the impact of such external developments as World War II and the postwar economic boom. The industry has taken on a previously undreamed of vastness and efficiency of operation. One consequence is that the pipelines now are closer to being the common carriers that their critics wanted them to be. The old challenges to their structure of ownership, their price scales, and their mode of operation no longer have much legal or political force.

In retrospect, government pipeline policy has been one of restraint toward size, profits, and ownership. But the central fact of the industry's life in this century has been expansion both of scale and of technological proficiency. In such a clash there could be only one winner. For government no less than industry functions in a culture where the goal of productivity, for better or for worse, is the commanding one.

Brandeis University

MORTON KELLER

CALIFORNIA'S PRODIGAL SONS: HIRAM JOHNSON AND THE PROGRESSIVES, 1911-1917. By *Spencer C. Olin, Jr.* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. 1968. Pp. ix, 253. \$6.95.)

California's Prodigal Sons is a modest, carefully documented, and closely reasoned account of progressives in power. Beginning with the mobilization of reformers in 1910, Spencer C. Olin, Jr., details the political techniques and policies of those dissident Republicans who captured their party, cooperated with Hiram Johnson to rationalize and extend state government, followed the hazardous course of Progressives after 1912, and finally re-entered the Republican party in 1916 to elect Johnson as senator while allowing presidential candidate Charles Evans Hughes to lose California. Almost a third of the study examines step by step how Hughes chose to align his early campaign in California with conservative Republicans and how the Progressives replied with indifferent support in the late, critical weeks. Johnson—shrewd, dedicated, prickly—dominates the book. It was he, not the earnest but inexperienced reformers, whose political skills won the battles, it was he whose decisions marked the route out of and back into the Republican party, and it was he whose anger with Hughes gave focus to the complicated feuds

of 1916. Only the reform program itself, mixing portions of democratic theory, interest group legislation, and efficient administrative government, arose independent of Johnson from the various progressive factions in California and the experience of precursors in such states as Wisconsin and Iowa.

Within this framework, Olin is clear and judicious. He informs the reader about men and issues as they appear, he traces subsidiary stories without sacrificing his major themes, and he balances his evidence around each judgment. Beyond these limits his study becomes somewhat blurred. Was California progressivism a triumph of democracy over the interests or victory for a larger, discontented elite over a smaller, entrenched one? In order to understand the process of reform, should we distinguish between political popularity and legislative power? Did progressivism or a largely autonomous Johnson organization win in 1916? Olin appears in each instance to argue both sides of the case without relating the two. Perhaps such problems could not be resolved within the confines of this otherwise commendable monograph.

Northwestern University

ROBERT WIEBE

YEARS OF TRANSITION: *THE DIAL*, 1912-1920. By Nicholas Joost. (Barre, Mass.: Barre Publishers. 1967. Pp. xxvii, 321. \$8.50.)

THE subtitle of Nicholas Joost's study is somewhat deceptive, and this is a virtue. For Joost, while concerned primarily with the 1912-1920 period, also suggests the continuity of a shared tradition—from that organ and epitome of transcendentalism in the 1840's, the original *Dial*, to Moncure Conway's *Dial* of 1860, to the Chicago *Dial* of 1880. Each *Dial*, he makes clear, was marked by an elegance of style, high intelligence, and a concern for contemporary literature and thought. But none of the post-Civil War successors possessed the transcendentalists' passion for the rebirth of the individual and the reformation of society. Lacking the frequent note of romantic anarchism that characterized the original version, later issues of the *Dial* were guided by editors and writers who espoused a liberal politics but a conservative aesthetics. At the outset of World War I, for example, the pages of the *Dial* attacked the New Poetry, ignored Harriet Monroe, scolded Amy Lowell and the imagists. The mandarin elite who guided it also sought unsuccessfully to avoid the single, most obsessive concern of most of its readers—the war itself. This emphasis upon the genteel tradition, however, was never unanimous, and Randolph Bourne's highly publicized defection from the ranks of wartime liberals simply exacerbated existing divisions on the *Dial's* editorial board.

The *Dial*, as Joost observes, changed with America's entry into hostilities. It became increasingly concerned with the war, and it gave considerable space, mostly for artistic and aesthetic contributions, to Bourne, especially after he and the *New Republic* parted company. Bourne is central to the *Dial* in this brief period, but the importance of Paul Rosenfeld and Van Wyck Brooks is not fully appreciated. Nor is Joel Spingarn's formulation of the New Criticism, long before Ransom and his disciples, assessed with the care it deserves.

My complaint goes deeper than such detail, however. What I miss in this study is a sense of scale: the important articles are not sufficiently distinguished from the more mediocre ones. The blurring effect of an academic study—the need

to set down the name of every contributor and the title of every article—endows all the authors and all the events with a tiresome likeness. Only the conflict (“America’s cultural Thirty Years’ War”) between the cautious *Dial* and its celebrated and more impetuous rival, Jane Heap’s *Little Review*, gives us the unity and high excitement that one hopes to find in such a book. Granted that the *Dial* lacked the self-conscious sense of experimentation of the *Little Review*, the innovating and visionary spirit of *Poetry*, the irreverence and gaiety of the *Masses*, it nonetheless possessed a mature, buoyant, and confident air. After all, it occupied a central position, in the 1920’s, if not earlier, in American literature and thought, and it was the accepted spokesman of the educated community.

Joost avoids the solecisms of Wasserstrom’s earlier study, he carefully estimates Bourne’s role, and he is at his best in outlining the contributions of and the tensions between James Sibley Watson and Scofield Thayer. The student of modern American intellectual history will be able to cull useful information and insights from this book. But the author has, if anything, worked too long in the columns of the *Dial*; he has been too conscientious. Had he stressed the major developments, maintained the overview, and restrained an obsessive desire to set down every detail, his study would have been fascinating and instructive, even for those whose interest is not narrowly devoted to the little magazine. But *Years of Transition*, in its present form, can absorb the attention only of a few specialists; for all others, the task of reading it requires nothing less than a Calvinist’s adherence to duty.

University of Massachusetts, Amherst

MILTON CANTOR

CONSTITUTIONAL POLITICS IN THE PROGRESSIVE ERA: CHILD LABOR AND THE LAW. By *Stephen B. Wood*. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 1968. Pp. xiv, 320. \$10.00.)

THIS is a fine monographic study of the congressional and judicial history of the First and Second Child Labor Acts of 1916 and 1918. Its particular virtue lies not so much in any great originality as in the highly effective way in which the author combines an analysis of the social, economic, and political forces operating for and against child labor legislation with the legal and constitutional materials essential to a treatment of the two major Supreme Court decisions involved: *Hammer v. Dagenhart* (1918), and *Bailey v. Drexel Furniture Co.* (1922).

Stephen Wood, the author, writes in an atmosphere of carefully restrained but evident partisanship; he does not hesitate to render judgments for or against various members of his *dramatis personae*. Quiet heroes of his piece are Senator Albert Beveridge and the National Child Labor Committee, whose lengthy crusade, beginning in 1904, resulted finally in the passage of the Keating-Owen Act in 1916. The author’s villains are more deeply dyed. Chief among them is David Clark, “a crusty conservative” and publisher of an obscure North Carolina textile manufacturer’s journal, who mounted the principal legal attacks upon the constitutionality of both Child Labor Acts. The conduct of Judge James Edmund Boyd of the United States District Court for western North Carolina was hardly less deplorable in the author’s eyes. Boyd openly connived with Clark to countenance a series of blatantly collusive suits instituted first against the Keating-Owen Act and then the Child Labor Tax Law. Also guilty of grave impropriety, in Wood’s

view, was James M. Beck, Harding's solicitor general, whose fine-drawn argument in the Bailey case seemed deliberately calculated to lose the government's case.

Wood raises two or three points of special interest both to constitutional and political historians. He differs sharply with Arthur Link's belief, expressed in his *The New Freedom*, that Wilson's eleventh-hour conversion to child labor legislation in 1916 was a strictly opportunistic "campaign expedient." He believes also that Alexander Bickel's contention that five justices as of 1921 were then ready to vote to uphold the tax law is hopelessly implausible in light of the Bailey vote the following year. Finally, Wood disagrees with Bickel's conclusion that Brandeis and Holmes privately differed with the majority opinion in the Bailey decision. Brandeis, in particular, he thinks, was too principled to have remained silent had he differed with the majority on such a fundamental question. Whether Wood is right or wrong on these points may be debatable, but there can be little doubt that his book will long remain the standard work on the two child labor laws.

Wayne State University

ALFRED H. KELLY

REBELS OF THE WOODS: THE I.W.W. IN THE PACIFIC NORTHWEST.

By Robert L. Tyler. (Eugene: University of Oregon Books. 1967. Pp. 230. \$7.50.)

ROBERT L. Tyler has been writing about the IWW for more than a decade, and much that he has said in his articles is sprinkled through this book. His narrative explains the origin and folklore of the movement, its early free speech fights, and its almost unsubstantiated reputation for violence. Most of the book focuses on the great strikes—Everett and Centralia, for example—and the legal and illegal repressive measures used to break the union during and immediately after World War I. Tyler brings the story to the present and ends on a wistful note.

The author argues that "The transformation of an agrarian society by railroads, by large-scale enterprise, by urbanization, by new patterns of hired help and employer, fostered an anxious and violent conservatism and an equally desperate radicalism." The IWW, he feels, was only possible in a society of young transient laborers, emerging extractive industries (especially lumbering), and undeveloped social relationships between employers and employees. Established communities with homebound work forces and farming areas with family-type migrant labor were immune to the radical virus. Time and development, Tyler feels, as much as repression, did in the "Wobblies."

In several ways, the book is a disappointment. The author's viewpoint ruled out even a brief analysis of "Wobbly" ideology, and, as a result, the treatment of their decision-making process seems naïve. The chronology of the major strikes is confusing. Without a careful reading, causes appear to be effects. Moreover, unable to tell his story within the confines of the region, Tyler has been forced to pursue his migrant radicals to other parts of the nation to explain their policies and actions. Even more important, there is a lack of hard-core data. There are no statistics about membership in the region, not even estimates. Many "Wobblies" are said to be immigrants, but the reader is never told how many or their place of origin. The author makes good use of newspapers, standard accounts, and interviews, but the personality and style of "Wobbly" leadership in the Northwest

remain undefined. Adding to my general disappointment was the lack not only of a bibliography but also of an index. Tyler's work, both literary and historical, is better than this book indicates.

Indiana University

MARTIN RIDGE

AMERICANS AND THE SOVIET EXPERIMENT, 1917-1933. By *Peter G. Filene*. (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press. 1967. Pp. viii, 389. \$7.95.)

MUCH of the general material presented in this study is familiar; it has been treated in previous works by Schuman, Browder, Lasch, and Lovenstein. What is novel is Professor Filene's approach: an attempt to analyze American attitudes, as distinct from opinions, toward the Russian Revolution and the Soviet regime and to demonstrate that these attitudes reflected Americans' own values and self-perception. But the results are, on the whole, disappointing. The author reaches the rather self-evident conclusion that American reactions to the Soviet experiment were successively affected by our involvement in the war against Germany, by isolationism, by the era of prosperity, and by the depression. He also suggests that the intense emotionalism and ambivalence of American attitudes resulted from doubts concerning the validity of our own principles and beliefs, from a recognition that Soviet society in its social goals and in its industrialization projected values that were both very similar and very different from our own, and from a growing awareness that the Soviet system challenged and competed with the American way of life.

The organization and methodology of the book are not always clear. The effort to distinguish sharply between attitudes and opinions, supported by brief references to communications theory, is not always successful, and in several chapters the distinction is ignored entirely. Filene, moreover, deliberately excludes from consideration the attitudes of administration officials and policy makers, including Wilson and Roosevelt (though he makes an exception for Hoover), and he consciously eschews discussion of the effect of attitudes, or opinions, on official policy toward the Soviet Union, though this is clearly of great interest and significance for the issues of intervention, trade, and recognition. At times he examines the attitudes of such interest groups as business and labor, at other times those of individuals or of vaguely defined entities such as "liberals" and "radicals," excluding Communists. The result is often considerable duplication and confusion, although special treatment of the views of Henry Ford and of the American engineers and technicians who worked in the Soviet Union is perceptive and interesting.

The relationship between attitudes, opinion, and policy is indeed important, but how much fresher and more useful it would have been if Filene had studied a less well-known and even more significant period in Soviet-American relations, say, 1939-1945 or 1946-1953.

Indiana University

JOHN M. THOMPSON

THE POLITICS OF PROVINCIALISM: THE DEMOCRATIC PARTY IN TRANSITION, 1918-1932. By *David Burner*. (New York: Alfred A. Knopf. 1968. Pp. xiii, 293, viii. \$6.95.)

DESPITE its limitations this book, when it appears as a paperback, should be a welcome addition to works on the 1920's available for assignment in American history courses. In it David Burner summarizes, and to some extent amplifies, the scholarship that has recently resuscitated the decade between the progressive era and the New Deal as one possessing very considerable significance of its own in the history of American politics. As is usual in such studies, the focus is on the Democratic party. The promising coalition pieced together by Woodrow Wilson in 1916 was dashed to bits in 1920 by the frustrations of the immediate postwar years. During the remainder of the decade the party was rent by a deep-rooted schism as its industrial, big city, boss-dominated, newer American wing wrestled with the agrarian, southern, and western old stock element for control of its destiny. The 1924 convention was the high point of the Democrats' internal blood-letting, and Smith's nomination in 1928 transferred the conflict to the national, interparty arena. Smith, while attracting unparalleled urban and newer American strength to the Democratic ticket, failed as a presidential candidate. But by 1932 Franklin Roosevelt, abetted by the catastrophe of the Great Depression, had managed to weld the warring Democratic factions into the nucleus of a triumphant coalition that was to dominate national politics for years to come. In relating these now-familiar developments, Burner includes material that highlights the internal organizational weaknesses of the Democratic party during its lean years and adumbrates Franklin Roosevelt's efforts to overcome those weaknesses. He also stresses the lack of forceful leadership and consistent direction among congressional Democrats during the 1920's, although I feel that additional research might have provided encouraging signs along this line for the Hoover administration years, which the author treats rather superficially.

But the touchstone of his narrative, to which Burner frequently returns and properly so, is the progressive urbanization of the Democratic party's electoral strength during the 1920's. This was the remarkable and pregnant trend of the postwar decade, and the author treats it adequately enough as a purely political phenomenon and in the statistical or quantitative sense. Yet it seems to me that he minimizes the profounder qualitative implications of this development. Even if Al Smith were as conservative in some ways as Burner insists, still the political coming of age of "his" people meant much as far as the nation's economic and social ideas and institutions were concerned. Burner seems, moreover, to underestimate the relevance of Smith and his followers to the embattled concepts of cultural liberalism during the 1920's. To equate the cultural "provincialism" of the newer American minorities of that decade with the cultural "provincialism" of the 100 per cent American nativists, as the author does, misses the point. (One might as well equate the "provincialism" of Negro militants today with the "provincialism" of their white supremacist antagonists.) The urbanization of the Democratic party during the predepression decade portended far more for American society than a mere changeover in the normal political complexion of the electorate. It was to bring a vital reshaping of the nation's entire economic, social, and cul-

tural framework. In this broader context Burner's book, an otherwise acceptable political narrative, is somewhat disappointing.

Rutgers University, New Brunswick

J. JOSEPH HUTHMACHER

TOM RIVERS: REFLECTIONS ON A LIFE IN MEDICINE AND SCIENCE. An Oral History Memoir prepared by *Saul Benison*. (Cambridge, Mass.: M.I.T. Press, Massachusetts Institute of Technology. 1967. Pp. xxi, 682. \$17.50.)

THIS book is difficult to review. It is essentially the oral memoir of Dr. Thomas Rivers (1888-1962), a pioneer in virus research, as recorded, organized, and edited by Saul Benison. It is full of new information about the growth of virology, the development of the Salk and Sabin vaccines, and the internal workings of the National Foundation. It delineates the very special role that Rivers played as an investigator and administrator in virus research in the United States, and it is supplemented by editorial notes, a helpful medical glossary, and an excellent bibliography.

But how is one to classify it or, more importantly, to use it? Benison, a trained historian, has clearly produced a new kind of historical document that is at once the memoir of an important scientific figure and the creation of a historian-interviewer who has framed all the questions and set the historical problems. It is not like the standard memoir; we are not certain how Rivers, unaided, might have approached the telling of his life's story. Nor is it like the usual biographical study; we do not know the assumptions and organizational principles that guided Benison in his work. We know only that Benison is interested in certain aspects of Rivers' life because of his ultimate purpose: to write a history of poliomyelitis and the National Foundation. Nor can we be certain whether all errors of fact and interpretation known to the historian-interviewer have been noted, for "such mistakes were often revealing of the man and his thought" and have been "footnoted *passim*." As Benison rightly points out, this memoir is "an account of some aspects of the recent history of American virology from a particular moment in time filtered by individual experience."

Rivers' life spanned the development of modern virology. Born in Georgia, educated at Emory and Johns Hopkins, he went to the Rockefeller Institute in 1922, where he rapidly acquired a national and international reputation for his pioneering work on a number of viral diseases. In 1938 he became chairman of the Virus Research Committee of the National Foundation and was intimately involved with the basic research programs of that important body. He worked closely with the giants of modern virology, including Enders, Rous, Salk, Sabin, Stokes, Olitsky, Bodian, and others. At a testimonial dinner given in 1962 and attended by one hundred distinguished microbiologists, including four Nobel laureates, Dr. John Enders wired: "We the members of the church salute the apostolic father."

I believe this book is a worthwhile and interesting experiment in the publication of oral history. Although I have reservations about the publisher's claim that it will "help to establish historiographical standards for the new and burgeoning

field of oral history," I am impressed by Benison's bold approach and careful preparation for his task.

University of Cincinnati

THOMAS N. BONNER

FRANKLIN RUZVEL'T—CHELOVEK I POLITIK [Franklin Roosevelt—Man and Politician]. By N. N. Iakovlev. (Moscow: "International Relations" Press. 1965. Pp. 479.)

In several respects this is a noteworthy book. The study itself is a well-informed, lively, comprehensive, and dispassionate (within a Marxist-Leninist framework) biography of FDR. Written by one of the ablest and most productive younger Soviet specialists on recent American history and issued as a "scientific-popular" work in thirty thousand copies, it should appeal to a fairly wide circle of Soviet readers and should help to correct earlier Soviet distortions of this period of American history. It is important to note that this is the first full-length study of Roosevelt to appear in the Soviet Union. Despite, or perhaps because of, the reported popularity of FDR among the Soviet people before and especially during the war, little was written about Roosevelt, except in a propagandistic vein, during the Stalinist era and the years of rabid anti-Americanism.

Publication of this work, which was favorably reviewed in several Soviet journals, represents, therefore, a significant advance toward more mature and scholarly Soviet study of American history. It demonstrates that competent research and writing, even in such a sensitive field as this, can be undertaken in contemporary Russia, and it suggests that the growing emphasis in Soviet historiography on careful and reliable research may produce increasingly useful results for international scholarship.

Iakovlev does not attempt to oversimplify the issues connected with Roosevelt's character and policies. He reaches the obvious Marxist conclusions that FDR's liberalism resulted as much from the pressure of events as from genuine conviction and that Roosevelt was, in the last analysis, a defender of the capitalist system. Yet the author's judgments are generally restrained and seldom polemical, and his summary assessment of the New Deal is fair and balanced. Iakovlev must, of course, argue that FDR stayed out of the war as long as possible in the hope that the Soviet Union would be drawn into conflict with Japan and Germany, and he repeats the usual Soviet charges concerning the "second front," but neither issue is belabored. He carefully avoids the temptation to idealize Roosevelt as a believer in "peaceful coexistence," while defending him against the criticism that he "sold out" to the Soviet Union.

Though obviously well acquainted with Western literature on FDR, the author uses a few questionable sources, and he rather sketchily covers the last year of Roosevelt's life, when some of the most difficult and controversial issues in Soviet-American relations emerged. Nevertheless, this study possesses sufficient merit to raise cautious hopes for the future of Soviet scholarship on recent American history.

Indiana University

JOHN M. THOMPSON

ROOSEVELT AND FRANKFURTER: THEIR CORRESPONDENCE, 1928-1945. Annotated by *Max Freedman*. (Boston: Atlantic-Little, Brown. 1967. Pp. xiv, 772. \$17.50.)

In writing to Felix Frankfurter on November 21, 1939, President Franklin D. Roosevelt observed that the justice's correspondence and papers would "give a far better picture of our day than mine because you, in your work, have had so much greater opportunity to analyze and suggest on paper, whereas I have been compelled to work, in great part, by word of mouth or through the medium of stodgy orders, proclamations and political speeches." Max Freedman's lengthy compilation of the letters exchanged between Roosevelt and Frankfurter from October 1928 to the President's death amply documents Roosevelt's observation: Frankfurter's letters to Roosevelt are considerably more numerous, much longer on the average, and generally far more revealing than the President's letters to Frankfurter. Although there are a few significant Roosevelt items in the book, many of the President's letters are simply thank-you notes sent in response to the laudatory letters that Frankfurter regularly dispatched to the chief executive.

Honoring Frankfurter's wish that his correspondence with the President be reproduced "in bulk," Freedman has included in this compilation many letters having little or no historical importance. He has also incorporated some items that Frankfurter forwarded to Roosevelt, regardless of whether or not the material is elsewhere available (the lengthy Louis Lyons interview with Joseph P. Kennedy, for example). The editor has provided extensive editorial notes before and after the letters he reproduced, but sometimes the significant point made in these notes depends less on the letters incorporated in this volume than on other material apparently available in the Frankfurter Papers. The editor's observations on Frankfurter's role in the Supreme Court fight (which Freedman regards as "Perhaps the biggest single revelation" in his book), in persuading the President to run for a third term, in the development of lend-lease, and in the evolution of a bipartisan foreign policy are thus only in part supported by the letters included here, and we shall have to await Freedman's promised biography of Frankfurter for a fuller explication of these matters.

The exact relationship of Frankfurter to Roosevelt and the New Deal is not fully revealed in the correspondence between the two men, but it is clear from the letters in this volume that Frankfurter brought people, ideas, and books to Roosevelt's attention, that he served the President as an adviser on appointments, legislation, and campaign strategy, that he helped with presidential speeches, and that he sometimes carried out research assignments for the President. The Freedman compilation also indicates Frankfurter's principal failing as a presidential adviser: there is not a word of criticism of Roosevelt in any of Frankfurter's letters to the President.

Historians of the Roosevelt era will find much that is of interest in this volume: information on the efforts of Roosevelt and Frankfurter to improve British and French press treatment of United States affairs, the Roosevelt-Keynes conference of June 1934, the Supreme Court fight, Frankfurter's role as an intermediary between Niels Bohr and the President, Frankfurter's efforts to secure a Supreme Court appointment for Learned Hand, and many other matters. Finally, it

will perhaps comfort members of the American Historical Association to learn that Roosevelt regarded the organization as "on the whole, a pretty decent and useful body."

University of Michigan

SIDNEY FINE

THE FEDERAL THEATRE, 1935-1939: PLAYS, RELIEF, AND POLITICS. By *Jane DeHart Mathews*. (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press. 1967. Pp. xii, 342. \$8.50.)

"The brief story of the Federal Theatre," writes Mrs. Mathews, concluding her soberly documented book, "was as dramatic as any play it staged." In fact her absorbing account of that history depicts not only an epic drama but an epic tragedy.

As part of the New Deal's Works Progress Administration, the Federal Theater was inaugurated in 1935 by WPA administrator Harry Hopkins with the promise that it was to be a "free, adult uncensored theatre." It perished four years later when the House of Representatives, by a "shouting, cheering majority" voted, 321 to 23, for its demise. In the years between, its director, small, dynamic, and idealistic Hallie Flanagan, gave emergency relief work to 13,000 unemployed stage people while making progress toward her goal of "a true People's Theatre shaping the social and cultural pattern of the nation." Before it ended it was playing to a weekly audience of 350,000 in almost thirty states and was responsible not only for bringing live theater to millions of Americans who had never before encountered it, but for the staging of plays, including those of the Living Newspaper, which earned the acclaim of hard-boiled professional drama critics.

With great courage Flanagan stuck by her ideals and her responsibilities while her original helpers, one by one, dropped away in despair. The Federal Theater, as Mathews makes clear, was the most vulnerable of the New Deal institutions. Since it functioned as a relief agency while trying to achieve theater of a high standard, it was an anomaly from the beginning. Snarled in bureaucratic red tape and censorship, it found mass support in the country's largest cities, especially New York, but not in the nation as a whole; it faced opposition from know-nothing politicians, the jealousy of the commercial theater interests, the ambivalence of the stage unions, and political pressures of Left and Right within its own ranks.

With the American economy stabilized by the heroic measures of Roosevelt's New Deal, the way was open for a counterattack on his policies. The Federal Theater made an excellent target. With Martin Dies as chairman, and ably supported by J. Parnell Thomas, the House Un-American Activities Committee, with a fervor not too troubled by facts, put on a performance of its own that brought sensationalist headlines in the nation's press. Until it was too late, Flanagan was ordered by her superiors to make no reply while innuendo gave the impression that the Federal Theater and its director, if not actually in the pay of Moscow, were at least the willing native agents of subversion.

To quote Mathews once more: the Federal Theater "serves as precedent, inspiration and warning to those who continue to look to government subsidy for support of the decentralized repertory which this nation still lacks." Whether as

an event in American stage history or as a vivid side light on the era of the New Deal, the Federal Theater will not be forgotten.

Southern Illinois University

MORDECAI GORELIK

WHILE SIX MILLION DIED: A CHRONICLE OF AMERICAN APATHY.

By *Arthur D. Morse*. (New York: Random House. 1968. Pp. 420. \$6.95.)

THIS book provides a general indictment of the generation of Americans who watched with hands folded while Hitler murdered some six million Jews who fell into his hands as his armies lunged eastward. In the best tradition of muck-raking, Mr. Morse sifted a mountain of evidence, written and oral, to formulate an impressive bill of particulars. He singles out for special censure Assistant Secretary of State Breckinridge Long, who headed both the visa division in charge of aliens entering the country and the special division that supervised the transmission of United States funds overseas.

The State Department learned in August 1942 that Hitler was about to implement his "final solution" of the Jewish problem. This information came from one Gerhart Riegner, who had been alerted by an unimpeachable German source. Though the report bore every earmark of authenticity, the State Department dawdled for seventeen months, and Washington was galvanized into action only when Secretary of the Treasury Henry Morgenthau, Jr., laid his case directly before the President. FDR then established the War Refugee Board which, with the cooperation of certain European bodies, rescued a number of dependent persons (DP's).

Morse argues very persuasively that more expeditious American action might have saved many more. He analyzes the options presented to Washington by Jewish leaders and demonstrates that these schemes were, until the eleventh hour, rejected by the Allies. The book speculates cogently upon the reasons for Roosevelt's and Churchill's hesitancy. The author might have added that, despite reports flooding the air waves from Europe, the human mind was unable fully to comprehend the magnitude of Hitler's genocide, for its very *Schrecklichkeit* challenged the testimony of the senses. Having been taken in, a generation before, by exaggerated atrocity stories stemming from occupied Belgium, Americans did not want to prove gullible once more. FDR's vaunted humanitarianism is, nonetheless, seriously questioned in these pages for the President might, in many ways suggested to him, have mitigated the terror. But, instead of arousing the country to action in the face of an unprecedented threat to human life, Roosevelt acquiesced in the apathy of the multitude.

Morse has organized his material skillfully, and the sense of immediacy that he conveys to his readers reflects the handiwork of an accomplished journalist. His findings rest upon an untiring search of archives located on three continents. Many hitherto undisclosed facts are revealed here for the first time. The only serious drawback to the book is its unconventional system of documentation that at times makes it difficult to go behind the author's returns.

State University of New York, Buffalo

SELIG ADLER

DRAFTED OR DEFERRED: PRACTICES PAST AND PRESENT. By *Albert A. Blum*. ([Ann Arbor:] Bureau of Industrial Relations, Graduate School of Business Administration, University of Michigan. 1967. Pp. 249. \$6.00.)

THIS is a good book. Some purists might object to the breezy headings and journalistic style, and footnotes at the end of each chapter and the lack of an index reduce its value for easy reference. Yet this well-written history of the draft during World War II is scholarly and based on a thorough exploration of available sources.

Drafting men for military service is a controversial subject. But Professor Blum makes clear that the draft does not make policy. It neither causes war nor justifies war. When war disappears, the draft will disappear. But until such a peaceful time, the draft is an instrument for raising armies. *Drafted or Deferred* is the story of how this instrument was used to provide men for the armed forces during World War II.

The key words are "selective service." Ideally men are "selected" according to the way they can best "serve." This ideal is, however, subject to varying interpretations and influenced by political, economic, and moral factors. Should the draft be used to punish men for lack of patriotism or to force them into essential occupations? Was it more important to preserve family life by deferring fathers rather than single men in war work? Why was the farm safer than the factory for young men trying to avoid military service? Did the preservation of educational institutions and potential contributions to the postwar world call for deferments for certain college and professional students? *Drafted or Deferred* describes these and many other problems of selection in World War II and shows that, with the intensification of the war, the basic guideline became the direct contribution of each individual to the war effort.

In his last chapter Blum tries to apply the lessons of history to selective service today. He suggests that many men now deferred for physical and intellectual reasons should be drafted. At the same time, deferments should be liberalized to include social as well as military goals. After deferments in the public interest, there are still more men eligible than are needed by the armed forces. A lottery among eligibles should select those who are actually drafted. Along with better primary and secondary education and free colleges this procedure would remove the inequities caused by poverty and ignorance and end the special protection of those with money and ability to continue their education. Blum's thoughtful idealism is praiseworthy, but his implied premise, that genuine equality of opportunity will bring equality of results, has not been proven.

Department of Labor

JONATHAN GROSSMAN

THE MAKING OF A PUBLISHER: A LIFE IN THE 20TH CENTURY BOOK REVOLUTION. By *Victor Weybright*. (New York: Reynal and Company. 1967. Pp. viii, 360. \$6.75.)

VICTOR Weybright, the publisher who gave Mickey Spillane to America, spent two years in his youth as a Hull House resident. It is the discovery of such

piquant facts that inspires the intellectual historian to press on, but such rewarding nuggets are unfortunately rare in Weybright's autobiography.

After Hull House and the University of Chicago, Weybright entered the Manhattan magazine world, for a time editing Paul Kellogg's *Survey*. While in London with the US Office of War Information during World War II, he met the publisher Allen Lane, who, in 1945, placed him in charge of the struggling New York branch of Penguin Books, Ltd. In 1947 he left Penguin to join in founding the New American Library of World Literature, Inc., of which he was board chairman and editor in chief. NAL, with its familiar "Mentor" and "Signet" series, contributed mightily to the postwar paperback boom, as Weybright amply demonstrates in recounting what he modestly calls "my valiant efforts to help bring about the Book Revolution."

The emotional level of *The Making of a Publisher* rises sharply near the end, as Weybright describes the acquisition of NAL by the Times Mirror Company in 1960, the intense corporate and personal conflicts that ensued, and his own unhappy departure in 1966. Clearly Weybright was deeply affected by these traumatic events, and he tells them in a tone so angry and embittered that the reader can feel only sadness as the distressing account unfolds. The paperback explosion and the corporate mergers now transforming the book publishing world are of keen interest and concern to cultural historians, but this book contributes disappointingly little to our understanding of such matters. Weybright's observations are occasionally shrewd (Norman Chandler reminds him of "Cary Grant playing the part of a duke"), but too often the overriding impulse of self-justification colors his perceptions.

It is curious to find the erstwhile publisher of Spillane, Ian Fleming, Harold Robbins, and numerous lesser purveyors of sex and violence condemning the "flagrant decadence" of modern society. And one inevitably feels a certain skepticism about sweeping renunciations of American business values, which come only after an unlucky turn of the corporate roulette wheel has disrupted a career hitherto wholly devoted (by Weybright's own evidence) to the grim pursuit of business success. Weybright's concluding assurances that he is utilizing his unsought leisure to "ponder some of the verities of human experience" are reminiscent of Theodore Dreiser's effort in *The Stoic* to transform the financier Frank Cowperwood into a model of transcendental meditation.

University of Massachusetts, Amherst

PAUL S. BOYER

VICTORY AT HIGH TIDE: THE INCHON-SEOUL CAMPAIGN. By *Robert Debs Heinl, Jr.* [Great Battles of History.] (Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott Company. 1968. Pp. xvii, 315. \$8.95.)

THE dramatic marine landings at Inchon and the subsequent drive on Seoul in September 1950 were military highlights of the Korean War, but much of their luster was lost when the later entry of the Chinese Communists into the war turned the victory into bitter ashes. To re-create and restore the glory of the marine triumphs is the objective of retired marine Colonel Heinl's lively and well-written volume.

Starting with the lowly status of the US Marine Corps in the pre-Korean pe-

riod, he goes on to show the frantic efforts to expand the corps and to fill the units committed in the early days of the conflict. As one of General Douglas MacArthur's admirers, he staunchly supports the general in his debates with the Joint Chiefs of Staff over the hazardous Inchon operation. To Heinl, the success of the landings confirms MacArthur's military genius and demonstrates the timidity and mediocrity of the Joint Chiefs of Staff.

Once the fight at Inchon gets under way, the author enters his own element. Using good sketch maps to follow the action, he brings to life the heroism, the humor, and the heartbreak of the marine battles during the assault and the push to take Seoul. His interviews with many of the participants are skillfully blended with the official records.

If the Inchon-Seoul campaign had been solely a marine operation, Heinl might have produced an outstanding book. Unfortunately for him, others were involved, and herein lies the major weakness of the volume. In his zeal to claim full credit for marine exploits, he has overshot the mark. The contributions of the army's Seventh Division are covered in only a cursory fashion that is often condescending. Certainly the marine corps has no need to build up its reputation by belittling its fellow services; its record speaks for itself.

Even more reprehensible, Heinl tends to color the roles of the chief protagonists in the drama according to their attitudes toward the marine corps. Not the North Koreans, but President Truman, the Joint Chiefs of Staff, and Major General Edward Almond, commander of the Tenth Corps under whom the marines served during the Seoul offensive, emerge as the principal villains in the work. The vendetta against Almond is carried to such an extreme that one wonders whether Almond's rejection of a marine commission as a youth in favor of the army might not be at least partially responsible for the obvious hostility. On the other hand, the portrayal of the marine and navy commanders, and of MacArthur, who held the marines in high esteem, is almost uniformly complimentary. Such black-and-white characterizations make a good story, but less than good history.

Despite these shortcomings, however, this re-creation of an important and exciting battle of the Korean War remains an inspiring and fascinating account of men in combat.

Department of the Army

WALTER G. HERMES

CRISIS IN PRINT: DESEGREGATION AND THE PRESS IN TENNESSEE. By *Hugh Davis Graham*. ([Nashville, Tenn.:] Vanderbilt University Press. 1967. Pp. viii, 338. \$7.50.)

FROM the Brown decision in 1954 through the 1964 presidential election—the time span of this excellent volume—attempted integration below the Mason-Dixon line engendered inflammatory reaction. This was not surprising, for, according to the author, segregation, “if not the *only* key to Southern cohesiveness,” is so central to southern white ideology that attempted modification would inevitably evoke an unfavorable response. Professor Graham has endeavored to evaluate that response in Tennessee and to determine, through a close scrutiny of editorials from most of the state's daily and weekly white newspapers, to what extent this news medium molded public opinion.

His task is formidable and challenging. Graham maps out the state geographically and politically as: partially "Deep South," bordering on Mississippi and Arkansas in the Memphis area; "Border State," along the North Carolina and Virginia boundaries; and "Piedmont," in the center, dividing these two areas. In agreement with the earlier encyclopedic *Southern Politics*, by V. O. Key, Jr., he finds that, as a rule, the farther south and west one ventures into this traditionally Democratic state, the more controversial the politics of race becomes.

A reporter himself for a brief time on the "moderate" Nashville *Tennessean*, Graham combines wit and scholarship with journalistic ability in relating national and regional issues to events within Tennessee, the major strength of his work. For example, after President Eisenhower ordered federal troops into neighboring Little Rock, Arkansas, during the school integration struggle, many Tennesseans reacted as did the Nashville *Banner* in describing the federal incursion as "Appomattox, 1957 Style." It remained, therefore, for the more stabilizing influence of papers such as the *Tennessean* to report that Governor Orville E. Faubus and his kind, by defying a federal injunction, had embarked on a "reckless and defeatist course." The author also effectively describes the manner whereby men such as Senator Estes Kefauver and Governor Frank G. Clement, aspiring for higher political office, "tightrope" on these issues.

Graham's evidence supports the widely held assumption that Tennessee is a racially moderate state. Despite sporadic flare-ups like that in Clinton in 1956, it did not suffer the violence of the lower South; nor did it succumb to the impossible massive resistance of a hitherto temperate Virginia. By 1963 newspapers had accepted almost unanimously the inevitability of integration, in prudence if not in conscience. The extent to which the press influenced Tennessee's citizenry cannot be accurately measured, but it clearly fulfilled a key role in maintaining racial sanity during a crucial decade.

A chapter on the Negro press, mainly a comparison of two Memphis newspapers, is included, but seems to be an afterthought. This criticism, however, is slight and does not detract from the over-all merit of the book.

Boston College

ANDREW BUNT

LORD ROSEBERY'S NORTH AMERICAN JOURNAL—1873. Edited by A. R. C. Grant with Caroline Combe. Foreword by Roger Fulford. ([Hamden, Conn.:] Archon Books. 1967. Pp. 191. \$5.75.)

WHEN Lord Rosebery was twenty-six years old, he toured the United States and Canada for ten weeks. He was observant, and, unlike those smug Victorian travelers who were all too ready to denigrate what they saw in North America, Rosebery was eminently fair in his comments. While in America Rosebery enjoyed the friendship of such diverse personalities as the Rabelaisian fixer, Sam Ward, and the suave editor, William Hurlbert.

Rosebery reached New York soon after the Black Friday crash rocked the American financial world and less than a month before the *Virginian* affair threatened to precipitate war with Spain. He took little notice of these crises, however. He was far more interested in the way of life he encountered. From New York Rosebery journeyed across the United States to see the Mormon theocracy in

Utah. He reveled in the "illimitable" hospitality of Americans, but this did not prevent him from commenting on the "hard dreary look" of American tycoons or from speculating on how the operation of the courts revealed "the absolute submission to recognized authority" that seemed to "socially . . . distinguish Americans." Canada seemed rather colorless and far less interesting than Boston, where he enjoyed the company of Oliver Wendell Holmes, Charles Sumner, and Longfellow. New York provided the less satisfying experience of meeting the Reverend Henry Ward Beecher ("a buffoon without the merits of a buffoon") and the edifying example of magistrates dealing with juvenile first offenders in the spirit of improvement rather than of punishment. Rosebery found Washington congenial, but he was startled by what he saw at West Point. "I cannot imagine any place in the world," wrote Rosebery, "where the principle of authority exists more completely than in Westpoint [*sic*]. . . ." Nor did he fail to notice that although there were two Negro cadets at West Point, they were effectively "sent to Coventry" by their classmates.

The value of Rosebery's journal lies not only in the fact that it presents a candid view of the United States and Canada in 1873; it also contributes to a better understanding of the enigmatic Rosebery during his formative years. An attractive format and useful biographical notes make the book good reading.

Georgia State College, Atlanta

JOSEPH O. BAYLEN

PROTESTANT CHURCH COLLEGES IN CANADA: A HISTORY. By D. C. Masters. [Studies in the History of Higher Education in Canada, Number 4.] (Toronto: University of Toronto Press. 1966. Pp. viii, 225. \$7.50.)

PROFESSOR Masters' work is one of three projected studies on church colleges. This, in turn, is part of a series of studies in the history of higher education in Canada.

The book quite carefully sketches nearly two centuries of Protestant thought and controversy as reflected in the creation, the development, and sometimes the demise of church-related liberal arts colleges and denominational theological seminaries. Theological changes, financial dilemmas, and secularizing influences are considered in Masters' portrayal of the history of the Protestant institutions that made significant contributions to Canadian higher education. One after another, the church colleges became nondenominational universities or affiliates of nondenominational universities. There are now only four completely independent Protestant universities in Canada.

Masters outlines the gradual transition in thought from conservative (evangelical) Protestantism to liberalism, neo-orthodoxy, and existentialism. The result of the transition in doctrinal thinking was an increasing gap between the theological faculty and the rest of the church college. The church college, concludes Masters, ceased to represent a corpus of thought and became an intellectual *mélange*, an epitome of the university world in Canada as a whole. The large university and the small college alike are devoid of a single, unifying philosophy; both are essentially pluralistic.

Masters has done a commendable job of synthesizing the histories of about twenty colleges, utilizing an impressive list of monographs, articles, and pam-

phlets and some unpublished materials relating to particular colleges. The chief value of the study is its successful synthesis of the historical features common to all of these colleges.

The book, of particular interest to those involved in the history of education and to American scholars who teach in church-related institutions that have experienced, or are experiencing, the impact of similar trends, is carefully organized and well written. A table or two early in the book to indicate basic historical data on each of the colleges would have aided the general reader in following the threads of the narrative. Such a table, showing the ultimate status of the institutions, does appear in the concluding section.

Financial difficulties, changing currents in theology, and administrative-faculty personalities are considered as important influences in the changing character of the Protestant colleges. One wonders if the role of students has been adequately considered by Masters or by the historians of individual colleges that he has used.

Although the reader might ask for more extensive elaboration at several points in this study, the author succeeds in presenting the main lines of development in the history of the Protestant colleges. One may anticipate the two succeeding volumes of the series that will deal with the English Catholic colleges and the French Catholic colleges.

Bethel College, St. Paul, Minnesota

ROY C. DALTON

CANADA'S FIRST BANK: A HISTORY OF THE BANK OF MONTREAL. In two volumes. By *Merrill Denison*. (New York: Dodd, Mead and Company. 1966; 1967. Pp. xix, 471; xiii, 453. \$7.50 each.)

THESE volumes have no footnotes, but the work should be noticed. Although statements are not supported, the source from which the information was gathered can frequently be identified. For example, exact references to many newspaper files and letters seen by the author come out in the narrative. Many documents important in the history of the bank are also included.

Mr. Denison was permitted to use the bank's records and account books without reservation. Almost since its founding, officers of the bank have recorded the history of their institution in weekly installments. Other banks subsequently absorbed by the Bank of Montreal—the Bank of British North America, the Molsons Bank, and the Merchants Bank of Canada—compiled similar records. This material consisted of 108 folio volumes.

The volumes are illustrated by sixty-three contemporary paintings, drawings, and maps, many in color. Thirty-eight double-page copies of paintings, by Canadian artists commissioned for the work, add to its value. In view of the expensive printing involved, the price of the books is low.

Denison attempted to put the bank in its American and Canadian setting, which is justifiable since Americans subscribed about half of the original shares. Sometimes the setting appears to be more detailed than is necessary for understanding the bank's history. The author devotes several pages to the problems of the Hudson's Bay Company and the Northwest Company. The amount of detail seems to be excessive, for, even if Simon McGillivray's bankruptcy did make for

some difficult moments, the bank apparently suffered no serious loss. The chapter on the bank and the Canadian Pacific Railway, however, is better balanced, and the later chapters contain more solid banking history than the earlier ones. The story ends with the establishment of the Bank of Canada in 1934.

University of Western Ontario

JAMES J. TALMAN

LES MÉMOIRES DU SÉNATEUR RAOUL DANDURAND (1861-1942).

Edited by *Marcel Hamelin*. (Quebec: Presses de l'Université Laval. 1967. Pp. xiv, 374. \$6.75.)

MARCEL Hamelin of the University of Ottawa has edited the memoirs of Senator Dandurand. They are in the form of an intimate journal, for, as the editor informs us, they were meant for his grandchildren's edification rather than that of the public. The manuscript of the *Mémoires*, as well as other documentation, was given to the Public Archives of Canada by Dandurand's granddaughter. The strength and the weakness of the *Mémoires* reside in the fact that they are a personal and intimate journal as well as being of some interest to the political history of Canada.

Born on November 4, 1861, in Montreal, Dandurand belonged to what may be called the classical Canadian liberal tradition, which was somewhat anticlerical and somewhat Gallican. He was articled to the law office of Joseph Doutre, a well-known "rouge" politician and was admitted to the bar in 1893. Dandurand quickly became involved in political activity for the Liberal party.

Though he had never held an elective political office, he was named a senator in 1898 at the age of thirty-seven. Unlike some members of this august and venerable upper house, he remained politically active; this was just the beginning of his political career. He later served as a member of Liberal cabinets and represented Canada at the League of Nations.

The great interest of the volume lies in its ability to place us within the political milieu, both provincial and federal, through the last decade of the nineteenth century and the early twentieth century. Dandurand was a Liberal in the Laurier tradition, that is, the Gladstone tradition. He was involved in the death throes of the Catholic Church's overt interference in Canadian politics, and he played a role in language and education controversies in Canada. He represented an international force in French Canada as against the more usual provincialism of French-Canadian political figures.

The usefulness of the book is somewhat mitigated by the fact that it was written for purposes of edification rather than as a revealing memoir. It is unfortunate that no use was made of many documents concerning Dandurand that are to be found in the *Centre de Documentation de Littérature canadienne-française*, at the University of Montreal. Notwithstanding its somewhat limited use, the editor and the Presses de l'Université Laval have offered Canadian historians a useful book.

Sir George Williams University

CAMERON NISH

THE POLITICS OF SURVIVAL: THE CONSERVATIVE PARTY OF CANADA, 1939-1945. By J. L. Granatstein. ([Toronto:] University of Toronto Press. 1967. Pp. ix, 231. \$6.50.)

This history of the Conservative party in Canada during the Second World War draws upon a wide range of public and private papers and interviews, but adds little to the conventional picture of colossal ineptness and irresponsibility except an inside story of party organization (or disorganization) and financing. Reduced in 1935 to its lowest ebb, with only thirty-nine seats in the House of Commons after R. B. Bennett's bewildering conversion from archconservatism to state socialism, the party, which had attempted to give itself a new skin along with a new leader in 1938, succeeded in winning only forty seats in 1940. In 1945, after returning to its familiar principles of free enterprise and conscription, it won only sixty-seven seats after nearly splitting Canada apart over the conscription issue in the fall of 1944, when the war was virtually won and Canada had achieved a war effort beyond its strength in terms of manpower as well as supplies and munitions.

It would be difficult to quarrel with the first part of Professor Granatstein's conclusion: "The history of the Conservative party during the Second World War is one of almost unrelieved failure. Desperately weak in leadership, torn between adherence to principle and expediency, and wracked by internal conflicts, the party came perilously close to extinction." The record he reveals of repudiation of the chosen progressive leaders, Dr. Robert J. Manion and John Bracken, by the party's old guard, which controlled finance, is a sorry one, as is that of the suicidal determination to press the conscription issue at the cost of alienating Quebec again, in the face of the lessons of 1917-1918. But there is some comic relief in the picture of a party seemingly bent on self-destruction in an eyewitness account of the 1942 leadership convention: "Murdo [MacPherson] slouched in his chair like a weary hobo, while John [Diefenbaker] was so stiff and starched in his manner I could scarcely recognize him, and the wives were either crying or pulling hair off stage all the time the speeches were going on. . . . Poor Howard Green had such stage fright that suddenly in the midst of a sentence he let go the microphone, staggered backward, and fell in a faint, amid all the distinguished legs behind him. Dr. Bruce, rushing forward, tripped over a chair and fell flat on his face and had also to be picked up." Thus was the Progressive Conservative party born.

But it is harder to find evidence in this book, despite its inside account of the efforts of the "Port Hopefuls" to make state intervention respectable, to support the author's further conclusion that "Ironically, Conservatism survived as a viable force only because of the C.C.F., not through any inherent support of its own." Rather it was Mackenzie King's adoption of CCF social policies that enabled his government to survive the all-out Conservative onslaught in 1944 and 1945, and permitted the Liberals to continue in office until 1957, as the CCF's wartime strength faded.

University of Western Ontario

MASON WADE

THE INTER AMERICAN PRESS ASSOCIATION: ITS FIGHT FOR FREEDOM OF THE PRESS, 1926-1960. By *Mary A. Gardner*. [Latin American Monographs, Number 6. Institute of Latin American Studies, University of Texas.] (Austin: University of Texas Press for the Institute. 1967. Pp. xiii, 217. \$5.00.)

THE subject of this monograph is a welcome change from the customary emphasis on diplomacy and economics in the history of inter-American relations. It systematically describes and evaluates what has been done by an independent, self-sufficient organization, the Inter American Press Association, to further freedom of the press and improve journalism in the Americas.

Founded in 1926, the IAPA got off to an inauspicious start by not having another meeting for sixteen years. After activity revived in 1942, however, it reflected the turbulence of the times. Meetings often were stormy affairs. At times Communists and various government agents tried to win control. Financial support usually was uncertain. Membership from the United States at first was small (bona fide publications and not journalists are official members, though the latter often are active representatives). After a reorganization in 1950 eliminated government sponsorship, however, certain energetic and dedicated American journalists, such as the late Jules DuBois of the Chicago *Tribune*, have played a prominent role.

The author has plodded diligently through the official IAPA records and interviewed an impressive number of Latin American as well as United States newsmen. Her emphasis, understandably, is on the IAPA's record in cases concerning freedom of the press. The best known of these, of course, is Perón's suppression of Gainza Paz's *La Prensa* in 1951, though other instances are also dealt with, involving especially Colombia, Cuba, and the Dominican Republic. No doubt action taken by the IAPA had an effect, but it is difficult to estimate how much difference its pressure made, considering other forces at work. At times in the text the author is overeager to ascribe full credit to the IAPA; her over-all conclusion, however, is more guarded.

The IAPA has provided for its members a circulation auditing service and a technical center, and it has created a modest scholarship fund. It has published a useful study of newsprint sources and established the Mergenthaler Awards, given annually to outstanding Latin American journalists. The author draws a realistic balance sheet of IAPA's strengths and weaknesses as of 1960, and she makes useful recommendations for its improvement.

This competent and conscientious study, somewhat mechanically conceived and executed, is written in a serviceable style that is seldom felicitous. The organization leads to an undesirable repetition of subject matter. The book, nonetheless, effectively reminds students of inter-American affairs that private efforts of many kinds have done and can do much to shape the special relations that have existed for so long between the United States and Latin America.

Williams College

RUSSELL H. BASTERT

SOCIAL SCIENCE IN LATIN AMERICA: PAPERS PRESENTED AT THE CONFERENCE ON LATIN AMERICAN STUDIES HELD AT RIO DE JANEIRO, MARCH 29-31, 1965. Edited by *Manuel Diégues Júnior* and *Bryce Wood*. [Joint Committee on Latin American Studies of the American Council of Learned Societies and the Social Science Research Council.] (New York: Columbia University Press. 1967. Pp. xii, 335. \$4.50.)

As the subtitle indicates, this volume contains ten papers prepared by distinguished Latin American scholars. They assess the present state of Latin American social science research in English translation. A slightly variant Portuguese-Spanish version was published in Rio (1967).

The conference was called primarily, if not exclusively, to elicit comment, criticism, and amplification of somewhat parallel essays by United States specialists, which grew from a six-week Seminar on Latin American Studies at Stanford University in 1963. These earlier essays were collected and published under the title *Social Science Research on Latin America*, edited by Charles Wagley (1964). Both conferences were sponsored by the Joint Committee on Latin American Studies of the Social Science Research Council and the American Council of Learned Societies under a continuing program to enlarge and improve research in the United States and in the area itself.

Bryce Wood indicates that this volume is as self-contained as possible. The papers are printed without additional comment or notes on discussions of them in Rio, except as noted in an introductory chapter by Diégues. It reflects a consensus among Latin American scholars that social science research is recent, has relatively shallow roots, has made some progress, and should be linked to directed social change, starting with university reform. These generalizations rest on the treatment of economics and economic research, political science, sociology, anthropology, law and legal institutions, as well as history.

Two papers deal directly with history. The well-known Mexican, Daniel Cosío Villegas, writing on "History and the Social Sciences in Latin America," stresses the major contributions made by North American scholars, with amusing remarks on the tendency of that group to go through cyclical soul searchings and proclaim how little they seemingly have done; he suggests how Latin Americans might alter many of the research topics set forth as priority items. The second part of the Cosío Villegas paper concerns historical scholarship by Latin Americans; he believes that "the Latin American by far prefers inventing history to studying it"—amateurism versus professionalism—which he develops. He suggests that reformed historical studies be done by those involved in higher education in place of those by self-taught historians. There appears to be no necessary relation between advance in Latin American social sciences and improvement of historiography in Latin America.

José Honório Rodrigues, a distinguished historian of Brazil, deals with trends and research requirements in Brazilian historiography. He reiterates earlier charges that the writing of history in Brazil is "peculiarly antiquated and backward-looking" with research completely out of tune with modern Brazilian reality, contemporary social requirements, or current social appeals and problems. The second portion of his paper is a critique and enlargement of the paper on history pre-

pared by Stanley Stein for the Stanford seminar, which appeared in the Wagley work.

The volume as a whole and these two essays in particular provide a useful bench mark and document some of the present intellectual ferment in Latin America. This is praiseworthy.

Library of Congress

HOWARD F. CLINE

AMÉRICA COLONIAL: POBLACIÓN Y ECONOMÍA. [Universidad Nacional del Litoral, Facultad de Filosofía y Letras, Instituto de Investigaciones Históricas. Anuario del Instituto de Investigaciones Históricas, Number 8.] (Rosario: [the Instituto.] 1965. Pp. 384.)

THIS volume of the "Anuario" contains a number of contributions that should be called to the attention of historians interested in demographic history. Professor N. Sánchez Albornoz has provided a retrospective glance at the history of Argentine demography, suggestions for systematizing work in this field in the future, and an interesting inventory and classification of the nineteenth-century sources for population history of the province of Buenos Aires. It is particularly valuable in that it shows great possibilities for the study of the era preceding the national censuses. Several of his students illustrate the progress of this school, with detailed studies of Buenos Aires, Montevideo, Jujuy, Santa María (Catamarca), and Potosí, at various dates in the eighteenth century. These studies show that we have reached a point where generalizations based on guesswork on the structure of colonial populations in this area can be checked by data contained in these spot studies. J. L. Moreno's analysis of the population of Buenos Aires in 1778 is particularly enlightening.

No mention can be made here of all of the miscellaneous essays in this volume. It is worthy of note, however, that evidence of increasing communication among scholars in different countries concerned with colonial demographic, economic, and social history is accumulating. This is exemplified by the appearance here of essays by Chilean historians Rolando Mellafe and Alvaro Jara, the translation of an important study by David N. Cook on the population of colonial Peru, and the work of Argentine scholars. This volume indicates a most welcome broadening of the demographic studies of colonial Mexico during the past two decades.

Hyde Park, New York

CHARLES C. GRIFFIN

THE HUMMINGBIRD AND THE HAWK: CONQUEST AND SOVEREIGNTY IN THE VALLEY OF MEXICO, 1503-1541. By R. C. Padden. ([Columbus:] Ohio State University Press. 1967. Pp. xvi, 319. \$6.75.)

THIS exceptional work is the first serious revisionary study of the Mexican conquest in many years. The "hawk" of its title is Cortes, the leader of the Spanish army. Its "hummingbird" is Huitzilopochtli, the principal Aztec deity. The drama of conquest is worked out through the confrontation of these two protagonists. Cortes regarded Huitzilopochtli as the devil, the enemy of a Christian sovereignty. On the Indian side, Huitzilopochtli had gained strength through the period of Aztec expansion, demanding an ever larger number of sacrificial vic-

tims and emerging as the embodiment of the Aztec imperial idea. But Huitzilopochtli was particularly the creation of the *pipiltin*, the Aztec nobility, who used him to reinforce their own regime of terror. Thus, for both conqueror and conquered, sovereignty took on a religious meaning. Cortes' perception of Huitzilopochtli's role had a determining effect on Spanish strategy. The decision to march to Cholula, where Cortes caught Montezuma's forces off guard and conducted a famous slaughter, appears as the consequence of Cholula's position as "the first locus of Huitzilopochtli cult" that the Spaniards encountered. Indians recognized that the Spaniards were mortal beings, but treated them as if they were gods because Montezuma ordered this. After their defeat, the Indian masses embraced Christianity less for what it offered than as an escape from their former religion, while a tendency of the *pipiltin* was to conceal the idols and perpetuate the worship of Huitzilopochtli.

In short, a complex but essentially unifying theme is suggested in explanation of the period 1503-1541 in Mexican history. The abundant details, both great and sordid, of these years are assigned fresh meanings and presented in a rich prose style. More than most students, Padden uses Indian records of conquest and sources that stress continuity. Is the result really accurate on relations between *pipiltin* and lower classes? Does it read too much into the evidence? Does it concentrate too heavily on Huitzilopochtli at the expense of other deities in the Aztec pantheon? These questions are more easily posed than answered, but let it be emphasized that they arise in response to a unique and significant new interpretation.

University of Michigan

CHARLES GIBSON

CHURCH WEALTH IN MEXICO: A STUDY OF THE 'JUZGADO DE CAPELLANIAS' IN THE ARCHBISHOPRIC OF MEXICO 1800-1856

By *Michael P. Costeloe*. [Cambridge Latin American Studies, Number 2.] (New York: Cambridge University Press. 1967. Pp. ix, 138. \$5.50.)

CHURCH wealth has been one of the major unstudied questions of nineteenth-century Mexico. This brief, pioneering monograph, supplementing recent articles by the author, provides an exceptionally lucid and interesting treatment of a vital aspect of the subject. Costeloe's work is fundamentally archival, based primarily on hitherto unused Church records now located in the *Archivo General de la Nación*. The *Juzgado* was Mexico's principal banking institution from colonial times until its abolition in 1861. As an office of the archbishopric, the *Juzgado* performed primarily an administrative function; it was charged with securing a modest return of 5 per cent on sums donated by individuals to establish chaplaincies and pious works. This return often provided a perpetual annuity for descendants of the donor. Following an excellent general introduction, the book treats in detail, with numerous illustrative cases, the organization of the *Juzgado*, its loan policy, and the economic and political impact of ecclesiastical investment. Costeloe demonstrates that the *Juzgado* provided a unique and essential service by giving financial assistance on easy terms to individuals and institutions that could put up real estate as collateral. This service continued, until 1861, despite growing inefficiency of management caused by the vastness of

the *Juzgado's* activities and by the economic turmoil of the early nineteenth century. Because the *Juzgado* demanded that loans be secured by real estate, "the Church exercised a dominant and almost complete control of the land within the archbishopric, and indeed, the country."

Costeloe criticizes in detail the standard liberal view of the economic ill effects of clerical investment, as expressed by José María Luis Mora in 1836. Mora, and the reformers of the 1850's after him, exaggerated the Church's responsibility for the agricultural depression of the postindependence years. If the inheritors of colonial mortgages had difficulty paying off their debts to the Church, it was primarily because of the instability of the times, rather than because of the Church's loan policy, which was lenient and not dictated by a profit motive. Despite his criticism of partisan distortions by the liberals, Costeloe appears to accept their basic argument: namely, that the Church's monopoly of credit and control over land was detrimental to economic growth and should be eliminated. Costeloe's findings point up, among other matters, the need for further investigation into the socioeconomic bases of the liberal-conservative conflict. Since most of the country's landowners were tied to the Church economically, would they be led tacitly, if not openly, to support the institution? Or would they attack it, hoping that their debts might disappear? Or did these motives cancel each other out? Such a cancellation would strengthen the view, as do several other suggestions of Costeloe, that the mid-century reform movement was essentially an ideological rather than a socioeconomic movement.

University of Iowa

CHARLES A. HALE

CHRISTOPHE, KING OF HAITI. By *Hubert Cole*. (New York: Viking Press. 1967. Pp. 307. \$6.50.)

Few readers familiar with Caribbean history would question Selden Rodman's statement on the cover that a "full-dress treatment" of Henri Christophe "has been overdue for more than a century." But some may challenge his view of Christophe as "the most romantic figure in the annals of the Negro race" or the assertion that "Mr. Cole does justice both to Christophe's creative grandiloquence and to bloody wars of liberation out of which he rose." And, although Rodman once wrote a book about Haiti (*Haiti: The Black Republic* [1954]), many will find it difficult to agree with him that "The research is fantastic" in Cole's work. Compared to other popular histories about early Haitian leaders, it does indeed stand above such superficial and slender volumes as John W. Vandercook's *Black Majesty* (1928) and Charles Moran's *Black Triumvirate* (1957).

Cole's biography traces Christophe's corpse-strewn trail from sugar plantation scullion in the French colony of Saint Domingue to absolute master of half the New World's second oldest sovereign state (from 1807 until his sensational suicide in 1820). Roughly half the book deals with the struggle of Haiti's Negroes and mulattoes to free themselves from their former oppressors between the great uprising of 1791 and final expulsion of the French (with decisive help from yellow fever and a British naval blockade) in 1803. Dessalines, "the brave monster who won Haiti her independence," emerges as a greater patriot than Toussaint L'Ouverture because of the latter's "surrender to the French" and "his

constant double-dealing." Both seem to shrink in the long shadow of their eventual heir, Christophe. Alexandre Pétion and his successor, Jean-Pierre Boyer, fare even worse, contrary to more favorable verdicts by other foreign writers and Haitian historians themselves. Of Henri Christophe, the author admits, "He was a tyrant and no matter how benevolent his intentions his hand was heavy and often resented." A curious anti-American note creeps into some passages, notably the harsh appraisal of Thomas Jefferson and various unflattering references to US merchants trading with Haiti. Cole's grasp of the Louisiana question, central to Napoleon's interest in the reconquest of Saint Domingue, reveals some confusion with respect to the diplomatic history of this fascinating period. When checked against the text, five pages of cryptic notes suggest that the author has made rather limited use of his own bibliography, where entries appear without critical evaluation and occasionally without sufficient information to properly identify them.

Here is an entertaining book for the general reader, but it falls somewhat short of making a significant contribution to serious literature on the subject.

Northern Illinois University

ROLAND T. ELY

IDEAS AND POLITICS OF CHILEAN INDEPENDENCE, 1808-1833. By *Simon Collier*. [Cambridge Latin American Studies, Number 1.] (New York: Cambridge University Press. 1967. Pp. xvii, 395. \$11.00.)

CAMBRIDGE University has now entered the lists of major institutions sponsoring a "Latin American Studies" series partly resulting from deliberate university and government efforts since 1960 to stimulate historical and social science training in this area. As the series' first volume, this case study of political ideas sets high standards for historical investigation and straightforward prose.

Professor Collier opens his study by applying the well-known causes for the Spanish American revolutions to the Chilean experience. He also introduces some extra factors: "a local and distinctively Chilean patriotism" and the bitter economic rivalry with Peru. The task is not simple, and the author himself appears uncertain as to the degree of Creole versus peninsular friction. Once embarked on the core of his investigation, however, his narrative gathers authority. The 1808-1810 period emerges as a deliberate Creole program to win local autonomy, and it is characterized as the move to "Home Rule." Although an anti-Carrera bias colors the ensuing period of 1810-1814, Collier does credit José Miguel Carrera with "the elaboration of the revolutionary ideology, which was by far the most important intellectual activity of the 'Patria Vieja.'"

The second section analyzes revolutionary ideology. Chile's writers and statesmen obviously were highly individualistic and eclectic in their selections from European liberalism. When Collier reaches the important *mystique* of the Revolution, he seems to have overreacted to the rhetoric and flourishes of Chilean prose. His effective quotations portraying trust in utopian destinies and constitutions or bitter hatreds of Spain and glowing admiration of the United States might not sound quite so striking if presented in their original Spanish or compared with similar declarations voiced in Venezuela or Argentina. Regardless of how seriously the Chileans or we should take such expressions, this *mystique*

developed into a growing sense of national identity that has been effectively underlined by Collier.

The final section reverts to a narrative approach. Bernardo O'Higgins appears as a liberal democrat and a dictator. Juan Egaña introduces an authoritarian and moralistic utopia through the Constitution of 1823. Collier then wrestles with the themes of federalism and liberalism culminating in the Constitution of 1828. Federalism failed, he explains, because it was inimical to Chile's structure. But not even this good an explanation emerges to justify why liberalism failed, and Collier provides no satisfactory answer to the same question that has baffled many distinguished predecessors. The answers flow more easily once Diego Portales appears as the inspiration, mentor, and director of the conservative assumption of power. The restoration of law and order in the Constitution of 1833, however, is not an unmixed blessing. As Collier pleads in his concluding sentence: "the coming of Diego Portales marked the end of the revolution; and it had been a revolution of high hopes and generous sympathies."

This book, despite the questions left unanswered and perhaps unanswerable, provides a clear and thoroughly researched review of Chile's early political ideology and formation. It does not boast any startling discoveries or grand syntheses, but, in its quiet competence, it provides a significant addition to our knowledge of Chile's development.

Indiana University

JAMES R. SCOBIE

EL PLAN ECONÓMICO DEL GRUPO RIVADAVIANO, 1811-1827: SU SENTIDO Y SUS CONTRADICCIONES; SUS PROYECCIONES SOCIALES; SUS ENEMIGOS. By *Sergio Bagú*. [Universidad Nacional del Litoral, Facultad de Filosofía y Letras. Colección de textos y documentos, Series B, Number 2.] (Rosario: Instituto de Investigaciones Históricas, Facultad de Filosofía y Letras, Universidad Nacional del Litoral. [1966.] Pp. 564.)

THE *rivadavianos* tried to create a national organic and viable economy based on a colonial structure. What in Great Britain had been attained through a "process of spontaneity," Rivadavia wanted to attain by means of a series of measures subject to a certain priority and under the supervision of the state, although not in the modern sense of state socialism. Yet Rivadavia's measures superseded anything attempted at the time in other parts of Latin America.

Professor Bagú contends that in its first two stages the plan rested on a theoretical mirage that was based primarily on the thinking of Adam Smith. This did not work mainly because in transplanting Smith's ideas, already being abandoned in England, the *rivadavianos* had to use the state to take the place that in Britain belonged to a class of private entrepreneurs formed through several centuries of developing foreign markets and profiting from colonial usufruct.

This mirage, Bagú continues, reappears in the third stage "like a childhood illusion that does not wish to go away." But new developments placed the *rivadavianos* in a different position, and they now appealed less frequently to the classical European economists. They wanted the state to serve as an active agent, but not based on any socializing concept. They hoped that private interests would fulfill the redemptive mission of economic development they so warmly

desired for Argentina. This contradiction arose from a defective theoretical concept, and, when the planners were ready to rectify the error, the "revolt" of private interests and the "frontal attack" of the British Empire overcame a resistance that had been notably weakened. Perhaps the reason for the failure lay also in the fact that the *rivadavianos* were mainly intellectuals who came from incipient colonial bourgeois families and who had little contact with the people. Bagú feels that, in spite of this, it is important to rescue for posterity the work of the *rivadavianos*, who were the first to offer their country a national plan of economic development, and who, wise as well as ingenuous, were determined until the very "moment of their political bankruptcy to defend the nation in an economic sense and in its relations with the imperial colossus."

At first view this study appears lopsided, but, upon reading it, one quickly perceives its purpose: the vindication of the *rivadavianos* in an impartial manner. While only approximately one-fifth of the book is text and even that is filled with valuable tables and statistics, this book is a dream come true for the researcher. Here is practically everything pertaining to the economic history of Argentina from 1810 to 1830, indexed and in document form. For the revisionists of Argentine history and others who disliked Rivadavia, it may be helpful in gaining second thoughts before carrying on their work of vilification. As Bagú points out, most *rivadavianos* strongly supported the war against Brazil, which, in its desire to control Uruguay, was Argentina's natural enemy. It was also a satellite of the British Empire.

University of Colorado

FRITZ L. HOFFMANN

THE MODERN HISTORY OF PERU. By *Fredrick B. Pike*. [Praeger Histories of Latin America.] (New York: Frederick A. Praeger. 1967. Pp. xix, 386. \$7.50.)

THE history of republican Peru, today a land of one-half million square miles and twelve million people, has been sparsely and poorly written. Prior to the publication of this book there was no extensive monograph in English appraising the nation's history after the proclamation of independence by the Argentine General José de San Martín in 1821.

Professor Pike's *The Modern History of Peru* should be widely read; his bibliographical essay and full notes will be ransacked by future students of the field; and his interpretation of Peruvian history will be hotly debated. Pike quotes the dictum of the leading Peruvian historian, Jorge Basadre, that the teaching and writing of history in his country have constituted a perpetual civil war. Pike has gone into the trenches, fired his weapons, and expects counterattack.

This revisionist study is more consciously subjective in its perspective, structure, and use of evidence than are traditional, less stimulating general histories. It is the author's contention, stated in his preface, that Peru is "wrongly held up as an example of a conservative country that fanatically shuns change," and he asserts his "belief that the Peruvian 'oligarchy' has been enlightened and progressive about as often as it has been selfish and reactionary," adding, "a myth of Peruvian history I find particularly annoying is that the country has developed and achieved what progress it has only through revolutionary fits and starts."

To support his counterpropositions, especially his conviction that "real political power in the Peru of the mid-1960's has fallen into the hands of not just a middle sector but . . . actually a middle class," which will work with, and presumably guide, both the power elite and the proletariat, the author adduces many interesting data and presents fresh interpretations. The necessarily heavy political emphasis is enlivened by keen analysis of the ideas of several Peruvian thinkers, not usually mentioned in foreign works, who are targets of fierce partisanship in Peruvian studies. And Pike's skillful dissection of the causes of the decline of the once powerful APRA party is indeed valuable revisionism, but I am not convinced that the Peruvian past and the *caudillos* are as redeemable as Pike makes them out to be. The weight of the evidence is against Castilla, Leguía, and the others, and the word oligarchy needs no quotation marks when used to describe the rulers of Peru.

University of Texas

THOMAS F. MCGANN

THE MEXICAN MINING INDUSTRY, 1890-1950: A STUDY OF THE INTERACTION OF POLITICS, ECONOMICS, AND TECHNOLOGY.

By *Marvin D. Bernstein*. ([Albany:] State University of New York; distrib. by Antioch Press, Yellow Springs, Ohio. 1964. Pp. xvi, 412. \$10.00.)

WITH the single exception of zinc among the major nonferrous metals, by 1960 Mexican mining production was considerably less than it had been in the late 1920's. The three principal metals—gold, silver, copper—had fallen well below the output in the late Díaz years. The total value of metal production, including the ferrous, was only slightly more than that of tourism; the mining sector contributed only 2 per cent of the gross domestic product, and less than 1 per cent of the economically active workers were engaged in the industry. Mining, which had played such an overwhelmingly important role in the Mexican economy since the early days of the colonial period, had fallen on evil days indeed.

Professor Marvin Bernstein concerns himself primarily with gold, silver, copper, lead, and zinc, although he mentions some other materials. He examines in detail the multitudinous facets of the mining industry as it has grown and declined. With meticulous attention to detail, he traces the development of the important mining regions, indicating the nature of the deposits and the technology employed in the various stages of development; he describes the formation of the major mining companies as they grew into titans and the liquidation of some of those who exhausted their deposits. Period by period he analyzes the laws regarding the nature of the mining concessions, showing clearly the changing ideas concerning the relationship of government to mining and the problems created by these shifting concepts. He discusses in detail the tax laws imposed by various administrations and what these laws meant in terms of probable profits and of company stability; he weighs the impact of government-supported labor organizations on the health of the industry and attempts to compare the productivity of the Mexican miner with his counterpart in other world regions. Finally, he devotes much attention to the formation and fortunes of cooperatives that presumably could, but seldom did, work profitably within the laws.

Bernstein has attempted to answer two questions: what happened to Mexican mining to account for its virtually negligible impact on the economy today, and what are the prospects for the future? He concludes that rampant nationalism, a product of the Revolution, has dictated economically unrealistic laws that have crippled the industry even though the legal structure may be socially and politically justified. The structure has, he maintains, put a high premium on working existing deposits to exhaustion, but it has discouraged geological surveys and exploratory works that would locate new deposits. And, though the industry is less important than other sectors of the economy, the author doubts that growing Mexican industrialism can afford to allow mining to expire, which Bernstein fears will occur unless government policy encourages rapid survey and exploration.

This work presents no lurid account of foreign exploitation. The author accepts the fact that a mining company should produce metals at a profitable rate without concerning itself with "social responsibility"; his only interest in examining the legal structure is to determine whether government policy has tended to aid or hinder the industry. He mentions the reluctance of the companies to utilize safety measures, to compensate for illnesses or accidents, or to employ nationals in positions of managerial responsibility, but he does not emphasize the points, and he draws no conclusions. Nor does he question the justification of a profit of about 200 per cent within seven years, but he does include an exclamation point to emphasize one company's annual profit of 468 per cent over a twenty-five-year span. Some readers might object to the general tone of this book, which seems to view the question almost exclusively through the eyes of the companies, and others may object to the small errors of fact, which, though numerous, are inconsequential to the main theme. This is not a book to enjoy in a quiet evening's reading, but it is invaluable for its wealth of detail on every important feature of the subject.

Michigan State University

CHARLES C. CUMBERLAND

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*Mr. Lindgren has assumed responsibility for the Northern European list of articles, beginning with this issue. He succeeds Mr. Oscar J. Falnes, who compiled this list for twenty-five years. The *Review* would like to express its deep appreciation for Mr. Falnes' many years of service.

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* * * * * *Association Notes* * * * * *

AMERICAN HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION

The Annual Meeting of the American Historical Association will be held in New York City, December 28-30, 1968, at the Statler Hilton Hotel. Fifteen hundred rooms have been reserved at the Statler Hilton, and an equal number at the Hotel New Yorker. Information about locations and rates and detailed instructions will be sent to all members when the program of the meeting is distributed in midautumn.

The Terrace Ballroom, Lobby Level of the Statler Hilton, will house the Registration Desk, the Locator File, the Information Desk, the Professional Register, and the Hospitality Area. Registration will be open Friday, December 27, from 2 p.m. until 10 p.m.; Saturday, December 28, from 8 a.m. until 6 p.m.; Sunday, December 29, from 8:30 a.m. until 4:30 p.m.; and Monday, December 30, from 8:30 a.m. until 12:30 p.m.

If a member of the Association wishes to use the Professional Register at the Annual Meeting, but is not yet a member of the Register, he is urged to pre-register by mail; this will greatly relieve congestion at the meeting and facilitate service. Prospective employers are also urged to submit their vacancies by mail a month before the Annual Meeting, should they wish their staff needs posted during the course of the meeting. Both candidates and employers should list their local addresses with the Professional Register as soon as they arrive in New York; every effort will be made to expedite the interviewing process. Candidates must be AHA members before joining the Register. The initial fee is three dollars; the annual renewal charge, one dollar if paid within one month after the annual billing. The services of the Register are available to employers without charge. For additional information, consult the program of the Annual Meeting and the December 1968 *AHA Newsletter*, or write the Association at 400 A Street, S. E., Washington, D. C. 20003.

RECENT DEATHS

Winston C. Babb, professor at Furman University, died January 21, 1968.

Leland H. Creer of the University of Utah died March 25, at the age of seventy-three. A specialist in the US West, he wrote *Utah and the Nation*.

John D. Peterson of the University of California, Santa Barbara, died March 27, at the age of thirty-five.

Ralph Haswell Lutz, professor emeritus at Stanford University, died April 8, at the age of eighty-two. In addition to teaching, he engaged in numerous activities on behalf of the Hoover Library.

Rushton Coulborn, professor of history and prehistory emeritus of the Graduate School of Atlanta University, died April 17, at the age of sixty-six.

Born in England, educated at McGill, London, and Paris, a teacher in the United States for almost thirty years, lecturer at the Universities of Mainz and Kyoto, he was truly an international scholar. He was a universal scholar as well, interested in anthropology, sociology, philosophy, and comparative history. These interests were reflected in his many articles and in his two best-known books, *Feudalism in History* (1956) and the *Origin of Civilized Societies* (1959).

Douglass G. Adair, professor at the Claremont Graduate School, died May 2, at the age of fifty-six. His major field of interest was early American history; from 1946 to 1955 he was managing editor of the *William and Mary Quarterly*.

Frank J. Klingberg, professor emeritus at the University of California, Los Angeles, died June 5, at the age of eighty-five. He was a specialist in American colonial history.

G. S. Marshall of the University of Chicago died June 10, at the age of forty-six.

Arthur J. May, professor emeritus at the University of Rochester, died June 13, at the age of sixty-nine. He was the author of, among other works, *Hapsburg Monarchy, 1867-1914*.

Harold U. Faulkner, Dwight W. Morris Professor Emeritus of History at Smith College, died June 17, at the age of seventy-eight. An authority on twentieth-century American economic and social history, he wrote *American Economic History*.

Members of the Association who have died recently are: Charles Seymour Alden of Cambridge, Massachusetts; M. W. Armstrong of Ursinus College, Collegeville, Pennsylvania; F. F. Ewing, Jr., of Texas A & M University; H. Folmer of Denver, Colorado; J. M. Grimes of the University of the South; E. Horn of the State University of Iowa; Sexon E. Humphreys of Indianapolis, Indiana; W. J. Kapika, S. J., of Xavier University; J. Kaster of Brooklyn, New York; F. E. Louraine of Alexandria, Virginia; L. P. Lovette of Alexandria, Virginia; the Right Reverend Arthur J. Riley of Quincy, Massachusetts.

COMMUNICATIONS

TO THE EDITOR OF THE AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW:

My publishers have just sent me a copy of Mr. Sidney Glazer's review of my book *American Interests in Syria, 1800-1901* (*AHR*, LXXIII [Oct. 1967], 187). In questioning the accuracy of some of the reviewer's statements I recognize that the review itself is on the whole favorable. At least four of these statements, however, cannot be ignored because they convey a wrong impression of the contents and conclusions of the book.

Such discussion of Catholic missions as I attempted clearly shows that their activities were confined to Christian communities, but not as stated by the reviewer on account of "Muslim resistance." Nor did the American mission, with which I was more directly concerned, encounter, according to the reviewer, "the same difficulties." The facts are that the Catholic missionaries had a point of

anchor in the native Catholic communities, while the American missionaries had to overcome strong resistance, not from the Muslims among whom all Christian missionary work was, under Ottoman rule, illegal, but from the Maronite and Orthodox hierarchies, since it was from their communities that the Americans sought and succeeded in carving a new Protestant community.

The reviewer goes out of his way to explain that "the heathen" meant "native Arabs." Neither the short desk dictionaries nor the detailed and authoritative *Oxford English Dictionary* bears him out. Still less does the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions. In their instructions to the first missionaries sent to the Near East they clearly distinguish, almost in the words of the *OED*, between the pagans (they do not use the word heathen) and the Jews, Christians, and Muslims.

Mr. Glazer oversimplifies the origin of the Syrian Protestant College, now famous as the American University of Beirut. It was not a choice between preaching and teaching for the missionaries who founded it; nor were they "compelled . . . to abandon" the former in favor of the latter. They never did, as their reports and letters, quoted in the book, abundantly prove.

The most untenable of Mr. Glazer's assertions, however, is that American educational work "helped to fashion the contemporary Arab world [*sic*]" and that without such work "twentieth-century Arab history [*sic*] would undoubtedly have taken a far different course." He blames me for not going into this matter, thus raising serious doubt that he has read the book with sufficient attention. For I have throughout given detailed assessment of the influence of the schools, the quality of the books actually produced by the printing press, and the course of study and type of students at the college—all based on facts derived from original American missionary sources. These leave no doubt that, for the period of my inquiry, Mr. Glazer's extravagant claims and unguarded language are not justified.

University of London

A. L. TIBAWI

TO THE EDITOR OF THE AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW:

Professor Gatell's review of my book *Biddle's Bank: The Crucial Years* (*AHR*, LXXIII [Oct. 1967], 226) contains some inaccuracies. For example, the "heart" of the book, as he calls it, does not seem to me to be what he says it is; the "culprits" are not limited to the three he mentions; and the banks of Virginia are not treated as conclusively as he suggests.

The last paragraph of the review reads: "Although Wilburn called her study 'an intensive one,' research in primary sources has not been extensive. And since 'Thomas Olcott's role is especially significant,' an examination of Olcott's papers seems logical. They can be found in the Columbia University Library."

However meager my research in primary sources appears to Professor Gatell, it was not so inadequate as to omit examination of the Olcott Papers. During the period in which I was doing my research, the Olcott Papers were exclusively available to the person who had been instrumental in bringing them to Columbia. He was kind enough to grant me permission to examine them. They are not

listed in the bibliography because they presented no information on the Bank's history in the period with which I was concerned.

Barnard College

JEAN ALEXANDER WILBURN

TO THE EDITOR OF THE AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW:

In his most interesting assessment of recent research on "National Socialism" (*AHR*, LXXIII [Dec. 1967], 404-24), Professor Wolfgang Sauer characterizes my interpretation of fascism as an attempt "to fuse elements of Max Weber's and Marxist theories." It so happens that there is only one reference to Marxist ideas in my book (*Big Business in the Third Reich* [1964], 663) which runs as follows:

This interaction between property and organizational power is in conflict with the theory of Marx. His strict followers have asserted that in capitalism all power originates from ownership of capital, and that "the ruling class under capitalism is made up of the functionaries of capital" (Paul Sweezy, *The Present as History*, New York, 1953, p. 60). In this view, the Nazi Party possessed power only because its leaders became capitalists themselves (p. 61). The party possessed no original base of power but was merely an instrument of monopoly capitalism (p. 238). Neither assertion about leaders and the party can be supported by specific evidence in the formerly secret documents.

I may be allowed to say that this rejection of the Marxian interpretation of fascism still stands. My intellectual commitment is to the ideas of Max Weber, not to Marx, and no fusion was either intended or executed.

Indiana University

ARTHUR SCHWEITZER

TO THE EDITOR OF THE AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW:

I am glad that Professor Schweitzer corrects what I now see was an error. I am still somewhat puzzled by the question, however, as to how a theory of fascism can be exclusively built on Max Weber's theory. From Weber's emphasis on bureaucracy and leadership the way seems to lead to an analysis in terms of totalitarianism rather than to that in terms of fascism. In fact Professor Schweitzer himself admits on page four of his book that Weber's theory is not entirely sufficient for his purpose, but he does not tell us which conceptual means he applied for supplementing it. From certain characteristics of his language and from some similarities to Franz L. Neumann's analysis I inferred that he was applying Marxist ideas—ideas, *nota bene*, not the complete Marxist theory. If that is not correct, we are back to the original question: which supplementary concepts did he apply?

University of California, Berkeley

WOLFGANG SAUER

TO THE EDITOR OF THE AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW:

I did not intend at first to answer T. Stoianovich's review of my book *The Albanian National Awakening, 1878-1912* (*AHR*, LXXIII [Dec. 1967], 537), for I wanted to let the book speak for itself. If I reply to his review now it is because

I think it will serve a useful purpose in dispelling the confusion created by some of his unfounded—I might even say irresponsible—comments.

The reviewer makes the sweeping accusation that I have been "blind . . . to socioeconomic problems." No other review of the book that I have come across has referred to any neglect on my part concerning the social (and for that matter, economic) aspects of the problems involved. On the contrary, a review in such a journal as the *International Review of Social History* (XII [Dec. 1967], 330), commenting on the contents and treatment in the book, adds: "and last but not least the impact of social conditions on the process of national awakening are set forth in detail. . . ."

Stoianovich's contention about my blindness "to socioeconomic problems" relates to the alleged failure on my part "to observe that they [the Albanian landlords] constituted a special social category." Dividing them into "greatest landlords" and "great landowning families," he holds that the latter—from which "the advocates of Albanian autonomy" stemmed—were the Toptani, Vriani, Vlora, Frashëri, and Bushati. He apparently has picked up these names from the introduction of R. Busch-Zantner's *Albanien, Neues Land im Imperium* (1939), a book published when Albania became part of Mussolini's empire. But the reviewer, as will become evident, not knowing exactly what these families represented, has created confusion. These families belong to the category that he has called "the greatest landowners," except for the Frashëri, who were not landowners at all and came from the hinterland. On the other hand, whereas the nationalistic activity of some members of these families is mentioned in documents, there is silence about the Bushati from Shkodër. Besides, when Busch-Zantner refers to the Albanian landlords (beys and pashas), he places them in more recent times and within the frontiers of independent Albania. But these were not the only Albanian feudal lords; several of those who played an important role in the period 1878–1912 came from territories outside present Albania, from Kosovo and Metohija, or Dibër (Debar), which in that period constituted part of the Ottoman Empire. All the Albanian landlords (large and small), inside or outside Albania proper, have been considered in my book, whenever necessary, both as individuals and as a group. Suffice to mention that in its concluding chapter there is a passage that runs as follows:

In Albania, however, with the conversion of the majority to Islam, a new class of leaders gradually emerged, the landowning pashas and beys. This feudal nobility, which represented to a certain extent a cohesive political group among the Albanians, supported the claim to the autonomy of their country mainly because they were opposed to the centralistic policy of the Porte, which curtailed their own power. Although rivalries were not absent among them, vested interests in the empire kept them together as a class . . . (pp. 464–65).

Regarding the reviewer's comment that I "insufficiently emphasize Korçë's role as 'the most European'—Richard Busch-Zantner's term—of Albanian cities," let me first state that I was born and spent a good part of my life in that city. When Busch-Zantner writes that Korçë is "heute Albaniens 'europaischste' Stadt geworden" (p. 18), it is clear that he does not have in mind Korçë of the period 1878–1912. Even the introduction of democratic ideas in Korçë, which

the German author evidently loaths, for he employs the adverb *leider*, is principally of the post-1912 period. I have described, interpreted, and stressed in the book the nationalism of Korçë as much as the documents (published and unpublished) at my disposal and my intimate knowledge of developments in that city and in other parts of Albania allowed me, as one is bound to do when writing history.

Columbia University

STAVRO SKENDI

TO THE EDITOR OF THE AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW:

Much to my regret, I must repeat that Mr. Skendi gives only the most cursory consideration to the socioeconomic aspects of Albanian nationalism. As for his contention that the Frashëri "were not landowners at all," readers might take note that on page 199 of his book he himself identifies Maliq Bey Frashëri as "a landowner." He further contends that the Toptani, Vriani, Vlora, and Bushati families should be considered as "greatest landlords" and thus rejects my identification of them as landowners economically just beneath the "greatest landlords," from whom they also differed in being prone to an alliance with the Ottoman bureaucracy of Albanian origin. Such differences of opinion will continue to prevail until we know the extent and value of the properties of various groups of landlords and can define more exactly the nature of the relationship between various categories of landownership and various approaches to the problem of nationalism. Mr. Skendi has not engaged in that kind of analysis.

He freely alludes in his letter to Richard Busch-Zantner's antidemocratic remarks—or were they the publisher's, or the Nazi regime's?—in an apparent effort to belittle the socioeconomic analysis of a very able German scholar. How justifiable is his inference of a positive correlation between politics and scholarly competence? I also wonder whether the fact of being born in Korçë (Koritsa) necessarily makes of Mr. Skendi an expert in the problems of the cultural anthropology and sociology of the town. He appears to possess many of the admirable qualities of the "historian's historian," but his method is woefully deficient.

Rutgers University, New Brunswick

TRAIAN STOIANOVICH

TO THE EDITOR OF THE AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW:

The new publication of the Papal Secretariate of State on Vatican diplomacy during World War II, which already now, after the appearance of the first four volumes (in 5 parts containing 1,550 documents), is a primary source of unusual importance, would deserve more attention than could be given it in the brief critique of Volume III by Professor von Klemperer (*AHR*, LXXIII [Apr. 1968], 1143). He has indeed chosen the most interesting volume on the situation in occupied Poland and the Baltic countries and rightly praises the heroic attitude of the local clergy, who never "collaborated." It is, however, unfortunate that the reviewer repeated on that occasion the usual accusations against the "all too silent Pope Pius XII."

The most courageous and outspoken leader of the Polish hierarchy, the archbishop of Cracow, Adam Sapieha, wrote in 1942 (Vol. III, Pt. 2, No. 352) that the Pope's "noble and affectionate heart must be torn when he sees all the horrible snares that are plotted in the world and, in addition, the ingratitude that is shown to him." From the facsimile of his first encyclical, of October 20, 1939 (Vol. I, No. 213), we see that the passage on Poland's sufferings and right to "resurrection in justice and peace" was substantially enlarged on the typescript in the handwriting of Pius XII. On February 18, 1941, he instructed the nuncios in the neutral countries, as well as the apostolic delegate in Washington, Monsignor Cicognani, who was deeply interested in Poland, to oppose the truth about the religious situation in that country, worse than anywhere else, to the misleading German propaganda (Vol. IV, No. 265).

The best-qualified witness, Ambassador Kazimierz Papée, who has represented Poland at the Vatican from 1939 to the present, could publish, in 1954, sixty documents in evidence of the Pope's concern with Poland during the war and its aftermath (*Pius XII a Polska 1939-1949*). May I also refer to my review articles on all four volumes of the new series in the *Catholic Historical Review* (LII [July 1966]; LIII [Oct. 1967]; LIV [July 1968]) where I explained in the second one the "painful episode" with Bishop Radoński, which Professor von Klemperer singled out, questioning the comments of the editors.

Very welcome is, of course, the reviewer's suggestion that a volume be published to document the whole story of the clergy in the occupied areas. But many such data can already be found in the present series and prove that if Pius XII did not talk too much about that martyrdom, it was because he was trying all the time to do something about it.

White Plains, New York

O. HALECKI

TO THE EDITOR OF THE AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW:

I appreciate Professor Halecki's taking the trouble to comment on my review of the Vatican documents. There is, I think, a wide area of agreement between us. The evidence so far available tends to confirm the extreme difficulties under which Pius XII labored in countering the diabolical Nazi policies during the Second World War. His princely functions came into conflict with his pastoral ones, and his supranational position tended to clash with the varying national loyalties of his flock. It goes without saying that Hochhuth's charge of the Pope's cynicism toward suffering humanity is poor history; Saul Friedländer's thesis, moreover, that Pius' pro-German leanings determined his policies toward Hitler finds no support in the documents. I am not even convinced by the highly touchy proposition of the Vatican's fear of Bolshevism as a factor in the "appeasement" of Nazi Germany.

The disagreement between Professor Halecki and me is not over the "noble and affectionate heart" of Pius XII, but over his wisdom of charting a distinctly cautious course. His policy of silence and indirection was the policy of a diplomat rather than that of a moral leader of Christianity in crisis. I am not wholly persuaded that in the case of Pius doing took the place of talking; in many in-

stances his prescription was, *ad majora mala vitanda*, to do nothing. Furthermore the word is not mere talk; a clearer break on the part of the papacy with the policy of silence and indirection would have meant a moral commitment on the part of the Church which, it might be argued, would have been salutary even at the price of more martyrdom.

Incidentally, a documentation of the kind that I suggested at the end of my review on the martyrdom of the clergy has recently been published in Munich (Benedicta Maria Kempner, *Priester vor Hitlers Tribunalen*).

Smith College

KLEMENS VON KLEMPERER

TO THE EDITOR OF THE AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW:

While I appreciate Professor Louis Filler's assessment of my book *Edward Wilmot Blyden* as "clear and forthright" (*AHR*, LXXIII [Apr. 1968], 1216), I feel that he has been less than careful in forming his opinions about Blyden or in representing mine. An examination of three of his statements would show this.

First, Professor Filler writes: "His [Blyden's] wholehearted cooperation with imperialist agents was hardly likely to furnish inspiration to later Negro nationalists." Blyden's cooperation was not "wholehearted." It is true that he came to see European imperialism as an agency unwittingly promoting his Pan-Negro goals, but he was fully aware of its hazards to Africa; his was a critical and qualified cooperation, and he strongly believed that European imperialism would be temporary. If Professor Filler had understood this, he might not have been skeptical that Blyden *did* furnish inspiration to later West African nationalists, among them J. E. Casely Hayford, Herbert Macaulay, Nnamdi Azikiwe, and Kwame Nkrumah, as my epilogue well documents.

Again he writes: "Professor Lynch conscientiously records Blyden's weaknesses as an organizer and thinker, but concludes that his long service and dedication entitle him to be honored and remembered." That is not my major conclusion; just as "conscientiously" did I seek to show that Blyden's influence, both contemporary and posthumous, derived from the impact of his ideas as the most outstanding Pan-African intellectual and West African nationalist in the nineteenth century.

Finally Professor Filler writes: "Many of the events and personalities discussed are far from earth shaking; it would be a disservice to pretend they are." I can only say that all other scholars I know acquainted with Blyden's career agree that he is one of the most complex, fascinating, and significant figures of the nineteenth century and that he and his associates were concerned with the highly important task of fashioning a new society in West Africa—a synthesis of the best in traditional African, Muslim, and Western cultures—with the humane end of bringing respect and dignity to African peoples everywhere.

State University of New York, Buffalo

HOLLIS R. LYNCH



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Assignment for the '70's

JOHN K. FAIRBANK

WHEN William L. Langer addressed us in 1957 he deplored the "tendency . . . of historians to become buried in their own conservatism. . . . We must be ready, from time to time," he said, "to take flyers into the unknown. . . ." As our "next assignment" he urged historians to use "the concepts and findings of modern psychology" and psychoanalysis.¹ Since 1957 this assignment has had influence because its author perceived and encouraged a latent possibility in historical thinking. As one of Mr. Langer's many students I wish to borrow his term and suggest an assignment that I am sure is already in the minds of many of us and yet perhaps can be more explicitly formulated and more clearly recognized.

This assignment for the '70's is presented within a rather stark framework of three assumptions. I assume first that we have entered an era of

►Mr. Fairbank, Francis Lee Higginson Professor of History and Director, East Asian Research Center, Harvard University, delivered this presidential address at the Statler Hilton Hotel, New York City, December 29, 1968.

¹William L. Langer, "The Next Assignment," *American Historical Review*, LXIII (Jan. 1958), 284. For a survey of recent work, see Bruce Mazlish, "Clio on the Couch: Prolegomena to Psycho-history," *Encounter*, XXXI (Sept. 1968), 46-54. A recent study in Chinese psycho-history is by Robert Jay Lifton, *Revolutionary Immortality: Mao Tse-tung and the Chinese Cultural Revolution* (New York, 1968). In preparing this paper I have been indebted to Dorothy Borg and Arthur Schlesinger, Jr., for helpful advice and comment.

world crisis both within and among the nations, in which Americans, Europeans, Chinese, and other peoples will all be increasingly entangled. Let us retain the hope that this will be a stage on the way to national and world reorganization and happier times. The world crisis has certain common origins and common features, beginning with the growth of scientific and material technology, accompanied by growth of populations, communications, cities, economies, national politics, military firepower, and the like, which in turn have created complex problems running all the way from famine and insurgency to pollution, traffic jams, teen-agers, factionalism, and breakdown of consensus. Our human propensity for technological innovation seems out of control, both within the nations and among them. It breeds revolution at home and war abroad. Technological progress, which we once so admired, now has us by the throat.

Second, I assume that our organized human capacity to respond to this explosive growth and revolutionary change is showing ominous limitations. Our problems may be formulated on many levels and in terms of each of the various disciplines, from ecology to psychiatry to political philosophy. They come down to the question how to identify problems and how to change our institutions and ideas rapidly enough to cope with problems that we can recognize. "Institution" is a protean word I shall not attempt to define except as "habituated group behavior"; by "ideas" I mean, for our purposes, mainly habits of thought. My point is that the world crisis puts a premium on our capacity to change our customary assumptions, traditional values, inherited images, and cherished mechanisms as part of our general effort at growth and change in our institutional and intellectual behavior. We historians, as at best creators or at least curators of our image of the world and our place in it, have a special role to perform.

Third, I assume that within this broad and dire context, China presents a special world problem requiring special treatment. If China were not the most distinctive and separate of the great historical cultures, if the Chinese language were not so different and difficult, if our China studies were not so set apart by these circumstances, our China problem would not be so great. But the fact is that China *is* a uniquely large and compact section of mankind, with a specially self-contained and long-continued tradition of centrality and superiority, too big and too different to be assimilated into our automobile-TV, individual-voter, individual-consumer culture. China is too weak to conquer the world but too large to be digested by it. China's eventual place in the world and especially America's relationship to China therefore bulk large on the agenda for human survival. If China builds up an ICBM stockpile in the years ahead, nuclear deterrence will become more

and more "a perilous triangular affair."² This will be something new because China in our experience has usually been only promises unrealized—promises of trade that never really developed, of Christianization that never got very far, of parliamentary democracy that aborted. But missiles today are real. America may desperately want to turn inward, but nuclear missiles face outward. They hold us in a common destiny with our most distant adversaries. Our precarious coexistence will never be quite blind, but it may easily become myopic. The American historical image of China and of America's interaction with China thus may help or hinder our survival.

By stating these three assumptions—that we are all in a world crisis of growth and change, explosive "development" and violent "modernization," at home and abroad, that we historians must strive most of all to update our thinking so as to improve American institutional and ideological behavior, and that we must confront our China problem intellectually as a special case in need of rethinking—I have of course tried to pre-empt a position without proof and lay the basis for an argument that may seem logical though actually ignorant and biased. This, however, is a privilege customarily accorded to those who give presidential addresses. They have to start somewhere. It is easiest in mid-air, at a high level of generality.

I propose to deal with the role (or nonrole) of Chinese history in professional historical thinking in America, including the function of the China "expert" and how to get rid of him. We historians can help to lead American thinking in many ways, but the historical profession first has a job to do in its own thinking about China, a job that China specialists cannot do for it. This job is simply to get a truer and multivalued, because multicultural, perspective on the world crisis, on our own role in it, and on the role of the Chinese as the most indigestible and unassimilable of the other peoples. China is the most pronounced case of "otherness" on which we need perspective. Our relationship with China poses most concretely the problem of observing ourselves as we observe and deal with others. This leads us to the bifocal question: What image have we of our self-image? What do we think we think we are doing in the world?

The first practical question is: where has Chinese history been since the founding of the American Historical Association eighty-four years ago? The answer seems to lie in the interaction of four academic spheres—Sinology, history, social science, and area study. Let us begin with the peculiar bifurcation that has grown up between Sinology and history.

Chinese history began among us as part of Sinology: the study of Chinese

² Ralph Lapp's phrase in "China's Mushroom Cloud Casts a Long Shadow," *New York Times Magazine*, July 14, 1968, 50.

civilization through the Chinese language and writing system. Organized Sinology in the United States antedated organized history by forty-two years. The American Oriental Society began in 1842, the American Historical Association in 1884. J. Franklin Jameson tells us that the founding of the AHA was inspired partly by the example of the American Oriental Society.³ In short, we Americans were never unaware that there was a lot of history over there in China; only it had to be got at through Sinology, the study of Chinese characters, an experience so psychedelic and indescribable to outsiders that it did to Sinologists what the Chinese writing system has always done to the Chinese people—convinced them of the pre-eminent uniqueness and separateness of all things Chinese. And so Sinology and history have grown up as separate institutions in American life, running parallel. In size of membership, they have of course been unequal, in about the classic proportions of the rabbit and the horse.

We can see Sinology and history going through four rather parallel phases of growth. The first phase was one of distinguished amateurism. The American Oriental Society, incorporated by the Massachusetts General Court in 1843, represented in America the European interest in Orientalism generally, which had contributed originally to the Enlightenment and was later marked, for example, by the founding of the *Société Asiatique* in Paris in 1822.⁴ But the American Oriental Society had from the first a distinctive sense of mission. Its aim was to cultivate "learning in the Asiatic, African, and Polynesian languages," partly to assist the translation of Scripture. Orientalism in America was tied in with evangelism. AOS membership included missionaries in the Near East, India, and the Far East.⁵ Among them was the first American missionary to China, E. C. Bridgman, who reached Canton in 1830 and began publishing the first American Sinological journal, the *Chinese Repository*, in 1832. His junior colleague, Samuel Wells

³ "Moses Coit Tyler publicly stated that the first suggestion of such an organization had come to him from President Daniel C. Gilman, who pointed to the value accruing from the meetings of such bodies as the American Oriental Society and the American Association for the Advancement of Science." (J. Franklin Jameson, "The American Historical Association, 1884-1909," *American Historical Review*, XV [Oct. 1909], 4.)

⁴ Europe's view of Asia in the sixteenth century is magisterially surveyed by Donald Lach, *Asia in the Making of Europe* (2 vols., Chicago, 1965), I, the first of six projected volumes from 1500 to 1800, but the organized Western study of the East in the nineteenth century is a subject that is still neglected. For a pioneer survey, see V. V. Barthold, *La découverte de l'Asie: Histoire de l'Orientalisme en Europe et en Russie*, tr. from the Russian ed. of 1925 and bibliographically updated by B. Nikitine (Paris, 1947), esp. Chap. x.

⁵ The first AOS presidential address by John Pickering in 1843 expressed two articles of the American faith that still flourishes: "That mighty empire which has been for ages encased within its own walls, is at no distant day to be opened and come into communication with the rest of the . . . world. In that country also America may justly boast of able scholars, who have mastered all the difficulties of the language." (*Journal of the American Oriental Society*, I [1849], 42-43.)

Williams, produced his two volumes on China, *The Middle Kingdom*, in 1848. Williams was a gifted amateur historian of the same mid-century vintage as Francis Parkman, William H. Prescott, and George Bancroft.

A second phase of growth, one of scientific professionalism, came with the organization of American learned societies in the 1870's and 1880's, including the AHA, which was chartered by Congress in 1889.⁶ The idea of history as a science, popular at the end of the century, was paralleled in Europe by the growth of professional and scientific Sinology, especially at Paris where the leading journal *T'oung Pao* began publication in 1890. The accumulation of factual bricks to build an edifice of learning (or at least pile up a heap of knowledge) created the tradition of micro-Sinology, which was nourished by the Chinese tradition of *k'ao cheng hsueh*, establishing textual facts for facts' sake. But America lagged behind Europe in this professional Sinology.

In the next phase, roughly the first third of the twentieth century, both history and Sinology were challenged by social science and suffered a comparative slowdown. The old scientific history accumulated by "conservative evolutionists" no longer explained enough. As the "skeptical experimental attitude of science" continued to undermine inherited values on every level, the rise of the social sciences put historians on the defensive.⁷ They responded by trying to make history a social science. The 1920's saw the rise of foundation funding, the entrepreneurial facilities provided by the American Council of Learned Societies and the Social Science Research Council, and the growing impact of the social sciences on historical thinking, which became more problem oriented. By the 1930's it was argued that the historian's present-day subjective values entered so deeply into his history writing that he could only produce, as Charles Beard put it, "written history as an act of faith," thinking within a "framework of assumptions" inside a "climate of opinion." The New History meanwhile had broadened out and greatly diversified. In the 1930's the AHA had some 3,500 members.

In Chinese studies there had been a few notable pioneers like Arthur W. Hummel at the Library of Congress and, at Yale, Kenneth Scott Latourette, President of this association in 1948. But Sinological training in America had marked time. Only from about 1930 was professional training in Chinese and Japanese supported by the ACLS, the Rockefeller Foundation, and

⁶ Amid the copious literature on the growth of historical studies in America, I have learned most from certain recent works that give structure to the subject and extensive citations of other works: John Higham *et al.*, *History* (Englewood Cliffs, N. J., 1965); W. Stull Holt, *Historical Scholarship in the United States and Other Essays* (Seattle, 1967); Thomas C. Cochran, *The Inner Revolution: Essays on the Social Sciences in History* (New York, 1964).

⁷ Higham *et al.*, *History*, 150; Cochran, *Inner Revolution*, 2.

the Harvard-Yenching Institute.⁸ The American Oriental Society still had only a few hundred members.

Despite its earlier beginning, American Sinology had taken a generation longer than history to become professional. It was also slower by a generation to respond to the impact of social science. The marriage of Sinology and social science came only as a shotgun wedding during and after World War II. Area study was born of this union, but the American Oriental Society was not even a midwife. The lead was taken by the ACLS, during the war by the Office of Strategic Services, and later by the Association for Asian Studies, which dates from 1948. Today the AAS has 4,000 members, and its annual spring meeting draws 2,500, who mill about struggling to hear 125 papers.⁹ The AAS has even more committees than the AHA. Since area study is a device by which historians can provide a meaningful context for the application of social science thinking, Chinese history has flourished under AAS auspices. Once interdisciplinary area study got started in the 1940's it became plain that traditional Sinology, the study of China as a whole civilization, had always been interdisciplinary, and this was indeed one reason why it had remained so separate from professional history in America. The subtitle of Williams' *Middle Kingdom* of 1848 had been *A Survey of the Geography, Government, Education, Social Life, Arts, Religion, etc., of the Chinese Empire and Its Inhabitants*, much like the syllabus of an area survey course today.

A fourth and final phase may be discerned in the parallel growth of history and Sinology, a phase of self-conscious maturity and coalescence. Since World War II, in John Higham's phrase, we have seen a "renewal of history," a "revival of confidence in historical knowledge."¹⁰ As Roy Nichols expressed this two years ago, we historians now realize we have our "own intellectual birthright. . . . a discipline and a series of unique functions of our own. . . . we have an intellectual capacity of our own, not fully realized, which we can develop."¹¹ In short, history is not just one of the social sciences. History and natural science together provided the background of learning and of methodology out of which the social sciences emerged. History has been enriched by the social sciences, but the historian's task of synthesis remains distinct and *sui generis*.

⁸ Mortimer Graves of the ACLS, with the support of David Stevens of the Rockefeller Foundation, took the lead in organizing a national Committee on the Promotion of Far Eastern Studies. Fellowship support from the Rockefeller Foundation was augmented by that from the Harvard-Yenching Institute under Sergei Elisseeff.

⁹ See relevant issues of the *Far Eastern Quarterly*, I-XV (Nov. 1941-Sept. 1956), continued as the *Journal of Asian Studies*, XVI (Nov. 1956).

¹⁰ Higham *et al.*, *History*, 132.

¹¹ Roy F. Nichols, "History in a Self-Governing Culture," *American Historical Review*, LXXII (Jan. 1967), 423-24.

Looked at as modes of thought, history, the social sciences, and area study including Sinology seem now to have all met and intermingled. They are no longer in separate intellectual channels, and one cannot follow any one stream without getting into the others. The dynamic, indeed volcanic, outpouring of new work in so many fields of history today has its counterpart in a flow of new work in Chinese studies. Needless to say, the unprecedented attention to Asia in our AHA program this year testifies to this new maturity and sense of global balance.

Yet here we run into our institutional backwardness, the stubborn barriers maintained by old habits of thought and customary behavior. What are the facts of our national situation? The same factors that have caused Chinese history to flourish have kept it outside the established channels of the historical profession. Special funds from foundations and from government have led to special development programs. Graduate students are separately financed and separately admitted to separate degree programs with separate requirements. Their intensive language training, like the rigors of an old-time fraternity initiation, make them members of a cult, set apart. They feel both separate and more than equal. Chinese history today is largely dealt with through the Association for Asian Studies, just as American history is so extensively dealt with through another area association, the Organization of American Historians. But there is a difference. The OAH and the AHA are related like daughter and mother (or perhaps daughter-in-law and mother-in-law). But the AHA and the Association for Asian Studies have been complete strangers; until this year there has been no institutional connection or contact of any kind between them. This institutional bifurcation is too big a fact to be classified as an accident.

I suggest that despite our best efforts, the problem of China's separateness is still very much with us; that American studies of the Chinese culture area and of Chinese history have developed in institutional channels separate from European-American history, not merely because of the language problem and cultism in the field of Chinese history but also because of the historical profession's self-sufficiency, its ability to survive and even seem to flourish without benefit of Chinese history. In short, historians in America have been, like historians elsewhere, patriotic, genetically oriented, and culture-bound. (Foreign area specialists are of course culture-bound too, but they are obliged to recognize it and worry about it.) Thus it is an inherited habit of mind among us to recognize the split between Western, that is, Old World-New World, history and that segregated, peripheral afterthought, the history of the "non-West," wherever that is.

One might better call it the "non-us." The "non-us" is of course the non-minority of mankind. Our bifurcated institutional structure, like the separate structures of the AHA and the AAS, thus embodies and perpetuates our bifurcated thinking.

This crippling habit of mind attributes special wisdom to the possessor of exotic learning, the "expert," who in turn plays up to his audience in a vicious circle which, like so many vicious circles, is often rather fun. I know this because I have functioned publicly as a "China expert," a title I wear like a hair shirt, which, nevertheless, like a hair shirt on a holy man of old, has certain compensatory advantages. As a "China expert" looks into the hopeful eyes of sincere and culture-bound American audiences, he tries to meet their need for reassurance that someone knows. He learns to make plausible sense out of their conviction of ignorance and his own scanty information. If you tell them, "China is very big and very, very old," some will always nod their heads. I am referring, of course, to the art of punditry. After all, for anyone who has been president of the Association for Asian Studies, a veritable pooh-bah among the pundits there, it is no trick at all to confront the historical establishment here and be a true pundit among the pooh-bahs. One begins with a touch of the exotic. *Che shih ti-i-tz'u wo-men ti Mei-kuo Li-shih Hsueh-hui ti hui-chang tsai mei-nien ta-hui chiang i-tien Chung-kuo-hua*. In other words, "This is the first time our AHA President at the Annual Meeting has spoken a bit of Chinese." In many American academics this kind of stunt should have produced three thoughts, in addition perhaps to a sense of unease or even annoyance: first, says the listener to himself, "I do not know Chinese"; therefore, second, "I cannot know about China"; and so, third, "I shall leave Chinese matters to the China expert."

If this in any degree approximates your reaction, we now have before us a second fact too big to ignore: the history of Europe and America is our common heritage; it explains us. But China is still exotic, outside our European-American culture, and so we leave China to the "experts." This is intellectual abdication.

Someone may argue, "If I do not read Chinese and Japanese, how can I have scholarly thoughts about East Asia? It would be secondhand scholarship, out of linguistic control and so second-rate." Let me ask in reply, "Do you ever have scholarly thoughts about Greece and Rome and medieval Europe even though you do not actually read Greek and Latin for the purpose? Have you ever ventured to influence a student's thinking about Plato or Caesar or St. Thomas Aquinas while referring to their writings only in English translations?"

The problem here is not: What languages do we read? The problem is: What is our intellectual and historical horizon? What are the boundaries of our curiosity and interest? Must we look back only to our own European and American origins? Must we be so culture-bound?

Here someone may say, quite realistically, "Europe and America, the Old World and the New World, are the majority civilization, the mainstream of history. China has been a minority civilization, an exotic side current, a largely self-contained backwater, not really important."

For your hard-core, proselytizing China specialist, this is of course a salutary thought. There are two answers to it, one pragmatic, one academic, each valid. The pragmatic answer is for men of affairs, in terms of the overused and now shopworn concept of national interest. Our last three wars have all involved us with the Chinese culture area. Our international world and the Chinese fourth or fifth of mankind have to coexist. Survival depends upon it. China is by tradition a profoundly isolationist country, far more stay-at-home than we migrating, mobile Americans can imagine. But modern Communist-nationalism has militant potentialities, and missiles know no boundaries.

This argument of Chinese history for survival is a Sinified updating of the familiar theme of history for use, history the handmaiden of statesmanship, so often voiced in AHA presidential addresses since 1885. I would not deny its applicability here. Trouble ahead has become a safe bet. Calamity howling at funding time is almost reflex action among us. It took World War II to put Chinese studies on their feet in this country. In the last ten years the Ford Foundation has invested in this field more than twenty million dollars—a large sum by academic standards and almost a full working hour's worth of our annual military expenditure. Like it or not, Chinese studies for national defense represent on our campuses a kind of nuclear blackmail we cannot avoid.

The academic argument as to why Mr. Everyman must now become his own East Asian historian is perhaps less newsworthy but intellectually more compelling. The Chinese culture area—China, Japan, Korea, Vietnam—is simply very interesting. Its long history represents perhaps a third of organized human experience. The intellectual and aesthetic challenge of East Asian studies should be irresistible to anyone concerned with the evolution of human affairs. I shall not take your time with a hopeful recital of the potential East Asian contributions to all fields of learning, both in the social sciences and in the humanistic sciences: in the fine arts, in religion and philosophy, in literature and thought, in social and economic organiza-

tion, in the art of government and the art of living. Much has been written on this theme of what East Asian studies have to offer us.

This humanistic argument is, I suggest, part of our traditional academic rhetoric, part of a still larger theme, the promise of what Asia can offer, the image of Asia in American expansion, the lure of the transpacific in the American westward movement, the Asian influence on American life, whether on Ralph Waldo Emerson and transcendentalism, or on Ernest Fenollosa and his circle in the fine arts. This larger theme is of course our latter-day version of the European image of Asia, the lure of the East, the riches of Cathay and the spice trade, the land of Prester John, the tales of Marco Polo, the Peking Jesuits' influence on the Enlightenment, and all the rest.

Without venturing further into this realm of images and influences, I suggest that the civilization of the West has always been aware of the civilization of the East, by turns fascinated and terrified by it, and often responsive to it. In early modern times the small have-not powers of the northwest Eurasian peninsula were triggered to explode over the world partly because the fabled lands of Asia were bigger and richer. We Westerners have all had Asia on our horizon in this fashion. Today the pragmatic motive of national interest and the humanistic motive of intellectual interest are both widely accepted in American education as arguments for bringing East Asia into our schools and colleges. As regards China, two principal efforts are being made, one in world history, one in Chinese history. Both are admirable, but they will not, either singly or together, prepare us for the 1970's.

Consider first the effort at comprehending China through world history. Much is being done in world history courses in high schools and in survey courses in colleges. For example, William H. McNeill's excellent volume, *The Rise of the West*, in addition to this reassuring main title has a more accurate subtitle, *A History of the Human Community*.¹² Because of its broad scope, it is being used as an introductory text for Asian history. The chair at the University of Chicago named for the medievalist James Westfall Thompson, President of this association in 1941, is now held by Professor Ping-ti Ho, who was born in Tientsin and is a member of Academia Sinica in Taipei. These are signs of the times. Our historical teaching and research are both reaching out over the world. The research of Americanists has long since encompassed both sides of the Atlantic in studies of the colonial period, its political thought, the Enlightenment, the democratic revolutions,

¹² William H. McNeill, *The Rise of the West: A History of the Human Community* (Chicago, 1963).

the transatlantic migration, and the like. United States foreign relations are researched in all the European archives. Many among us are trying to take a next step: to move from an integrated European-American history to an intercultural and interconnected world history. But this is not an easy step to take. It cannot be taken merely by area specialists, intent on the uniqueness of their areas, but only by historians able to steer their way across the 360-degree ocean of human experience. Historians who try this must be part social scientists, though in the end the social sciences can provide only bits and pieces, and historians must put the picture together.

World history can be pursued at the level of instruction. But what can be done at the level of research? I am all in favor of world history, but if we look at the reality as well as the rhetoric, how is world history going to be developed, aside from the writing of textbooks? What is the world history on which one can actually do research? And who is going to do it? I need not remind you that professors tend to reproduce their kind until death or retirement prevents them. Our institutional inertia inheres in the way one generation of professors raises up another in its own, slightly idealized image. For the world crisis of the 1970's, to push for world history in general education is not enough. It offers only a prospect of gradual osmosis of ideas, a "trickle up" theory, that our leadership eventually will be so well educated in things Asian and Chinese, for example, that they will have the wit and wisdom to avoid disaster in our Asian relations—a thin hope indeed.

Comparative history is of course a field of great promise. But a bridge must have two ends. Comparative history involving China can be no stronger than our work in Chinese history.

In Chinese history, so much has been accomplished in recent years that I can now contribute most by noting the difficulties that set a low ceiling on our prospects. Number one is the language: no one can simply "read Chinese." If asked, "Do you read Chinese?" one answers, "No, only some kinds of Chinese." This is because the Chinese writing system has a different vocabulary of special terms for each special branch of learning or literature, yet each vocabulary may use the same characters, which are therefore laden with ambiguity, with the result that the special vocabularies have to exist in the mind of the beholder. They are not self-evident in the script. The number of persons in the world who have had a proper classical immersion fitting them to read classical Chinese is undoubtedly dwindling year by year—both on the China mainland where education has been torn down to be rethought and on Taiwan where humanistic studies are undernourished. In Japan, Korea, and Vietnam the phonetic components of the

writing systems continue to be used more and more and the old Chinese characters less and less.

Many weaknesses stem from this difficulty of the writing system. Reading widely in the many styles of classical Chinese is quite beyond the capacity of most of us. One cannot easily scan a work for content. One cannot become as familiar with Chinese literature as were the Chinese of a given era, and so one cannot easily reconstruct their thinking. The degree of error in the creative reconstruction of the past, always great enough, is greater in the case of China.

The sensible remedy for the problem of the Chinese language is a two-platoon system: every American post in Chinese history should be staffed by two men, each of whom in turn can fully devote himself to reading and translating Chinese while the other one takes his turn teaching and recommending students, going to meetings, and keeping up with the *New York Times*. Deans and department chairmen may see a certain infeasibility in this proposal. But the Chinese-language problem is a fact. Only such an allocation of man-hours to work on the language will enable us eventually to discuss Chinese thought and behavior at the level of knowledge and sophistication now expected in European and American history. On the present basis we can turn out monographs and we can use monographs to write surveys, but we shall never become as steeped in the record, as past-minded, as, for example, a Charles McIlwain, a Perry Miller, or a Harry Wolfson, if I may cite only examples from my own acquaintance.

A second difficulty is that the modernization of Chinese historical scholarship has been stunted by war, revolution, and dictatorship. It cannot lead the way for us, except possibly in Taiwan or Japan. The Chinese historical record, meanwhile, is still focused on the court and central government. Study of provincial and local history has barely begun. Nonofficial biographies are few, and historical personalities remain almost unknown. Chinese history is still profoundly underdeveloped.

From all this springs a third difficulty: that we are more than usually in danger of finding what we seek, of posing a Western question and collecting evidence to answer it, ignoring the actual Chinese situation. On this basis we may find China a great case of nondevelopment—nondevelopment of science, nondevelopment of nationalism, failure to develop parliamentary democracy, nonindustrialization, and nonexpansion. If we approach China looking for similarities to ourselves, we can almost find a nongrowth, a China that was “unchanging” because it did not change as we did.

This, unfortunately, is a built-in tendency among our social sciences: Economists looking for China's development find few statistics, faulty base

lines, and many noneconomic factors at work, which they must of course leave to others. Political scientists agree that Mao's revolution, the most massive in history, can be classified as a stage in "political development." It is indeed. Behavioral scientists studying China from outside through a controlled press, defectors' testimony, and travelers' reports find themselves in the position of those medieval surgeons who were obliged to operate under a sheet. The basic fact is that in the case of China social scientists lack that large and reliable accumulation of historically processed learning—statistics, monographs, institutional studies, biographies, political narratives, literary translations, and modern criticism—which in Europe and America formed the intellectual matrix in which the social sciences got their start in the nineteenth century. This can produce real myopia. For example, the members of the Social Science Research Council at their annual September meeting a few years ago, lacking this perspective on their own historical origins and being apparently all the more firmly culture-bound by their belief in the so-called universality of scientific principles, prudently voted that Chinese history before 1911 was not their proper concern. They were not against it; they were merely unable to see its relevance to their work.

Where are we to look for intellectual leadership and new ideas in our confrontation with China in the 1970's? World history in school and college is not enough. The field of Chinese history, much as its devotees approve of it, cannot produce ready answers for statesmen. Social scientists who like to produce such answers are quite capable of leading us, with great rationality, into well-organized and comprehensive disasters. Politicians can do the same without even recognizing the cultural differences that have been their undoing.

Let us profit by our inadvertent war in Vietnam as an object lesson in historical nonthinking. The history of Vietnam has never been part of history in the USA. Indeed, it has not even been part of American Sinology or East Asian studies. By a curious oversight Vietnam has not been included until recently in the Chinese culture area, where it geneticaly belongs. For example, old Vietnamese books in Chinese characters (like the old literature of China, Korea, and Japan) were not included in the Harvard-Yenching Library, presumably because Vietnam was part of the French Empire, beyond the American horizon. Suppose that our leaders in the Congress and the executive branch had all been aware that North Vietnam is a country older than France with a thousand-year history of southward expansion and militant independence maintained by using guerrilla warfare to expel invaders from China, for example, three times in the thirteenth century, again in the fifteenth century, and again in the late eighteenth century, to say

nothing of the French in the 1950's. With this perspective, would we have sent our troops into Vietnam so casually in 1965? A historical appreciation of the Buddhist capacity for individual self-sacrifice, of the Confucian concern for leadership by personal prestige and moral example, even of the Communist capacity for patriotism, might also have made us hesitate to commit ourselves to bomb Hanoi into submission.¹⁸

The assignment I suggest for the 1970's is the study of American-East Asian relations. It requires a combination of skills, but the lead must be taken by Americanists. After all, it is America that now heads the Western expansion into the East. It is our trade that flows to and from Japan, our Seventh Fleet that stabilizes the Western Pacific. The United States seeks no territory, but its capacities make its influence the most expansive that history has seen, whether measured by the diffusion of Coca-Cola and *Life-Time* magazines, or of Boeing 707's, or the free distribution of arms and aid. China's expansiveness, which presumably motivated our Vietnam intervention, is in comparison with our own expansiveness like *chiu-niu i-mao*, "a single hair among nine cow-hides," in short, miniscule.

What has been the relation of Vietnam to China, in fact and in our minds? How far was our Vietnam intervention a psychological compensation for the so-called "loss" of China? What makes us tick as we do, at three minutes to midnight? Our historians on the whole do not tell us. (A China "expert" may tell you but he won't know.) We need another dimension to our self-knowledge, for we in America need watching and self-control even more than our adversaries, if only because we have greater capacities.

Americanists have studied the American end of our expansion: the rhetoric of manifest destiny, ideas of mission and empire, business interests and the Open Door for trade. Is it not time for a further step, the study of American activities abroad, our interaction with foreign peoples like the Chinese and Japanese, and the impact of all this experience abroad on our growth at home? The basic fact is that we have interacted with East Asia as well as with Europe. Those who move into new surroundings experience more than those who stay habit-bound at home. Thus Europe's discovery of Cathay in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries produced a vast European literature, contributed to the Enlightenment, energized the European economy, and led on to colonialism and imperialism, while life in China continued in the same period comparatively unaffected from outside. If expanding Europe could be so influenced at many levels by its contact with China,

¹⁸ "American officials did expect reason and mutual concessions to prevail in 1964 and 1965. . . . They believed that Hanoi would . . . be frightened off by the flexing of our muscles, or be tempted to share in the lucrative rewards of economic cooperation. . . ." (Bill Moyers, "One Thing We Learned," *Foreign Affairs*, XLVI [July 1968], 662.)

what of America? Was expanding America in the nineteenth century somehow less affected, less responsive to novel experience abroad?

The conventional wisdom replies that while the British expanded into India and the Far East, the Americans expanded across their own continent. The western frontier helped shape the American character. Ever since 1893, "the significance of the frontier in American history" has inspired an inundation of literature that seems now to have been for the most part parochially inward looking, explaining and indeed celebrating America's uniqueness and isolation.

Yet in this literature it is casually recognized that American expansion from the Atlantic seaboard went both overland and by sea. Indeed, the New England diaspora of the early nineteenth century found a considerable outlet in the China trade. A first theme to pursue might well be the role of the old China trade as an integral part of the American westward movement. By mid-century Thomas Hart Benton and others were invoking the old dream of "a passage to India," in urging America's expansion to the Pacific for trade with Asia.¹⁴ But while Benton was orating, others were acting.

As a single example, put side by side two books, one by Thomas C. Cochran on American railroad leaders and one by Kwang-Ching Liu on early American steamboating on the Yangtze.¹⁵ One focuses on the American Middle West, the other on Shanghai—two different worlds. But if one mixes them and adds a pinch of the *Dictionary of American Biography*, he gets the story of Russell & Company and the CB & Q, or how the opium trade helped build our railroads. Let me cite four persons only. John Murray Forbes joined the Boston firm of Russell & Company at Canton in 1830 and made a fortune. The firm became the leading American competitor of the British in tea and opium, very close to the richest Canton hong merchant and agent for his investments abroad. After returning from Canton, Forbes in 1846 financed the Michigan Central Railroad, and thereafter he put together the Chicago, Burlington & Quincy system. John Cleve Green of New York joined Russell & Company at Canton in 1833, became head of the firm, cleaned up in opium, retired in 1839, and joined Forbes in financing the Michigan Central and the CB & Q. Green's brother-in-law, John N. Alsop Griswold of New York, became Russell & Company's partner at Shanghai, working closely with Chinese merchants from 1848 to 1854. He returned and became president of the Illinois Central in 1855 and was later chairman

¹⁴ Henry Nash Smith, *Virgin Land: The American West as Symbol and Myth* (Cambridge, Mass., 1950), Bk. I.

¹⁵ Thomas C. Cochran, *Railroad Leaders, 1845-1890: The Business Mind in Action* (Cambridge, Mass., 1953); Kwang-Ching Liu, *Anglo-American Steamship Rivalry in China, 1862-1874* (Cambridge, Mass., 1962).

of the CB & Q. His successor at Shanghai, George Tyson, partner of Russell & Company from 1856 to 1868, helped inaugurate steamboating on the Yangtze. He returned to become a director and general auditor of the CB & Q. There were others. A cousin, Paul Sieman Forbes, head of Russell & Company in the United States, built steamships both for the Yangtze and for the US Navy, while investing his China profits continually in middle western railways.

For a whole generation of New Yorkers and Bostonians it was easier and more profitable to go to Canton or Shanghai than to Denver or Salt Lake City. In the early half of the nineteenth century, the China frontier was often more inviting for trade than the American frontier, just as the British had found in the eighteenth century. Yet with some notable exceptions the role of the China trade in America's growth has long been neglected. One can best read about it still in Samuel Eliot Morison's classic, *The Maritime History of Massachusetts, 1783-1860*, published forty-seven years ago.¹⁶

When we turn from trade to evangelism, we find the same pattern of American expansion overseas but a general failure of historians thus far to integrate it with continental expansion at home. Religious activities in the nineteenth century—the Second Great Awakening, revivalism and the camp meeting, home missions, and the westward movement of major denominations—have all been studied. But surveys of our westward expansion and our expansionist sentiments say surprisingly little about missionaries, as though religious expansion were a specialized subsector of the American experience, not as noteworthy as economic and political expansion.¹⁷

Perhaps I should explain that my grasp of American history has the enthusiastic sense of discovery typical of a Ph.D. candidate preparing for his general examination, although like all such candidates, I should prefer to postpone my general examination until next April, or perhaps October, or possibly December. But in absolute terms I already have more conclusions about American history than I shall ever reach about Chinese history because so much more knowledge and sophistication have accumulated in the

¹⁶ Samuel Eliot Morison, *The Maritime History of Massachusetts, 1783-1860* (Boston, 1921). Notable works like those of Kenneth Wiggins Porter, *John Jacob Astor: Business Man* (2 vols., Cambridge, Mass., 1931), and Foster Rhea Dulles, *The Old China Trade* (Boston, 1930), were also published a full generation ago.

¹⁷ This strikes me as a general feature of the extensive and useful work thus far available. As a typical example, the wide-ranging study by Edward McNall Burns, *The American Idea of Mission: Concepts of National Purpose and Destiny* (New Brunswick, N. J., 1957), refers frequently to the writings of the expansionist (and home missionary), the Reverend Josiah Strong, but does not look at the possible influence of "foreign missions" or "missionaries," which are not even in his index. Again, Walter LaFeber, *The New Empire: An Interpretation of American Expansion, 1860-1898* (Ithaca, N. Y., 1963), devotes eight pages to Strong's writings, but barely touches on missionary influences in the 1890's (pp. 304-308). Examples could be greatly multiplied. The main point seems to be that mission archives have not been used for monographic studies.

American field. From this bystander's, "but-the-emperor-has-no-clothes," point of view, the missionary in foreign parts seems to be the invisible man of American history. His influence at home, his reports and circular letters, his visits on furlough, his symbolic value for his home church constituency seem not to have interested academic historians.¹⁸

Let me cite only two superficial indicators of this general neglect. The first is Nelson R. Burr's *Critical Bibliography of Religion in America*,¹⁹ where foreign missions are dealt with under "Movements toward Unity" in a subsection on "Foreign Missions and Unity" in a mere sixteen out of twelve hundred pages. These pages, moreover, list mainly records and works from missionary sources. Few academic studies of foreign missions seem to have been made, least of all on their impact at home.

In fact, of course, foreign missions to the Ottoman Empire, India, and China—Asian lands rich in heathen—developed along with home missions to western America. For example, among the Congregationalists the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions was organized in 1810, the American Home Missionary Society not until 1826. The American Board got its first missionaries to Oregon and to Canton in the same decade, the 1830's.²⁰ Methodist circuit riders moved across the Alleghenies and through the Middle West with the fringe of settlement. They were in California by 1849, but by 1847 Methodist missionaries had already reached Foochow in China. There they found people in the cities unresponsive and soon placed their hopes in "an expansion movement westward," itinerating among the villages of rural China.²¹ Apparently a missionary set down anywhere would automatically start moving westward.

Subsequently, the demand for evangelism within the USA seems to have grown faster than foreign missions. American church membership grew from about 7 per cent of the population in 1800 to about 36 per cent in 1900.²² But a new surge of foreign missions came at the close of the century. The end of the open land frontier in the 1880's coincided with the rise of the

¹⁸ Kenneth Scott Latourette, *A History of the Expansion of Christianity* (7 vols., New York, 1938-45). Volumes IV-VI are on the period 1800-1914; in them he notes the interaction of missionaries with their environment, but does not pursue the overseas missionaries' influence at home.

¹⁹ Nelson R. Burr, *Critical Bibliography of Religion in America* (2 vols., Princeton, N. J., 1961).

²⁰ For a study of early missionary ideas and activities, see C. J. Phillips, "Protestant America and the Pagan World, The First Half Century of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, 1810-1860," doctoral dissertation, Harvard University, 1954. James A. Field, Jr., drew this reference to my attention.

²¹ W. C. Barclay, *Widening Horizons 1845-95* (New York, 1957), 367-68. R. S. Maclay wrote: "Our way is gradually opening to the western portions of this province, and thence to the central and western provinces of China." Similarly, Nathan Sites "delighted in pioneer work . . . far up the river to the westward [p. 380]."

²² Latourette, *History of the Expansion of Christianity*, IV, 177.

Student Volunteer Movement for Foreign Missions. The early twentieth century saw a concentration on China as the principal overseas extension of the American frontier.

This neglect of missionaries in American historiography can be seen even in the recent and stimulating symposium, *The Comparative Approach to American History*,²³ in which leaders of the profession compare the American experience with that of other peoples under headings such as the Enlightenment, the Revolution, frontiers, immigration, mobility, slavery, Civil War, industrialization, imperialism, and the like. This volume vigorously attacks the shibboleth of America's uniqueness by putting our self-image in a broader world perspective. But it makes no reference to the long-continued American experience of religious missions overseas, evidently because they remain as yet unstudied. Yet where is there a greater opportunity for comparative study? Missionaries went out from most of Europe and the British Commonwealth as well as from the United States; they came from various sections, as well as various denominations, with all their regional-cultural diversity; they worked in the most diverse lands abroad, encountering widely different societies and institutions. Mission history is a great and underused research laboratory for the comparative observation of cultural stimulus and response in both directions.

The new field of American-East Asian relations must grow in the 1970's also from the East Asian end. In this, American-Japanese relations may take the lead because Japan's modern historiography is more developed than China's. At any rate, it is good news that the AHA now has a Committee on American-East Asian Relations. This committee aims at the miscegenation of two subhistories, those of East Asia and of American foreign relations. This combination is necessary because East Asian studies have had little or no way to support the study of American relations with East Asia, while scholars of American foreign relations have hesitated to deal with the linguistic and cultural difficulties of East Asian history. In the American fashion our AHA committee, headed by Ernest May, has inaugurated a conference program and has sought foundation aid to help us buy our way out of this stalemate and produce young crossbred scholars who can look at both ends of the American-East Asian relationship and try to meet in the middle.²⁴ It is high time.

²³ *The Comparative Approach to American History*, ed. C. Vann Woodward (New York, 1968).

²⁴ Major themes and a wealth of archival as well as published sources are set out in Kwang-Ching Liu, *Americans and Chinese: A Historical Essay and a Bibliography* (Cambridge, Mass., 1963). Great opportunities, for example, lie ahead in the comparison of broad themes in American and Chinese thought: rural utopianism as against urban evil, American nativism and Chinese xenophobia, conflict between nature and technology, between the garden of nature

Today the greatest menace to mankind may well be the American tendency to overrespond to heathen evils abroad, either by attacking them or by condemning them to outer darkness. The study of American foreign missions and their long-continued conditioning influence at home needs no special advocacy in an age when we get our power politics overextended into foreign disasters like Vietnam mainly through an excess of righteousness and disinterested benevolence, under a President who talks like a Baptist preacher²⁵ and who inherited his disaster from a Secretary of State who was also a ruling elder of the Presbyterian Church. Plainly the missionary impulse has contributed both to the American swelled head and to its recent crown of thorns. No people could enjoy so great a conviction of moral righteousness in their activities abroad without long-continued and systematic practice. Washington and Peking today, for all their differences, have two things in common: that new "equalizer" among statesmen, nuclear technology; and a belief that morality sanctions violence.

We historians must update the old Chinese strategic maxim: *chih-chi chih-pi, pai-chan pai-sheng* ("If you can comprehend yourself and comprehend your adversary, you can win every time").²⁶ It is peace with China that must be struggled for and won. Americanists and East Asia specialists must join in a common assignment to comprehend both sides and their dynamic interaction.

and "the machine in the garden" or, in China, the machine intruding from abroad, and so forth. Though vastly misleading if abstracted from their historical-intellectual contexts, such themes, when compared in Chinese and American thought, can someday help to fit both peoples into the larger context of human experience.

²⁵ "They came here . . . the exile and the stranger . . . to find a place where a man could be his own man. They made a covenant with this land . . . it was meant one day to inspire the hopes of all mankind. . . . The American covenant called on us to help show the way for the liberation of man. That is still our goal. . . . If American lives must end, and American treasure be spilled, in countries we barely know, that is the price that change has demanded of conviction." (President L. B. Johnson, inaugural address, Jan. 1965; see Richard Harris, *America and East Asia: A New Thirty Years War?* [London 1968], 19.)

²⁶ In hyperliteral terms: "Know ourselves, know them; hundred battles, hundred victories," a favorite slogan of the late nineteenth-century movement for "self-strengthening" by Westernization.

Thought and Practice of Enlightened Government in French Corsica

THADD E. HALL

THE relation of Enlightenment ideas and political actions has often been discussed in the realm of theory. Corsica, which the republic of Genoa ceded to France by a treaty signed in May 1768, offers a splendid instance of their relation in practice. This article focuses on the thought and practice of French government in Corsica during the island's first two decades as a French province. It does not suggest that the case of French administration in Corsica was typical of French administration on the Continent or that of other so-called enlightened monarchs. It only suggests that the study of French rule in Corsica after 1768 is fertile ground for examining the relationship between the thought of the Enlightenment and the practice of governing eighteenth-century states.

Any discussion of the confluence between the Enlightenment and eighteenth-century government must begin with the important investigation of enlightened despotism undertaken by the International Committee of Historical Sciences in the 1920's and 1930's.¹ The papers presented during the committee's inquiry both defined more clearly what had been "a vague and obscure concept"² and, at the same time, raised some of the questions that have since intrigued many students of modern history. These papers re-

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¹ *Bulletin of the International Committee of Historical Sciences* [hereafter cited as *BICHHS*], I (No. 5, 1928), 601-12; II (No. 9, 1930), 533-52; V (No. 20, 1933), 701-804; IX (Nos. 34-35, 39, 1937), 2-131, 135-225, 519-37. There are good bibliographies on the subject of enlightened despotism in Jacques Godechot, *Les révolutions* (Paris, 1963); Geoffrey Bruun, *The Enlightened Despots* (2d ed., New York, 1967); John G. Gagliardo, *Enlightened Despotism* (New York, 1967); and Roger Wine, *Enlightened Despotism: Reform or Reaction?* (Boston, 1967).

² The phrase was used by Michel Lhéritier, who launched the committee's investigation of enlightened despotism by his study of "Le rôle historique de despotisme éclairé particulièrement au 18^e siècle," *BICHHS*, I (No. 5, 1928), 601-12. An older study by A. H. Johnson, *The Age of the Enlightened Despots, 1660-1789* (20th ed., London, 1950), which first appeared in 1909, is a good indication of how vague the term enlightened despotism was prior to the committee's inquiry.

vealed disputes over relevant dates and what rulers should be labeled enlightened despots; they brought out conflicting opinions about whether enlightened despotism meant centralization or decentralization of power, a preoccupation with fiscal justice or state building through economic means, authoritarianism or liberalism. These conflicting opinions represent differences among scholars about the nature and characteristics of the thought of the Enlightenment, as well as changes within the monarchic form of government. In addition, they raise the fundamental question of how the thought of the Enlightenment influenced or was otherwise related to the actions of eighteenth-century rulers. Many of the papers presented during the committee's inquiry posed that question, implicitly if not always explicitly, and more recently two eminent European historians have again turned their attention to it. In a series of lectures given at the Sorbonne and subsequently published in 1954, Paul Vaucher pointed to the need for further research on the relationship between the thought and practice of enlightened despotism.³ Then, in 1955, Fritz Hartung, who had been concerned with the subject of enlightened despotism for many years, raised the same question.⁴

Hartung's re-evaluation of enlightened despotism led him to conclude that attempts to demonstrate common features between the thought of the Enlightenment and the practice of eighteenth-century reforming monarchs have been unsuccessful.⁵ The apparent lack of success from such efforts seems to be related to two particularly difficult problems. First, it is not an easy task "to prove" sufficiently that individual philosophes influenced individual rulers.⁶ Second, how can scholars seek relationships between thought and action and yet avoid the dangers of assuming a lineal or a one-to-one

³ Paul Vaucher, *Le despotisme éclairé* (Paris, 1954). On Vaucher's contributions to historical studies, see John C. Rule, "Paul Vaucher: Historian," *French Historical Studies*, V (Spring 1967), 98-105. Rule has reprinted excerpts from Vaucher's study in *Critical Issues in History: The Early Modern Era, 1648-1770* (Boston, 1967), 467-73.

⁴ Fritz Hartung, "Der aufgeklärte Absolutismus," *Historische Zeitschrift*, CLXXX (No. 1, 1955), 15-42.

⁵ *Ibid.*, 16. Hartung's other important contributions to the subject include "Die Epochen der absoluten Monarchie in der neueren Geschichte," *Historische Zeitschrift*, CXLV (No. 1, 1932), 46-52; "Die geschichtliche Bedeutung des aufgeklärten Despotismus in Preussen und in den deutschen Kleinstaaten," *BICHs*, IX (No. 34, 1937), 3-21; *Neuzeit, von der Mitte des 17. Jahrhunderts bis zur Französischen Revolution 1789* (Darmstadt, 1965), which first appeared in 1932; and *Deutsche Verfassungsgeschichte vom 15. Jahrhundert bis zur Gegenwart* (6th ed., Stuttgart, 1950). Hartung's 1955 article marked a considerable retrenchment in his estimation of Frederick II as an enlightened despot. In the 1930's he argued that Frederick constructed a true system, a *Rechtsstaat*, and gave it reality while exercising personal power. His system included foreign policy and reforms in education, economics, and law. In the 1955 article Hartung still described Frederick as the typical enlightened despot, but the Prussian ruler's "enlightenment" was more limited, and his place in the history of absolutism was more pronounced.

⁶ It is possible that Professor Adrienne D. Hytier of Vassar College, who is presently studying the personal relationships between the philosophes and the enlightened despots, will bring new information to bear on this problem.

relationship between them? These two problems help to explain why a growing number of studies either reflect or support Hartung's position by more or less emphatically denying that the philosophes had any appreciable influence on eighteenth-century monarchs.⁷

Some scholars, Hartung among them, have gone even further and have suggested that the Enlightenment and the practice of governing eighteenth-century states were by their nature contradictory. Hartung saw Frederick II as the typical representative of enlightened despotism and argued that for Frederick there was a "contradiction between enlightened theory and absolute practice [that] was caused for the most part by the requirements of power politics." François Olivier-Martin has examined the eighteenth-century French monarchy's political, administrative, religious, and economic policies and has concluded that there was "a radical opposition" between the traditional practices of the monarchy and the ideas of the Enlightenment. It is significant that both Hartung and Olivier-Martin were constitutional historians. Both considered enlightened ideas doctrinaire, idealistic, and unrealistic. Frederick, Hartung wrote, at times seemed to favor the spread of the Enlightenment, "but deep in his heart he was completely untouched by the joyful optimism [*frohen Optimismus*] of the Enlightenment, which hoped that the spread of knowledge and the fight against prejudice would lead to the moral progress of mankind." Olivier-Martin said that the French monarchy judged human nature pessimistically and therefore adopted authoritarian controls, while enlightened despotism was based on the idea of "la bonté naturelle de l'homme" and the notion that reason would reveal a natural order that enlightened men would support.⁸

These observations are clear cases of how specific interpretations of the nature of the Enlightenment affect conclusions about the relationship between the thought of the Enlightenment and the practice of governing.⁹ Some idea of how controversial the subject of enlightened despotism is can be seen in the fact that though Hartung and Olivier-Martin agreed about the "contradiction" or "opposition" of ideas and practice, they differed fundamentally in their definition of enlightened despotism. Yet their arguments,

⁷ See, e.g., Leo Gershoy, *From Despotism to Revolution, 1763-1789* (New York, 1944), 318-22; Charles Morazé, "Finance et despotisme: Essai sur les despotes éclairés," *Annales: Économies, sociétés, civilisations*, III (No. 3, 1948), 279-96; Georges Lefebvre, "Le despotisme éclairé," *Annales historiques de la Révolution française*, XXI (No. 114, 1949), 97-115; Roland Mousnier and Ernest Labrousse, *Le XVIII^e siècle: L'époque des "Lumières" (1715-1815)* (Paris, 1959), 173.

⁸ Hartung, "Der aufgeklärte Absolutismus," 29; François Olivier-Martin, "Les pratiques traditionnelles de la royauté française et le despotisme éclairé," *BICHES*, V (No. 20, 1933), 713.

⁹ Many historians of ideas would not entirely accept either Hartung's or Olivier-Martin's characterizations of the Enlightenment. Peter Gay, *The Party of Humanity: Essays in the French Enlightenment* (New York, 1964), 262-90, argues that the philosophes' themes of "natural goodness" and "joyful optimism" are myths.

and others like them, have been so strong and persuasive that even those researchers who have courageously sought comparisons between thought and practice have carefully qualified their conclusions.¹⁰ Thus students of the eighteenth century no longer seem as optimistic about discovering the unity of enlightened despotism as Michel Lhéritier, who tried valiantly to summarize the diverse viewpoints of the papers presented during the International Committee's investigation. In his "Rapport général," which concluded the papers of the 1937 meeting, Lhéritier contended that "the essential unity of enlightened despotism, or at least the uniformity that one sometimes attributes to it," was no less susceptible to analysis than other great events of history.¹¹

Yet the problem of the relationship between the thought of the Enlightenment and the actions of eighteenth-century reforming monarchs continues to interest students of the period. Some investigators have argued that a new terminology is necessary. Perhaps "enlightened absolutism" would be a more helpful tool for synthesis than the term enlightened despotism.¹² There may be sound reasons for adopting new terms, and the phrase "enlightened government" is used in this study for two reasons. First, it is possible that too much emphasis has been placed upon the term "despotism," thus obscuring the character of the basic reforms that Enlightenment thinkers so fervently desired and espoused and too narrowly limiting the form of government through which they hoped to achieve their reform programs.¹³

¹⁰ Bruun (*Enlightened Despots*, 49) was careful to point out that "the most influential writings on [enlightened despotism] did not appear until after 1750, but before that date Frederick [II] had recognized many of the abuses they were later to attack and had anticipated the remedies they recommended for them." Bruun would not, indeed could not, go so far as to call Frederick "a Voltairian King." (Cf. Philippe Sagnac, *La fin de l'ancien régime et la Révolution américaine (1763-1789)* [Paris, 1952], 209.) Gagliardo (*Enlightened Despotism*, 81) concluded his survey of the reforming monarchs of the last decades of the eighteenth century with the following comment: "While the humanitarian sincerity and social benevolence of many of the leading monarchs and statesmen of this period can hardly be doubted, cold political and economic requirements of their states and their thrones had the ultimate voice in determining both the specific character of the reforms undertaken and the limits of their own reform goals."

¹¹ Michel Lhéritier, "Rapport général: Le despotisme éclairé, de Frédéric II à la Révolution française," *BICHs*, IX (No. 35, 1937), 223.

¹² Among the scholars who prefer the term "enlightened absolutism" are Luigi Bulferetti, *L'assolutismo illuminato in Italia (1700-1789)* (Milan, 1944); and Franco Valsecchi, *Le riforme dell'assolutismo illuminati negli stati italiani (1748-1789)* (Milan, 1955). Hartung ("Der aufgeklärte Absolutismus," 19) chose the term absolutism because "it conforms to the older European practice of distinguishing clearly between absolutism—a form of government unrestricted by class or parliamentary institutions, but voluntarily bound by laws and the rights of the subject—and despotism, with its unlimited tyranny. If we want to get a clear idea of the nature of enlightened absolutism, we should not deviate from the commonly accepted meaning of the word absolutism. . . ."

¹³ Use of the phrase "enlightened absolutism" may avoid the problems inherent in the word "despotism," but neither term adequately recognizes a growing body of literature suggesting that Enlightenment thinkers were most interested in government by law and that they courted rulers because, as practical observers of their age, they thought that only powerful princes could institute such a government. On the difficulties of generalizing about

Second, the term enlightened government was the term that Enlightenment thinkers preferred and most frequently used in their writings. It seems clear that the principal philosophes and their lieutenants were repelled by the word despotism, which they associated with tyranny.¹⁴

It is doubtful, however, whether historians can be persuaded to drop enlightened despotism from their vocabulary. Both more to the point and more helpful would be additional specialized studies that by new information and different approaches attempt to explore the subject further and to probe it more deeply. Recently a number of scholars have adopted a more indirect method of investigation. Instead of examining the influence of the *lumières* upon the rulers, they have sought to discover how enlightened ideas influenced the actions of reform-minded bureaucrats. Then they have asked whether ideas about reform were translated into the practice of governing.¹⁵ Through such an indirect approach this study examines French rule in Corsica after 1768 in an effort to discover if there was any confluence between the Enlightenment and the French monarchy at the end of the old regime. It may enhance our understanding of the varieties of enlightened despotism, if not its unity.

When the French monarchy began to govern Corsica the condition of the island was not at all like that of other French provinces. Centuries of Genoese misrule had led to a rebellion that blew hot and cold from its beginning in 1729 until French troops finally occupied and conquered Pasquale Paoli's rebel forces in 1768-1769. By that time the islanders' search for

the philosophes' partiality to enlightened despotism or enlightened absolutism as the best form of government, see Arthur M. Wilson, "Why Did the Political Theory of the Encyclopedists Not Prevail?" *French Historical Studies*, I (Spring 1960), 283-94, and "The Development and Scope of Diderot's Political Thought," *Studies on Voltaire and the Eighteenth Century*, XXVII (1963), 1871-1900; Gay, *Party of Humanity*, 262-90, esp. 276; Merle L. Perkins, "Voltaire's Concept of International Order," *Studies on Voltaire and the Eighteenth Century*, XXXVI (1965), Chap. v, "Enlightened Despots"; Theodore Besterman, "Voltaire, Absolute Monarchy, and the Enlightened Monarch," *ibid.*, XXXII (1965), 7-21; and Mario Einaudi, *The Physiocratic Doctrine of Judicial Control* (Cambridge, Mass., 1938).

¹⁴ The thesis that later writers were responsible for the label "enlightened despot" is argued effectively in Richard Koebner, "Despot and Despotism: Vicissitudes of a Political Term," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, XIV (Nos. 3-4, 1951), 273-302; and Robert Derathé, "Les philosophes et le despotisme," in *Utopie et institutions au XVIII^e siècle: Le pragmatisme des lumières*, ed. Pierre Francastel (Paris, 1963), 57-75; see also Franco Venturi, "Despotismo orientale," *Rivista storica italiana*, LXXII (No. 1, 1960), 117-26.

¹⁵ See the pioneering study by Helen P. Liebel, *Enlightened Bureaucracy versus Enlightened Despotism in Baden, 1750-1792* (Philadelphia, 1965). Valerie Cromwell has described a growing controversy over the influence of Benthamism on Great Britain's government in "Interpretations of Nineteenth-Century Administration: An Analysis," *Victorian Studies*, IX (Mar. 1966), 245-55. An older study by Paul Ardaschew, *Les intendants de province sous Louis XVI*, tr. from the Russian by Louis Jousserandot (Paris, 1909), is suggestive of this indirect approach as applied to France. Hans Rosenberg, *Bureaucracy, Aristocracy and Autocracy: The Prussian Experience, 1660-1815* (Cambridge, Mass., 1958), offers exciting insights and possibilities for further research on nearly all subjects dealing with the relationship between eighteenth-century bureaucrats and monarchs.

freedom from Genoese rule had cost them much. Forty years of rebellion, hostility toward anything Genoese, heated factional disputes, and the rise and fall of one form of government after another had destroyed, undermined, or corroded both Genoese and native Corsican traditions, institutions, and social structures. Corsica's economic potentials, moreover, remained undeveloped, and there was a severe economic regression, including possibly a serious decline in population.¹⁶ In short, when France took possession of the island there was little left upon which to build.

Yet building, or "regeneration" as contemporaries frequently called it, was precisely the task that faced the governments of Louis XV and Louis XVI. As a French officer involved in the conquest of Corsica noted, "nothing exists there, so to speak, and everything remains to be established."¹⁷ After the conquest, speculation about Corsica became "a vogue," and the French government was besieged by projects for the island's regeneration.¹⁸ Here was ground suitable for experimentation with new ideas and new institutions. Here was another laboratory for an age that built and sought laboratories on every hand, a fact recognized by Colonel Jacques-Antoine-Hippolyte Guibert, commander of the Corsican legion, in a letter written to the Duc de Choiseul on June 26, 1769. Corsica, Guibert wrote, "is a country to be created, and you know, Monsieur, that in politics it is easier to create than to refound. Here you would be able to try out some of the ideas of our *économistes*. . . ."¹⁹ One of the projects for Corsica's improvement was a memoir written in 1770 on the possibilities of developing the island's commerce. It began with a quotation from Fénelon's *Télémaque* (Book XVII): "It is necessary to change the taste and the customs of an entire nation. It is necessary to give to it some new laws. Who will be able to undertake this task if it is not a Philosopher King?"²⁰ The writer of this memoir probably assumed that his readers would see at once the significance of the quotation and its relevance to Corsica. Modern readers may

¹⁶ Nearly all eighteenth-century French writers concerned with the subject note a decline in Corsica's population during the eighteenth century. This view is opposed by Franco Borlandi, *Per la storia della popolazione della Corsica* (Milan, 1942), *passim*, esp. 96, 108, 115, 119-21. There is a wealth of manuscript material in various French archival depositories dealing explicitly with assessments of Corsica's economic potentials.

¹⁷ Louis-Charles-René, comte de Marbeuf, to Étienne-François, duc de Choiseul (Minister of Foreign Affairs and of War), Oct. 1, 1769, Archives Nationales [hereafter cited as AN], K 1226.6. In one way or another Marbeuf was connected with Corsica from 1764 until his death in 1786. A favorable appreciation of his work on the island is Marius Peyre, "Marbeuf et l'organisation économique de la Corse à la veille de la Révolution," *Revue des études napoléoniennes*, XXI (Nov.-Dec. 1923), 163-79.

¹⁸ "Mémoire," [1788,] AN, K 1225.6.

¹⁹ Archives du Ministère de la Guerre, *Mémoires historiques* [hereafter cited as AG, *Mém. hist.*], 1098.48.

²⁰ "Mémoire sur la commerce et les établissements qu'on peut faire dans l'isle de Corse," written by a certain M. Chaîne, who was on Corsica in 1756 and 1757, and sent to Choiseul in June 1770. (AN, Q¹ 291.) The same memoir, with a slightly different title, appeared in *Journal encyclopédique*, VII (Oct., Nov. 1770), 273-78, 438-45; cf. François de Salignac de la Mothe-Fénelon, *Les aventures de Télémaque*, ed. Aug. Dupouy (2 vols., Paris, n.d.), II, 95.

have to think harder to recall the kingdom of Salente described in Books X and XVII of *Télémaque*, a society whose strength lay in agriculture and free commerce, which waged war only to defend liberty, and where the king's freedom of action was limited by law. Book XVII also contained the observation that one of the most pernicious aspects of government is royal authority that is "unjust and too violent."²¹

What then would be the ideas and the institutions upon which the French monarchy would build? In what spirit would the French government undertake the task of regeneration, which was much more difficult than that of conquest? Would the ideas, institutions, and especially the spirit of the French monarchy be those of the Enlightenment, and if so through whom or what did Enlightenment ideas find their way into the council chambers of the French Kings? These are the questions that this investigation attempts to answer. The principal sources consulted concerning the thought that went into French efforts to regenerate Corsica are the numerous memoirs and the voluminous correspondence of the civil and military officials whose task it was to supply the information that the French government needed before it could practice the difficult art of governing. Sources for evaluating the governing of Corsica are the central government's instructions to the administrators and its decisions as applied on the island after 1768. As the ideas of the Enlightenment diffused downward from the great thinkers of the age, some changes inevitably occurred, and the practice of governing did not always live up to the high hopes and expectations of these third- or tenth-rate disseminators of enlightened ideals. Yet their thinking embodied the principal ideas of the *lumières*, and policies followed by Louis XV and Louis XVI in a variety of ways aimed at implementing the recommendations of their subordinate officials. These facts may not make the French monarchs enlightened despots, but they suggest that in a government considered one of the least enlightened there was some enlightenment. They suggest also that it was not the philosophes who carried enlightened thought to the foot of the French throne; instead, the vehicles through whom enlightened thought influenced the policies of the French government were the king's ministers and the bureaucrats in the administrative departments. They, and not the philosophes, were in a position to influence policies, partly because they were closer to the monarchy and partly because their enlightened ideas were tempered by their daily proximity to the actual fact of governing.²²

²¹ *Ibid.*, *passim*.

²² The three French officials who laid the foundations for building in Corsica were Noël Jourda, comte de Vaux, commander of French troops on the island in 1769-1770; Louis-Charles-René, comte de Marbeuf, Vaux's successor and commander from May 1770 until

On June 30, 1769, Noël Jourda, comte de Vaux, wrote a memoir on the civil administration of Corsica. Vaux was the commander of over forty battalions of French troops sent to Corsica in 1768-1769 to conquer the island. As a military officer he advocated a harsh, rigorous policy toward the Corsican rebels.²³ Yet when it came to the reconstruction that must follow the conquest, Vaux was both humane and perceptive. His memoir contained the observation that "everything [in Corsica] must be created, and this creation will take more than seven days." For France to gain any advantage from Corsica, Vaux added, "its physical and moral constitution will have to be corrected. This can be expected only from time and from a wise and enlightened government."²⁴

Vaux's memoir mirrored the tone of scores of proposals and programs for the regeneration of Corsica that he and his fellow administrators sent to the central government. These bureaucrats realized that the task before them was gigantic; yet they were fundamentally optimistic about the possibility of accomplishing it successfully. The conquest of the island had just been achieved when its first intendant, Daniel-Marc-Antoine Chardon, wrote enthusiastically about the future. Corsica was suitable for anything, Chardon wrote to Choiseul, though it was still "in the cradle, and its infancy [would] surely be very long. But there [were] definite reasons to be hopeful about its adolescence if its natural resources could be developed fully."²⁵ Such a task would require time and energy on the government's part. Chardon believed it would take a full generation, and he placed his confidence not in the present inhabitants of the island but in their children.²⁶

Wise legislation by a patient, just, and accessible monarch was the key to regeneration, suggested the Comte de Marbeuf, who was second in command under Vaux and eventually became commander of the French forces that remained on Corsica after the conquest. He readily admitted that there

his death in 1786; and Daniel-Marc-Antoine Chardon, Corsica's first intendant. In May 1771 Barthélemy de Colla de Pradine replaced Chardon as intendant. Claude-François Bertrand de Boucheporn was intendant from April 1775 until May 1785, when he was replaced by the last intendant before the Revolution, François-Nicolas de La Guillaumye. Pradine left little evidence of his work in Corsica, but Boucheporn, a close associate of A. R. J. Turgot, and La Guillaumye ran the intendance in the same enlightened spirit as Chardon. Information on these officials is scattered throughout Louis Villat, *La Corse de 1768 à 1789* (3 vols., Besançon, 1924-25); and the Archives Départementales [hereafter cited as AD], Corse, Ser. C, *Intendance*. Chardon deserves a more complete study than that of the Baron de Maricourt, "Un intendant de Corse sous Louis XV, Daniel-Marc-Antoine Chardon (1731-1805) et sa famille," *Revue des questions historiques*, LXXVII (Apr. 1905), 497-542.

²³ "Proclamation du Général de Vaux," 1769, Archives du Ministère de la Guerre, *Archives historiques* [hereafter cited as AG, *Arch. hist.*], A¹ 3655.47; see also Gustave Baguenault de Puchesse, "La conquête de la Corse et le Maréchal de Vaux, 1769," *Revue des questions historiques*, XXVIII (July 1880), 152-213.

²⁴ Vaux, "Mémoire sur la Corse, administration civile," June 30, 1769, AN, K 1226.4.

²⁵ Chardon to Choiseul, Sept. 12, 1769, AD, Corse, Ser. C, 126.

²⁶ Chardon to Choiseul, Sept. 18, 1769, *ibid.*

were a variety of ways to go about this regeneration, and he recommended that laws and regulations different from those in France might be necessary.²⁷ In this Marbeuf reflected Montesquieu's viewpoint on law and legislation: wise legislation must be in harmony with the essential needs and character of a society, as well as with its natural surroundings.

Marbeuf found support for his gradualism and relativism among some of the highest officers of the crown. Clément-Charles-François de Laverdy, the controller general since 1763, offered to restructure the principal French penal laws "in order to adapt them to the Corsican environment and to the spirit of the nation." Choiseul wanted to retain all the Corsican administrative and financial practices, with the single exception that appeals from Corsican courts would be made to the parlement at Aix.²⁸ Accordingly, Choiseul directed Marbeuf and Chardon to leave things as they found them for the moment and to make only those changes that they considered absolutely necessary. Choiseul said that he did not intend to change totally "the forms of the government that were natural to the inhabitants of this island," and like Marbeuf he thought that the government's principles should be "adapted to time, circumstances, and the particular character" of the Corsican people. In another letter Choiseul made one of the strongest statements against treating Corsica like other French provinces. The Corsicans, he observed, should be made to realize that what was good for a country like France, "already civilized and disciplined," was not only bad but even dangerous for a simple country like Corsica. Some of the first laws drawn up for Corsica by the Department of Finances were, unfortunately, "based on some very good principles," but were not "sufficiently combined with the spirit, character, customs, laws, and specific interest of Corsica." This observation, Choiseul warned Marbeuf, "should be only between you and me."²⁹

Marbeuf repeatedly urged that the government established in Corsica should move slowly because if it insisted upon exercising all of its rights at once the Corsicans would only become disgusted with their new masters. The King should attach his new subjects to himself and to France more closely by making them see the advantages that union could offer them. He should retain certain traditional Corsican offices related to local government matters and use Corsicans in ecclesiastical and judicial positions of merit

²⁷ Marbeuf to Choiseul, June 25, 1768, AG, *Arch. hist.*, A¹ 3647.92.

²⁸ Jean de Lenchères, aide-de-camp and brigadier de cavalerie, "Mémoire sur la Corse, principaux faits des campagnes de 1768 et 1769, établissements militaires et civils, etc.," AG, *Mém. hist.*, 248¹, fols. 2-3. This memoir is eighty-eight folios in length; it dates from 1771 or 1772 and has marginal notes dealing with events to 1776.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, fol. 5; Choiseul to Marbeuf, June 3, 1770, AG, *Arch. hist.*, A¹ 3661.15; "Plan du Travail de la Consulte de 1770," *ibid.*, 3666.1; Choiseul to the King's commissioners, June 3, 1770, AD, Corse, Ser. C, 549; Choiseul to Marbeuf, June 26, 1770, AG, *Arch. hist.*, A¹ 3661.40; Choiseul to Marbeuf, July 9, 1770, *ibid.*, 3661.48.

and responsibility. Marbeuf also recommended that decisions affecting the Corsicans be taken before a general assembly representing the estates.⁸⁰ Vaux supported this last recommendation and urged the calling of annual assemblies, whose duties would, of course, be consultative, not legislative. Yet Vaux thought that the Corsican assembly should be allowed to consider all matters relating to the administration of the island, especially the question of granting, assessing, and collecting subsidies.⁸¹

On the question of a Corsican general assembly Marbeuf and Vaux again found support among high government officials. In his "Plan du Travail de la Consulte de 1770," Choiseul listed twenty-two subjects to be discussed in the first Corsican assembly, some of which could profitably be discussed at length. He directed his subordinate officials to give the first assembly all the time that it needed to discuss matters proposed to it; they should not dismiss the assembly until it requested its own dissolution. It was absolutely necessary, Choiseul wrote, "to convince the Nation of its true interests, and the best manner of convincing it of them is that of weighing and discussing those interests with the Nation."⁸² In another letter Choiseul said that he agreed perfectly with Chardon, who had advised the government that only by treating all matters "with cool heads" and by listening patiently could the French achieve the maturity that would assure them success in governing Corsica.⁸³

Recommendations for gradualism in Corsica reinforced a long-term French policy of treating conquered provinces in special ways. Georges Livet has described the application of this policy to Alsace under Louis XIV and has carefully analyzed the compromises that absolutism was willing to make for reasons of security. Franklin L. Ford has done the same for the strategically located city of Strasbourg.⁸⁴ Certainly Corsica was in some ways similar to other provinces that France had conquered. It was as important for French security in the Mediterranean as Alsace and Strasbourg were for the security of France's eastern borders. The exigencies of war and international politics therefore required the monarchy to take measures on the island that would forestall any recurrence of the rebellion that had made Corsica a political vacuum and an enticement for intervention by the Great

⁸⁰ Marbeuf, "Mémoire," June 28, 1768, *ibid.*, 3647.100; *id.*, "Mémoire sur la Corse," 1768, AG, *Mém. hist.*, 1098.36; *id.*, "Mémoire sur la Corse," Oct. 1, 1769, AN, K 1226.6.

⁸¹ Vaux, "Mémoire sur la Corse"; Chardon to Choiseul, June 19, 1769, AG, *Arch. hist.*, A¹ 3653.159; Choiseul to Marbeuf, Sept. 12, 1770, *ibid.*, 3661.79.

⁸² "Plan du Travail de la Consulte de 1770"; Choiseul to Marbeuf, Sept. 12, 1770, AG, *Arch. hist.*, A¹ 3661.79.

⁸³ Choiseul to Marbeuf, Sept. 9, 1770, AD, Corse, Ser. C, 549.

⁸⁴ Georges Livet, *L'intendance d'Alsace sous Louis XIV, 1648-1715* (Paris, 1956); Franklin L. Ford, *Strasbourg in Transition, 1648-1789* (Cambridge, Mass., 1958); see also M. S. Anderson, *Europe in the Eighteenth Century, 1713-1783* (New York, 1961), 25-27.

Powers since the 1730's. Yet in other ways Corsica's case was different. The crucial question was building from nothing, as both Marbeuf and Vaux had put it. Their recommendations for the regeneration of the island reflected this difference, as well as differences in both the spirit and the particular policies that they applied to Corsica. Their proposals were experimental in spirit,⁸⁶ and the frequently stated notion that differences among societies should be reflected in different laws went beyond the policy of tolerating differences simply to avoid a recurrence of rebellion. Proposals for establishing institutions that would allow the Corsicans some voice, however limited, in the affairs of their island stand, moreover, in marked contrast to what happened in Alsace and Strasbourg. In Alsace some intermediary bodies were allowed to exist between the monarchy and the people, but the traditional provincial Estates gradually ceased to meet during Louis XIV's reign. In the conquered city of Strasbourg the citizens lost their voice, and the traditional governmental institutions became either ineffective or defunct.⁸⁶ Additional differences appear in recommendations concerning Corsican social structure, judicial forms, and financial and commercial affairs.

A set of proposals urged preliminary steps toward re-establishing a sound social structure. These steps included limiting the number of ecclesiastics and religious establishments. Not only did the crown's servants in Corsica consider the clergy nonproductive individuals, but they pointed out that in Corsica the clergy "inspired the people with ideas contrary to obedience and to their true interest." Vaux noted that in every village there were some clergymen who resembled bandits more than they did ministers of religion. He advised limiting the number of clergymen by setting age limits on their vows and by making them study theology.⁸⁷ This anticlericalism was pragmatic, not dogmatic. Ecclesiastics were necessary in Corsica because they were leaders and were better educated than most of the population, and because religion helped to develop good morals. People disagree about the form of their religious cult, Marbeuf observed, but no government can exist if the religion that it follows is not respected. Religion was "la partie première" and had a great influence on all of society. Thus great care and attention should be given to maintain religion and to make the clergy "enlightened examples of right conduct." As matters stood in 1768, however,

⁸⁶ Writing about the French experience in governing Strasbourg, Ford said (*Strasbourg in Transition*, 88) that "for the most part, after only a few experiments in innovation, the royal government held to the policy on which it had settled in the late 1660's."

⁸⁶ Livet, *Intendance d'Alsace*, 480-81, 904, 909; Ford, *Strasbourg in Transition*, 88-90. The history of Strasbourg's government in general "is a history not so much of external crumbling as of a gradual, relentless, hollowing out, until by the end of the eighteenth century one beholds scarcely more than the shell of a once living organism." (*Ibid.*, 90.)

⁸⁷ Vaux, "Mémoire sur la Corse."

there were too many monks and too many examples of "resolute libertinism."³⁸ Thus both the number of clergymen and their power should be limited.

Some years after the conquest the King vetoed two requests made by Corsican ecclesiastics, one of which would have allowed clergy of the *pièves* (territorial divisions similar to parishes but larger) to stand for election as deputies to provincial assemblies. The other request would have permitted ecclesiastical nobles to go to the assemblies of the *pièves* as members of the noblesse and compete with secular nobles for deputation to the provincial assemblies and the General Assembly of the Estates. The commissioners explained that these requests would give the clergy too much influence in Corsica; their influence actually should be proportional to their "interest," which meant that the clergy, who possessed little or no landed property, should have only one-tenth of the number of deputies. The King had given them one-third of the total representation because the Estates profited from their *lumières*, but to let the clergy compete with the nobility for seats in the assemblies would "break the equilibrium that His Majesty intended to establish among the three orders" and would give the clergy a preponderance and advantage "contrary to the nature of affairs of the municipal and communal administration."³⁹

The King was further urged to create an order of nobility to maintain an equilibrium in Corsican society. Those who put forward this proposal recognized that it would be difficult because few people in Corsica held titles of nobility, and of those who did few could show sufficient proof that their titles were valid. But an order of nobility was necessary, "at least to balance the other two orders." Louis XV would therefore find it advantageous to issue some titles of nobility.⁴⁰ This proposal might be interpreted as diametrically opposed to the spirit of the Enlightenment. Yet neither the philosophes nor the bourgeoisie as a whole advocated major alterations in the social order, and a society without a nobility would have been decidedly different, if not inconceivable, to most Frenchmen of the old regime.⁴¹ Nor

³⁸ Marbeuf, "Mémoire," June 28, 1768, AG, *Arch. hist.*, A¹ 3647.100. On the importance and power of the clergy in Corsican society, see S.-B. Casanova, *Histoire de l'église corse* (2 vols., Ajaccio, 1931).

³⁹ *Procès-verbal de l'Assemblée générale des États de Corse convoquée à Bastia le 11 mai 1777*, ed. Antoine de Morati (Bastia, 1898), 78-80. The *procès-verbal* for all the sessions of the Corsican estates have been printed. Those for 1770, 1772, 1773, 1775, and 1777 were edited by Morati and printed at Bastia in 1896, 1897, and 1898. The Abbé Lucien Letteron edited those for 1779 (1902), 1781 (1904), and 1785 (1906), which were also printed at Bastia.

⁴⁰ Vaux, "Mémoire sur la Corse." A memoir on Corsica that was read to the council on October 12, 1770 (AN, K 1225.4), stated explicitly that the Corsican nobility was created to balance the great influence of the Corsican clergy.

⁴¹ The fact that the French bourgeoisie generally accepted "the status hierarchy with which it was confronted" has been amply demonstrated in Elinor G. Barber's provocative

does the proposal to create a Corsican nobility appear to be an aspect of "feudal reaction." To be sure, the higher French officials in Corsica were members of the noblesse, but they were also members of the King's bureaucracy. It would be interesting to know whether these divided loyalties created a dilemma for French administrators in an age when, as H. B. Hill phrased it, an expanding centralized bureaucracy "ran afoul of the equally centralized privileges of the aristocracy."⁴²

In any case, the key point in the proposal to create a Corsican nobility is the question of privilege, which in one way or another was the chief concern of the philosophes, the bourgeoisie, and the noblesse. None of the King's administrators proposed to give inordinate power to the Corsican nobility, and in all matters they were vitally concerned with limiting privileges of various kinds, especially remunerative privileges. Proposals that could be classified as representing a "feudal reaction" in prerevolutionary Corsica do exist, but they were not advanced by French bureaucrats on the island.⁴³ Finally, it is worth noting again that the French officials were practical men, and there was something intensely realistic about establishing a Corsican nobility. Not only did they believe that equilibrium was necessary in a well-ordered society, but they knew that the islanders needed leaders, preferably men attached to France, and that one of the Corsicans' chief complaints was that the Genoese had systematically undermined the position of

study, *The Bourgeoisie in 18th Century France* (Princeton, N. J., 1967), 12 *et passim*. Though the relatively conservative social thought of the philosophes deserves further attention, there are important observations on their attitudes toward the nobility in Louis de Jaucourt's article on "Nobility" in the *Encyclopédie, ou Dictionnaire raisonné des sciences, des arts et des métiers, par une société de gens de lettres*, ed. Denis Diderot (17 vols., Paris, 1751-65), XI, 166-71; Paul Hazard, *European Thought in the Eighteenth Century: From Montesquieu to Lessing*, tr. J. Lewis May (Cleveland, 1963), 172-88; and R. R. Palmer, *The Age of the Democratic Revolution: A Political History of Europe and America, 1760-1800* (2 vols., Princeton, N. J., 1959-64), I, Chap. III. "The bourgeois Voltaire," Palmer wrote (p. 79), "had no objection to the nobility."

⁴² H. B. Hill, "French Constitutionalism: Old Regime and Revolutionary," *Journal of Modern History*, XXI (No. 3, 1949), 224. Hill placed the responsibility for the clash between bureaucracy and privilege on Louis XIV, though he said that "further research is imperative before the origin of this phenomenon can be definitively traced. . . ." The standard work on the "feudal reaction" is Franklin L. Ford, *Robe and Sword: The Regrouping of the French Aristocracy after Louis XIV* (New York, 1953), which can now be supplemented with Jean Egret, *La pré-révolution française, 1787-1788* (Paris, 1962).

⁴³ One thoroughly "feudal" proposal is an anonymous memoir written before cession of the island to France ("Essai sur l'île de Corse, AN, K 1225.13), in which the author said that the only way to submit Corsica, end its internal problems, and increase its revenue was the "infeudation" of its different *pieves*, villages, and ponds. In this way, he continued, the sovereign "will establish a true despotism over his subjects." The Corsican nobility made similar feudal requests in their *cahier* of May 18, 1789, which is printed in Beatrice Fry Hyslop, *A Guide to the General Cahiers of 1789, with Texts of the Unedited Cahiers* (New York, 1936), 252-66. Suggestions made by the Corsican Matteo Buttafuoco indicate that he sought greater power for the Corsican nobility than the French administrators; yet he argued that the only lasting submission would derive from a government founded on "equality and the laws." See his memoir and letters in AN, K 1226.5, 1226.29, and 1226.29 ter.

the nobility within Corsican society. Creation of a Corsican nobility promised to supply leaders who owed their elevation to France and, at the same time, to remove one of the Corsicans' long-standing grievances.

A concerted program of judicial reform was one of the most urgent needs in Corsica. Throughout the eighteenth century problems between Genoa and Corsica stemmed largely from the inability of the islanders to secure prompt and equal justice from their Genoese masters. Therefore, great care was needed in establishing an equitable judicial system. The King should move slowly in this matter, Marbeuf again recommended, until experience with the customs and the laws of the country gave some information about the best form of judicial system to establish. For the moment he favored recognizing the jurisdiction of Corsican magistrates under the supervision of the intendant. After both French and Corsican magistrates had studied the laws of the country, they could draw up a legislative plan, and the King could take back his authority. Laws relating to criminal matters should have a fixed and regular form and should be followed faithfully.⁴⁴

Greater equality before the law also meant greater equality before the tax collector. The system recommended to the King was a simple and uniform tax that would fall upon all individuals in proportion to their wealth. There were different ideas, however, on what kind of tax would best achieve this objective. Vaux's position was hardly innovative. He believed that the government would have to be content with a *capitation* on personal property, landed property, and herds of animals. Perhaps a "royal tenth" on all products of the land and herds could be combined with a *capitation* on the merchants and *rentiers*. Vaux believed that imposition of the *taille* was impossible because there was so much confusion about ownership of landed property and that the hearth tax to which the Corsicans were accustomed was the most unjust form of taxation because the poor paid as much as the wealthy.⁴⁵ Chardon, however, suggested another form of taxation, which reveals him as a disciple of the physiocrats. He said that only a tax imposed on the net product (*produit net*) of the land was admissible; of all possible forms of taxation, it was the only tax that did not "bear the character of destruction." An anonymous writer made a similar recommendation in nearly identical terms. He said that the only just form of taxation was the single tax on the land (*l'impôt unique et territorial*), which was especially advantageous because its product would increase with the riches and the happiness of the state. Chardon proposed, and Choiseul approved, that the

⁴⁴ Choiseul's letter to Marbeuf, July 18, 1768, AG, *Arch. hist.*, A¹ 3660.36, contains a summary of Marbeuf's long memoir on justice.

⁴⁵ Vaux, "Mémoire sur la Corse."

government undertake a *terrier* and a *cadastre*; these, he said, are the only means of assessing "with equality" any imposition.⁴⁶

Finally, two of the principal bureaucrats in Corsica emphatically recommended that freedom of commerce be established on the island. Even before the treaty ceding Corsica to France was signed, Marbeuf advocated establishment of a free port on the island and complete freedom in commercial affairs. He noted that "the moneyed party" in Corsica was not large, but freedom of commerce would establish a greater affluence and would win support for France among the inhabitants. Chardon frequently urged the government to free Corsican commerce from restrictions, and in one letter he stated that "all exclusive privilege is destructive in essence and contrary to the public good." An anonymous writer, whose detailed knowledge of the island suggests that he served in some official capacity, forcefully argued that "full and entire liberty" of commerce should prevail, including the renunciation of all forms of indirect taxation.⁴⁷ It is interesting that Choiseul, who was already criticized for the cost of conquering Corsica, agreed substantially with his subordinate officials. He advised Chardon to write to the controller general and to point out the extremely dangerous consequences that would result from levying any duties on goods going to the island. The Corsicans would, of course, have to realize that France could not forever bear the burdens of supporting Corsica, and sometime taxes, preferably "some twentieths," would have to be levied, but that would happen "when it can be done with equality and without partiality." For the

⁴⁶ Chardon to Choiseul, Sept. 18, 1769, AD, Corse, Ser. C, 126; [Anonymous,] "Mémoire sur la Corse," [1770,] AN, K 1226.9; Lenchères, "Mémoire," fols. 49-52. Though the word *terrier* usually referred to the manor roll in which seigniorial rights were recorded, it also had a broader meaning, as can be seen by the *terrier* undertaken in Corsica. A *plan terrier* for the island was authorized in 1770 (*Code Corse, ou Recueil des Édits, Déclarations, Lettres Patentes, Arrêts et Règlements, publiés dans l'Isle de Corse depuis sa soumission à l'obéissance du Roi* [10 vols., Paris, 1778-90], II, 45-63, 259-67) for the purpose of gathering information about population, agriculture, and commerce. Work on the *terrier* dragged on until the Revolution, and even then it was not completed. The seventeen volumes and thirty-seven maps of Corsica's *plan terrier*, now located in the Departmental Archives at Ajaccio, contain, nonetheless, a massive amount of information about the island, including comments on the political loyalties of some of the King's new subjects. (See the pamphlet by Louis Campi, *Le plan terrier de l'Isle de Corse, son histoire et ses vicissitudes* [Ajaccio, 1901], and the more thorough study by Antoine Albitreccia, *Le plan terrier de la Corse au XVIII^e siècle* [Paris, 1952].) *Cadastre* meant "land register" or the collection of documents that defined the landed property in each commune and served as the basis for the land tax. Lhéritier ("Rapport général," 225) suggested the need for further study of the *cadastres*, which "seem to have interested all the enlightened despots." Turgot was interested in *cadastres* for Limoges and France in order to distribute the tax burden more equitably. (See Douglas Dakin, *Turgot and the Ancien Régime in France* [London, 1939], 54-56, 299-300.)

⁴⁷ Marbeuf to Choiseul, June 12, 1767, AG, *Arch. hist.*, A¹ 3644.50; Chardon to Choiseul, Feb. 5, 1769, *ibid.*, 3653, fol. 108; Chardon, "Ville de Bonifacio," Sept. 28, 1769, AN, K 1226.23; [Anonymous,] "Mémoire sur la Corse," [1770,] *ibid.*, 1226.9. There is a clerical abstract of this anonymous memoir (*ibid.*, Q¹ 291).

moment "liberty and encouragement" of commerce were the real sources of abundance.⁴⁸

Although French officials did not call their King "the first servant of the state," their advice and recommendations make it clear that they conceived of him in precisely that guise. They saw Louis XV as a paternalistic and humanitarian ruler, whose chief duty as Corsica's monarch lay in doing positive good for his new subjects. And they believed that he could only accomplish this task by consulting with the Corsicans about their needs and interests. At the same time, the monarchy was to be absolute. Shortly after the conquest the government had occasion to emphasize this point. When the *Conseil Supérieur*, established in Corsica as a court of justice, threatened royal absolutism by aspiring to greater power, the King let it be known through his minister that he would tolerate no opposition to his will. "The King will not permit the authority that he has confided in you to be damaged in the slightest respect," Choiseul assured the intendant. He noted that the Corsican Assembly had been established for pragmatic reasons, and not as a check upon the royal will. Although he did not think that anyone would suspect him of wanting to teach the Corsicans how to remonstrate against the King's decisions, he realized that French laws could not be applied to Corsica and that French administrators would not adequately understand Corsican customs and laws. For these reasons the King had agreed to consult with the Corsican people. They should be informed that everything they did in their assemblies would "be carried to the foot of the Throne and [would] be received there according to its merits."⁴⁹

These proposals and recommendations reveal certain basic characteristics about the plans for Corsica's regeneration. The principal bureaucratic administrators in Corsica after 1768 were optimistic and utilitarian about the task of creating a new and wholly different society. They were imbued with a practical anticlericalism and saw the nobility as a balancing factor in society, not as the dominant force. Finally, they were concerned with questions of equality and liberty. They recommended a concerted program of judicial reform that would make the law simple, direct, and equal in application, and they favored both greater equality of taxation and liberty of commerce. These basic characteristics constitute a not too inaccurate summary of the spirit and reform programs of the Enlightenment's greatest exponents.⁵⁰

⁴⁸ Choiseul to Chardon, Dec. 31, 1768, AG, *Arch. hist.*, A¹ 3646.138; Choiseul to Marbeuf, Sept. 8, 1770, *ibid.*, 3661.100; Choiseul to the King's commissioners, July 9, 1770, AD, Corse, Ser. C, 549; Choiseul's letters in AG, *Arch. hist.*, A¹ 3651.63, 3651.64, 3651.65.

⁴⁹ Choiseul to Chardon, Jan. 28, 1769, *ibid.*, 3651.32; Choiseul to Marbeuf, June 26, 1770, *ibid.*, 3661.40.

⁵⁰ Cf. the summaries of the principal ideals of the philosophers in Daniel Mornet, *French Thought in the Eighteenth Century*, tr. Lawrence M. Levin (New York, 1929), 181; and in Lefebvre, "Despotisme éclairé," 101.

The administrators did not, of course, cite the philosophes and physiocrats as the source of their ideas. Yet it is clear that they were steeped in Enlightenment ideas. Like the philosophes they were reformers, not revolutionists, and they were chiefly concerned with eliminating abuses.⁵¹ What was missing from the memoirs that they sent to Paris, Versailles, or Fontainebleau was the notion that there were certain natural laws applicable to all time and to all peoples. This omission suggests that the French bureaucrats were cultural relativists and were even more pragmatic and utilitarian than the great thinkers of the age.⁵²

Frenchmen responsible to the monarchy for Corsican affairs somehow had to translate their thought into practice; indeed, such was their vocation. But precisely how successful they were in influencing the policies of their government is debatable. As might be expected, nationalist aspirations and inclinations have entered into historians' discussion of this question. French acquisition of Corsica meant the loss of freedom and independence for the Corsicans and the loss of Corsica for Italy. Partly for these reasons Corsican and Italian nationalists have tended to judge harshly French acquisition and government of the island.⁵³ A more serious and sophisticated argument is that of Olivier-Martin, who suggested,⁵⁴ as we have seen, that the traditions of the French monarchy were fundamentally opposed to the Enlightenment. This constitutionalist position emphasizes that there is continuity as well as change in the gardens that historians cultivate, and therefore it deserves serious consideration. In various proposals for Corsica's regeneration, questions of tradition and precedent were raised: what had been done in Brittany, or Languedoc, or Provence, or Minorca? In discussing the collection of the King's revenues in Corsica, for example, the government consulted two farmers-general, one of whom proposed a *ferme générale* for Corsica and observed that this had been done in newly conquered countries, notably

⁵¹ The same can be said for a significant number of French officials during Louis XVI's reign. (See Ardascheff, *Intendants de province sous Louis XVI*, esp. Chap. III.)

⁵² Though the philosophes lost interest in Corsica after it was conquered by France, prior to that time they were concerned with the island's affairs. Their interest, and Rousseau's also, was basically pragmatic and realistic, as I have suggested in a paper on "The Development of Enlightenment Interest in Eighteenth-Century Corsica," *Studies on Voltaire and the Eighteenth Century*, LXIV (1968), 165-85. Peter Gay has lately been documenting in considerable depth the fallacy of the notion that the philosophes were impractical idealists or rationalists. (See esp. his *Party of Humanity*, 262-90, and *Voltaire's Politics: The Poet as Realist* [New York, 1965]. The latter study also has much to say about Voltaire's "relativism," a subject that would repay greater study for the Enlightenment as a whole.)

⁵³ The historiography of French Corsica is a complex subject reflecting various viewpoints of Italian, French, and Corsican nationalists. By far the best study of Corsica under the government of the old regime is Villat, *Corse de 1768 à 1789*, the third volume of which is a bibliographical study. More recent writing on the subject is listed in Carmine Starace, *Bibliografia della Corsica* (Isola del Liri, 1943).

⁵⁴ Olivier-Martin, "Pratiques traditionnelles," 713.

those defeated during the War of the Austrian Succession. His project was not approved, however, because "the Minister [of Finance] was afraid (these are his words) to torment with financial exactions a country that the King did not want to treat as a conquered country."⁵⁵ French bureaucrats and monarchs were cognizant of traditions and precedents, but they were not bound by them.

Reinforcing this judgment is the abundant evidence suggesting that the concrete policies followed in French Corsica prior to the Revolution were for the most part those proposed by pragmatic and realistic administrators and sponsored by monarchs who sincerely wanted to be both absolute and enlightened. There was more than a hint of this attitude in Louis XV's *lettres patentes* of August 5, 1768, which incorporated Corsica into the kingdom of France. The King said that he had willingly taken upon himself the task of governing Corsica because he intended to exercise his power "for the good of the peoples of this island, our new subjects." Then he added: "With the same sentiments of our fatherly heart that we have for our other subjects, we will look after the prosperity, the glory and the happiness of our dear Corsican people in general and of each individual in particular." Evidence from sources other than official documents gives credence to Louis XV's words. He did not want to treat Corsica as a conquered country; he wanted, instead, to win the hearts of the inhabitants by kindness and by the mildness of his justice and government.⁵⁶ The same can be said of Louis XVI. In his description of Louis XVI's tax system, the controller general, Jacques Necker, stated that the King did not seek from Corsica any increase in revenue, but only "the greatest good" of his Corsican subjects. And in 1775 the intendant Claude-François Bertrand de Boucheporn addressed the representatives of the Corsican people with these words:

Nothing is more suitable than this free communication of ideas between the sovereign via the channel of his commissioners and the nation via that of its representatives. [Louis XVI] is a tender father who could do everything that is necessary for his children, [but] who is pleased to act in concert with them when they work for good objectives, and who will use his entire authority to lead them back to the good when they stray from it.⁵⁷

It is easy to dismiss these statements of intention as insincere or platitudinous; it is not as easy to dismiss the French Kings' actions. Louis XV

⁵⁵ Lenchères, "Mémoire," fol. 4.

⁵⁶ AG, *Arch. hist.*, A¹ 3647.139; *Code Corse*, I, 128-30; "Édit du Roi concernant l'administration de la justice en Corse," June 1768, *ibid.*, 1-11; Lenchères, "Mémoire," fol. 4; François-René-Jean Pommereul, *Histoire de l'isle de Corse* (2 vols., Bern, 1779), II, 218.

⁵⁷ Jacques Necker, *L'administration des finances* (3 vols., Paris, 1784), I, 310; "Discours prononcé par Monsieur de Boucheporn à l'ouverture des États de Corse à Bastia, le 25 may 1775," Archives du Ministère des Affaires Étrangères, *Mémoires et Documents, France* [here-

and Louis XVI did nearly everything in Corsica that their fellow monarchs who have acquired the title "enlightened despots" did in other parts of Europe. They built roads, bridges, and canals, drained swamps, and sponsored colonization efforts. They established colleges, though to the Corsicans' great grief they failed to establish a university. They also subsidized individuals who planted trees and developed new industries and gave tax exemptions to those who agreed to drain marshes. In all these activities the French monarchy showed great vigor and actively promoted both the wealth and the welfare of its new subjects.⁵⁸ Most often the initiative for these projects came from the administrators, first from Vaux, Marbeuf, and Chardon, and then from Marbeuf and from Chardon's successors in the intendance, especially Boucheporn. Even when the initiative for projects came from the central government,⁵⁹ the bureaucrats on the island did the actual work, discussing the value of projects and new legislation, recommending actions to be taken, watching over the King's interests and enforcing his will, and attending to the welfare of his subjects. The administrators, in effect, led the French monarchy in governing Corsica. It was fortunate for Corsica that they did because they led the monarchy with enlightened principles, and the monarchy followed with enlightened policies.

Still, not all French policies reflected the spirit of the Enlightenment. Major criticism of French rule in Corsica has focused on the swarm of incompetent minor officials who invaded the island and the slowness with which policies were implemented. These two complaints were legitimate: it seems clear that Corsica was subjected to a great variety of minor French officials;⁶⁰ and, to cite just one example of French tardiness in implementing policies, the request for uniform weights and measures that was made in 1770 was reiterated in 1781.⁶¹ Notably unenlightened, at least in appearance,

after cited as AE, MD, *France*], 1540, fols. 47-58; "Fragment d'une copie des instructions du Roi pour ses commissaires en Corse," Apr. 25, 1777, AN, K 1227.4.

⁵⁸ Carton upon carton of manuscripts in various archival depositories in France and Corsica tell the story of these reforms. AD, Corse, contains information on commerce in Ser. C, 38, 43, 45-46, 62; on agriculture, *ibid.*, 28, 30-31, 33, 62, 126; and on industries, *ibid.*, 30-32, 37-39, 41, 44, 47, 126. Information on colonization and land concessions is in AN, Q¹ 295, 298². Extensive information on exploitation of forest products is in Ser. B¹, B², and B⁸ of the Archives du Ministère de la Marine (AN). On the last subject, see also Paul Walden Bamford, *Forests and French Sea Power, 1660-1789* (Toronto, 1956), 107-108, 129.

⁵⁹ Various French controllers general took the initiative concerning some projects for Corsica. Terray tried to have some mills constructed. (AD, Corse, Ser. C, 30.) Turgot pushed projects for draining marshes. (*Ibid.*, 65.) Necker was interested in the cultivation of rice and tobacco on the island. (*Ibid.*, 31; see also Villat, *Corse de 1768 à 1789, passim.*)

⁶⁰ Complaints about inferior personnel sent to Corsica are found in AN, K 1227.10, 1227.10 bis; S.-B. Casanova, *La Corse et les États Généraux de 1789* (Ajaccio, 1931), 35; and "Mémoires historiques sur la Corse par un officier du régiment de Picardie, 1774-1777," ed. Philippe de Caraffa, *Bulletin de la Société des Sciences historiques et naturelles de la Corse* (Apr., May, June 1889), *passim*.

⁶¹ *Procès-verbal de l'Assemblée générale des États de Corse tenue à Bastia du 15 au 17*

were laws related to the use of forced labor (*corvées*). According to ordinances of September 6, 1768, and March 3, 1770, Corsicans were required to report when ordered, with their horses and mules if they had any, for work on the royal roads. Also unenlightened in appearance were attitudes that French administrators expressed toward censorship. In 1770 the Corsican bishops asked the government to ban "pernicious books" that were contrary to religion and good morals. The King's commissioners replied that precautions already being taken to examine books sent to Corsica would be redoubled.⁶² But decisions related to *corvées* and censorship were not as unenlightened as they may appear. The islanders were not subject to seigniorial *corvées*, and they were given a choice of *corvées* or money payments for maintaining the royal roads. They chose *corvées* because there was not sufficient specie on the island for payments of money.⁶³ That censorship was not effectively enforced is indicated by the fact that in 1781 the Corsican clergy reiterated its request for prohibition of books containing "pernicious maxims" that corrupted morals and weakened the true religion.⁶⁴

These apparently unenlightened policies and attitudes, adopted for what seemed good practical reasons, do not seriously affect the general conclusion: French rule in Corsica accorded with enlightened ideals recommended to the crown by its servants. We have seen several major areas in which French administrators proposed enlightened policies. We may now examine the implementation of their proposals and recommendations more closely, with particular attention to the judicial system established in Corsica, the relationship between the French Kings and the General Assembly of the Corsican Estates, the economic policies that the government applied in the island, and the ways in which the monarchy dealt with the question of privilege in Corsican society.

Though the initiative for the judicial system came from the controller general, Laverdy, in general it followed the recommendations made by subordinate officials. The edict concerning justice in Corsica (June 1768) formed a *Conseil Supérieur* that acted as a court of appeals, nine benches of Royal Jurisdiction, later expanded to eleven, and two benches of Constabulary for criminal justice. Local magistrates in the *pièves* judged minor civil cases.

septembre 1770, ed. Morati, 66-67; *Procès-verbal de l'Assemblée générale des États de Corse convoquée à Bastia le 1^{er} juin 1781*, ed. Letteron, 271.

⁶² "Ordonnance concernant les corvées," Sept. 6, 1768, *Code Corse*, I, 140-43; "Ordonnance de l'intendant portant fixation des journées des bêtes de charge," Mar. 3, 1770, *ibid.*, II, 36-38; *Procès-Verbal*, 1770, ed. Morati, 92.

⁶³ Casanova, *Corse et les États Généraux*, 54; *Procès-verbal de l'Assemblée générale des États de Corse tenue à Bastia le 1 mai 1772 et jours suivants*, ed. Morati, 82-83.

⁶⁴ *Procès-verbal*, 1781, ed. Letteron, 271; see also Villat, *Corse de 1768 à 1789*, II, 70, for comments on the ineffectiveness of censorship in Corsica.

This system was similar to René Charles de Maupeou's later judicial reforms in France, and like Maupeou's reforms its purpose was to establish the courts near the people and to dispense justice quickly and at limited cost. In Corsica judicial offices were not sold, and justice was free.⁶⁵

Louis XV started and his successor continued the policy of taking the Corsican people into a limited partnership with the monarchy. They recognized Corsica as a *pays d'état* and established a hierarchy of representative bodies that began at the level of the *piève*, continued at the provincial level, and was capped by a General Assembly of the Estates; the government later added municipal assemblies to this administrative structure.⁶⁶ This action followed the recommendations of French officials, who pointed out that wise and enlightened government would have to recognize that Corsican needs, traditions, and customs differed from those on the Continent and that an enlightened legislator could learn about these differences only by consulting with his subjects. At first the clergy were overrepresented in the assemblies, but votes were taken by head, not order, and a plurality of voices carried an issue; after 1772 the orders were equal in representation. The intendant Boucheporn had the most advanced ideas about representation of all the French officials on the island. He believed that the number of deputies representing the clergy and nobility should be proportionate to their numbers within the Corsican population. Thus he advised that in the municipal assembly of Ajaccio there should be twenty-one members representing the Third Estate, six representing the nobility, and three representing the clergy. Boucheporn's ideas on representation were revolutionary, not reformist, and they were not approved.⁶⁷

The Corsican Estates met only eight times from 1770 to 1785.⁶⁸ At each meeting the French Kings had their way, approving what accorded with their thinking or disapproving what displeased them. At times they showed irritation at requests made by deputies to the assemblies. Yet through the Estates they worked to reduce the privileges of the clergy and corporate bodies and to encourage agriculture, industry, and commerce by sponsoring

⁶⁵ Lenchères, "Mémoire," fols. 2-4; *Code Corse*, I, 1-11, 188-92; II, 4-7, 64-78; Villat, *Corse de 1768 à 1789*, I, 265-66. Laverdy's ideas on justice and his role in the reform of Corsican justice give support to the argument that his bad reputation is not entirely deserved. (See Maurice Bordes, "La réforme municipale du contrôleur général Laverdy et son application dans certaines provinces," *Revue d'histoire moderne et contemporaine*, XII [Oct.-Dec. 1965], 241-70.)

⁶⁶ *Code Corse*, II, 64-68, 262-98; III, 140-43; Chardon to the Marquis de Monteyard, Mar. 16, 1771, AN, K 1228.56.

⁶⁷ The Comte de Saint-Germain (Minister of War) to Boucheporn, Dec. 21, 1777, AD, Corse, Ser. C, 543, laisse 2.

⁶⁸ The Estates met in 1770, 1772, 1773, 1775, 1777, 1779, 1781, and 1785. Morati contended that "the history of the Estates is the history of Corsica itself from 1770 to 1789." (*Procès-verbal*, 1770, ed. Morati, xii.)

special projects and encouraging economic liberty. They also tried to rationalize and simplify the administrative structure and to provide equality before the law. Louis XV's edict regulating civil procedure in Corsica (September 1769) stated that the King considered one of his first duties "that of making [justice] reign in the island of Corsica by the authority of the laws." Like the so-called enlightened despots, Louis XVI sought to codify Corsican law and appointed committees of jurists in Corsica and in Paris to accomplish this task.⁶⁹

The monarchs and their ministers at times listened to some absurd and utterly selfish proposals and requests from the Corsican assemblies, but they did listen, and through their officials on the island they replied, at times sternly, at times compassionately. Careful reading of the *Journals* of the assemblies leads to the conclusion that the Estates had an important place in the administration and government of the island, despite the fact that they did not have legislative powers. The officials who selected matters for consideration by the Estates followed enlightened principles of administration that were accepted by the crown; as a result, the assemblies dealt with a great variety of subjects. What they could not consider was the King's authority as invested in his commissioners. Thus in 1772 a committee reporting on roads had the topic taken away from it because its "essentially vicious" report did not mention the role of the intendant.⁷⁰

In matters of finance, the monarchy also followed the enlightened ideals of its subordinate officials. For Corsica the result was that the island escaped the chronic financial instability and the unequal tax burdens that prevailed in France before the Revolution.⁷¹ Though the financial organization applied in Corsica was not actually revolutionary,⁷² it was reformist. Louis XV established a tax proportional to the wealth of the inhabitants and eliminated all privileged exemptions; all property paid, including Church property and the King's domain. The monarchy initially decided that Corsicans should pay a *subvention* equal to one-tenth of the net product of

⁶⁹ *Code Corse*, I, 273-478; "Procès-Verbal de l'Assemblée de MM les Jurisconsultes nationaux, commencé le 20 may et fini le 18 juillet de l'année 1787," AN, K 1228.24; *Procès-verbal de l'Assemblée générale des États de Corse convoquée à Bastia le 25 mai 1779*, ed. Letteron, 112-13.

⁷⁰ *Procès-verbal*, 1772, ed. Morati, 90. Another important source for studying the relationship between the French Kings and the Corsican Estates are the Kings' instructions to their commissioners. These instructions are widely scattered. (See AG, *Arch. hist.*, A¹ 3669.27, 3666.1; AD, Corse, Ser. C, 549, 543; AN, K 1229, *laisse* 7, 1226.30, 1227.1, 1227.4.)

⁷¹ A graphic description of the deplorable fiscal system of the old regime after 1769 is Marcel Marion, *Finances d'autrefois et finances aujourd'hui; Le Triumvirat: Leçon d'ouverture du cours d'histoire des faits économiques et sociaux fait au Collège de France, le 4 décembre 1913* (Paris, 1914), 9 ff.; see also the interesting study by Paul H. Beik, *A Judgment of the Old Regime: Being a Survey by the Parlement of Provence of French Economic and Fiscal Policies at the Close of the Seven Years' War* (New York, 1944).

⁷² Cf. Louis Villat, "L'organisation financière de l'ancien régime et la Corse," *Revue de la Corse*, XIII (Nov.-Dec. 1927), 257.

the land, but the shortage of money available to pay this tax forced a change, and in August 1778 a new law was passed that allowed payment of the tax to be made in kind (*subvention en nature des fruits*). This law also changed the tax rate from a *dixième* of the net product of the land to a *vingtième* of the gross product. Louis XVI informed the Corsican Estates that he sought no increase in revenue from the new tax; he desired only "the greatest good for his Corsican subjects." Therefore, if the new tax returned more than 120,000 livres per year, the surplus would be placed at the disposition of the Estates to use for projects of public utility. Though the government collected a variety of indirect taxes from the island and imposed customs duties, the indirect taxes were not as burdensome as those in France, and together the direct and indirect taxes amounted to a moderate imposition. Necker calculated Corsica's total tax contribution at 550,000 livres per year, or 4 livres, 17 sous per person. His calculations indicated that Rennes, the lowest contributor of all French *généralités*, paid 12 livres, 10 sous per person. Even this low figure for Corsica's contribution was misleading. As Necker pointed out, the entire product of the Corsican *impôts* was used on the island, and the King sent an annual supplement of 250,000 livres.⁷³

Again following the policies recommended by French bureaucrats, Louis XV established and his successor maintained freedom of commerce on the island. Rejecting all requests for protectionist favors, the French monarchs repeatedly informed the Corsican Estates that liberty was the foundation of commerce. Thus the inhabitants should make their products of sufficiently good quality and at a price low enough to secure for them preference on a free market. Free commerce did not mean elimination of customs duties; which had the double purpose of protecting Corsican products and securing for the King some indemnity for costs of administering the island.⁷⁴ Yet the duties paid by Corsicans were "modest and simple," to use the phrase of one French official. He pointed out that the islanders were not obliged to renounce their customary commerce with foreign lands. The government wanted, of course, to turn Corsican commerce toward France, he added, but this could not be done immediately, and no one wanted to

⁷³ "Mémoire," [1788,] AN, K 1225.6; *Code Corse*, II, III, IV; Necker, *Administration des finances*, I, 307-13. Necker gives a breakdown of revenues collected in Corsica from various taxes: *subvention, loyer des maisons, droits d'entrée et sortie, vente de sel, droits de contrôle et de papier timbré, droit sur la pêche*, and some *octrois* levied at Bastia. There is much information on French financial policies in Corsica in the *procès-verbal* of the various meetings of the General Assembly. A highly favorable judgment of the monarchy's fiscal policies on the island is Villat, "Organisation financière," 257-60. Ambroise Ambrosi-Rostino, *Histoire des CorSES et de leurs civilisation* (Bastia, 1914), 442-47, judges the financial system after 1778 favorably, but is critical of the system prior to that date.

⁷⁴ *Procès-verbal*, 1770, ed. Morati, 34-35, 40-48, 64; *Procès-verbal de l'Assemblée générale des États de Corse tenue à Bastia le 8 novembre 1773 et jours suivants*, ed. id., 81-83; *Procès-verbal*, 1779, ed. Letteron, 20-22, 164.

risk doing great damage in order to secure a recognized good.⁷⁵ The economic thinking of French bureaucrats was not entirely physiocratic, and French economic policies applied in the island did not mean complete economic freedom. But the thought and the policies give support to the thesis that one of the main trends in political economy after the Seven Years' War was "a decided tendency toward economic liberalism" among economists and men of affairs.⁷⁶

Finally, the French Kings diligently tried to eliminate both the concept and the fact of privilege from Corsican society. Many times they informed the Corsicans that privileges did not accord with the principles of a wise and enlightened administration. The new Corsican nobility had honorific privileges, to be sure, but they did not have significant remunerative privileges. The government refused all clerical requests for exemptions from taxation and allowed the towns to keep only those privileges that did not conflict with equitable application of the laws. The monarchy generally refused requests for monopolies over new industries and trade. A monopoly over tobacco was tried, but rejected, and that trade was left free; the King, not the *ferme générale*, supplied the island with salt. The one exception to the government's antimonopoly policy involved a monopolistic company already established on the Continent: Corsicans were extremely irritated by limits put on Corsican coral fisherman in order to protect the rights of the *Compagnie d'Afrique*.⁷⁷

Perhaps the most graphic statement of the French crown's opposition to privilege appeared in the "King's Edict concerning Rural Abuses and the Rural Police in Corsica," dated July 1771. In response to the wishes of the General Assembly of the Corsican Estates, Louis XV announced that it was necessary to avoid certain problems arising at harvest time, which could only be done "by subjecting individual wills to the general will when a question of the good of all was involved. It [was] especially necessary to renew the chief good of society." In his address to the General Assembly on May 25, 1775, Boucheporn urged the representatives to think in similar terms. He pointed out that they would naturally think first of their particular provinces, but that was the least important part of their tasks, and they

⁷⁵ Blondel (intendant of commerce at Paris) to La Guillaumye, July 18, 1786, AD, Corse, Ser. C, 38, laisse 2. After 1768 the Corsicans continued their trade with various Italian states. (See the Admiralty documents in AN, G 32, 33; Marien Martini, "Situation économique et humaine du Cap-Corse en 1770-1775," *Corse historique*, IV [Nos. 13-14, 1964], 67-74; and "Situation économique de la Ville de Bonifacio à la fin du XVIII^e siècle, d'après un document inédit [1786]," ed. François de Lanfranchi, *ibid.*, VII [Nos. 27-28, 1967], 73-94.) Lenchères, "Mémoire," fol. 15, said that the Corsican customs duties were lower in 1775 than in 1769.

⁷⁶ Cf. Beik, *Judgment of the Old Regime*, 30; see also Henri Sée, *Histoire économique de la France* (2 vols., Paris, 1948-51), I, 307-12.

⁷⁷ Casanova, *Corse et les États Généraux*, 38-55; Lenchères, "Mémoire," fol. 8. On the *pêche du corail*, see the voluminous correspondence in AE, MD, France, 1536, 1540-42, 1544.

would not fulfill their obligations if they paid no attention to the needs of other provinces. What Corsica needed, Boucheporn continued, was representatives who overcame their self-interest, shared their projects with other deputies, and together turned their attention first to agriculture, "the source of all wealth," and then to the possibilities of a flourishing commerce. "This concurrence of *lumières*," he concluded, "of zeal, of love for the general welfare, will prepare a happy revolution."⁷⁸ These statements, and others like them, make it clear that the French monarchs sought to establish in Corsica a society based upon the general good of all its members rather than upon privilege.⁷⁹ The frequency with which French administrators expressed objections to privilege is especially striking in view of the vigorous Enlightenment propaganda against privilege, the French monarchy's relative inability to limit privilege on the Continent, and the concerted reaction of privileged groups in France prior to the Revolution.

An observer of French policies on the island commented that the French conduct in Corsica after 1768 resembled that of a doctor who made his patient swallow in one day all of the remedies that he should have taken during the course of a long illness.⁸⁰ The comparison is apt. During the period from 1768 to the Revolution, Louis XV and Louis XVI attempted to regenerate Corsica through policies that embodied many of the enlightened ideals of the age. But the inspiration for their policies did not come directly from the great philosophes and physiocrats; it came from the bureaucratic administrators on Corsica who absorbed the spirit of reform that surrounded them, tempered it and modified it by their cultural relativism and their concern for the possible, and then passed it back to the central government through their memoirs and correspondence.

In his detailed study of French Corsica prior to the Revolution, Louis Villat said that there was no better formula for enlightened despotism than

⁷⁸ *Code Corse*, II, 372-94; Boucheporn, "Discourse prononcée par Monsieur de Boucheporn à l'ouverture des États de Corse à Bastia, le 25 may 1775," AE, MD, *France*, 1540, fols. 47-58. The language used in the *Code* and in Boucheporn's address may be derived from the writings of Rousseau, especially because it was widely known that he was interested in the fate of the island. But the "republican rhetoric" was widespread in Europe on the eve of the Revolution; it seems to have been part of the "esprit du siècle." (See the comments in Ardascheff, *Intendants de province sous Louis XVI*, 200-203; Mousnier and Labrousse, *Le XVIII^e siècle*, 173; Werner Krauss, "Patriote, 'patriotique,' 'patriotisme' à la fin de l'Ancien Régime," in *The Age of the Enlightenment: Studies Presented to Theodore Besterman*, ed. W. H. Barber et al. [Edinburgh, 1967], 387-94.)

⁷⁹ Other sources illustrating the monarchy's stand against privilege are: AG, *Arch. hist.*, A¹ 3651.65, 3662.191; AD, *Corse*, Ser. C, 543 et passim, 549 et passim; and references scattered through the *procès-verbal* of the different assemblies of the Estates. The author of a memoir written on the eve of the Revolution ("Situation économique de la Ville de Bonifacio," ed. Lanfranchi, 93) said that the citizens of Bonifacio had only respect for the noblesse because they enjoyed "the same privileges, the same prerogatives, [and] the same honors."

⁸⁰ "Mémoires historiques sur la Corse," ed. Caraffa, 72.

a statement made by the Minister of War, the Marquis de Ségur, in a letter written to Marbeuf on February 5, 1783:

While it is evident that what is proposed to be done [in Corsica] has for its end the general utility, there is no necessity to listen to the province, which is still too little enlightened about its true interests to know what could be good or harmful for it.⁸¹

Yet French rule in Corsica was both less despotic and more enlightened than this formula for enlightened despotism suggests. Contrary to this formula, the French monarchy was willing to consult with the Corsican people about their needs and grievances. The monarchy seemed to accept the position taken by its subordinate officials, who said that wise and enlightened government resulted from understanding, which in turn came only through consultation with the King's subjects. This fact, considered in conjunction with the French Kings' willingness to listen to the enlightened ideas of their subordinate officials, helps to explain the successes of French policies in Corsica, however limited those successes may have been. Had conditions been the same on the Continent, it is at least possible that the years before the Revolution would have had a different history. But in France the monarchy was too weak in the face of vested interests that were too strong. Those vested interests did not exist in Corsica. As Colonel Jacques Guibert had observed in 1769, it was easier to create than to refound.

⁸¹ Villat, *Corse de 1768 à 1789*, II, 13, 85; see also Lhéritier, "Rôle historique du despotisme éclairé," 608; Alex Linvald, "Comment le despotisme éclairé s'est présenté dans l'histoire du Danemark," *BICHES*, V (No. 20, 1933), 715. Lhéritier and Linvald suggest that the classic expression of enlightened despotism was contained in this simple formula: "Tout pour le peuple, rien par le peuple."

Southern Violence

SHELDON HACKNEY

A TENDENCY toward violence has been one of the character traits most frequently attributed to southerners.¹ In various guises, the image of the violent South confronts the historian at every turn: dueling gentlemen and masters whipping slaves, flatboatmen indulging in rough-and-tumble fights, lynching mobs, country folk at a bearbaiting or a gander pulling, romantic adventurers on Caribbean filibusters, brutal police, panic-stricken communities harshly suppressing real and imagined slave revolts, robed night riders engaged in systematic terrorism, unknown assassins, church burners, and other less physical expressions of a South whose mode of action is frequently extreme.² The image is so pervasive that it compels the attention of anyone interested in understanding the South.

H. C. Brearley was among the first to assemble the quantitative data to support the description of the South as "that part of the United States lying below the Smith and Wesson line."³ He pointed out, for example, that during the five years from 1920 to 1924 the rate of homicide per 100,000 population for the southern states was a little more than two and a half times greater than for the remainder of the country. Using data from the *Uniform Crime Reports* concerning the 1930's, Stuart Lottier confirmed and elaborated Brearley's findings in 1938. For this period also he found that homicide was concentrated in the southeastern states. Of the eleven former Confed-

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¹ See, e.g., Charles O. Lerche, Jr., *The Uncertain South: Its Changing Patterns of Politics in Foreign Policy* (Chicago, 1964), 48-49. Representative comments can be found in John Richard Alden, *The South in the Revolution, 1763-1789* (Baton Rouge, La., 1957), 34-35, 41; Clement Eaton, *A History of the Old South* (2d ed., New York, 1966), 260, 395, 404, 407, 415; John Hope Franklin, *The Militant South, 1800-1861* (Cambridge, Mass., 1956); David Bertelson, *The Lazy South* (New York, 1967), 101-13, 241; H. V. Redfield, *Homicide, North and South: Being a Comparative View of Crime against the Person in Several Parts of the United States* (Philadelphia, 1880).

² A stimulating essay on this theme is Frank Vandiver, "The Southerner as Extremist," in *The Idea of the South*, ed. id. (Chicago, 1964), 43-56. A lighter treatment of the same subject is Erskine Caldwell, "The Deep South's Other Venerable Tradition," *New York Times Magazine*, July 11, 1965, 10-18.

³ H. C. Brearley, "The Pattern of Violence," in id., *Culture in the South*, ed. W. T. Couch (Chapel Hill, N. C., 1934), 678-92; and H. C. Brearley, *Homicide in the United States* (Chapel Hill, N. C., 1932).

erate states, Louisiana showed the lowest homicide rate, but it was 74 per cent greater than the national average, and no nonsouthern state had a higher rate. It is interesting that while murder and assault were oriented to the southeastern states, robbery rates were highest in the central and western states.⁴ These findings were replicated in 1954 using data on crime for the years 1946-1952.⁵ The pattern of high rates of serious crimes against persons and relatively lower rates of crimes against property for the South is consequently quite stable.

At the time that Brearley was setting forth the evidence for southern leadership in physical aggression against people, another statistical study primarily of American suicide rates revealed that the South was the area in which people had the least propensity to destroy themselves.⁶ Austin Porterfield, in 1949, using mortality tables from *Vital Statistics of the United States*, brought the murder and the suicide indexes together and showed that there was a general inverse relationship between the two rates among the states and that the South ranked highest in homicide and lowest in suicide.⁷ In 1940 the national average rate of suicide per 100,000 population was 14.4 and of homicide was 6.2, but the old and cosmopolitan city of New Orleans had a suicide rate of 11.1 and a homicide rate of 15.5. Even though some southern cities exceed some nonsouthern cities in suicide rates, the New Orleans pattern of more homicides than suicides is typical of the South but not of the nation. Porterfield comments that "suicide in every non-Southern city exceeds homicide by ratios ranging from 1.19 to 18.60, while suicide rates exceed homicide rates in only 8 of the 43 Southern and Southwestern cities, 5 of these being in the Southwest."⁸

Violence in the South has three dimensions. In relation to the North, there are high rates of homicide and assault, moderate rates of crime against property, and low rates of suicide. The relationship between homicide and suicide rates in a given group is best expressed by a suicide-homicide ratio ($SHR = 100 \text{ [Suicides/Suicides + Homicides]}$). The European pattern, shared by white northerners but not by Negroes or white southerners, is for suicides to far outnumber homicides so that the SHR is in excess of 80. The ratios in Table I, displayed graphically in Figure 1, measure the difference be-

⁴ Stuart Lottier, "Distribution of Criminal Offenses in Sectional Regions," *Journal of Criminal Law and Criminology*, XXIX (Sept.-Oct. 1938), 329-44.

⁵ Lyle Shannon, "The Spatial Distribution of Criminal Offenses by States," *ibid.*, XLV (Sept.-Oct. 1954), 264-73.

⁶ Louis I. Dublin and Bessie Bunzel, *To Be Or Not To Be: A Study of Suicide* (New York, 1933), 80, 413.

⁷ Austin L. Porterfield, "Indices of Suicide and Homicide by States and Cities: Some Southern-Non-Southern Contrasts with Implications for Research," *American Sociological Review*, XIV (Aug. 1949), 481-90.

⁸ *Ibid.*, 485.

Table I
Suicide-Homicide Ratios for Four Categories of Americans, 1920-1964⁹

Year	United States White SHR	Southern White SHR	United States Negro SHR	Southern Negro SHR
1920	69.3	43.4*	11.2	05.6*
1925	70.9	53.5*	09.2	05.0*
1930	75.0	61.1*	11.9	06.0*
1935	76.2	59.9	11.4	06.3
1940	83.3	68.5	09.6	06.5
1945	80.3	66.4	11.1	06.8
1950	82.4	69.8	12.4	09.3
1955	88.3	73.1	15.6	09.7
1960	82.0	74.4	17.0	12.2
1964	81.1	73.2	16.7	11.1

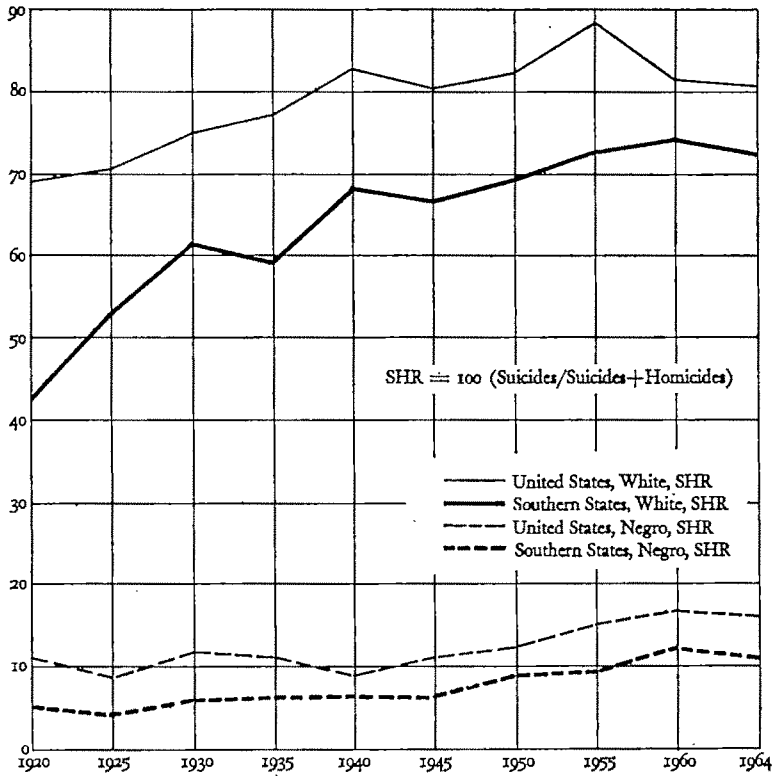
tween southerners and other Americans with regard to violence. Because the statistics for "the United States" include the statistics for the southern states, the differences between southern and nonsouthern suicide-murder ratios are understated. Even so, the differences are significant. In the North and the South, but more so in the South, Negroes commit murder much more often than they commit suicide. Among white Americans, southerners show a relatively greater preference than do nonsoutherners for murder rather than suicide.

High murder and low suicide rates constitute a distinctly southern pattern of violence, one that must rank with the caste system and ahead of mint juleps in importance as a key to the meaning of being southern. Why this should be so is a question that has puzzled investigators for a long time, and their answers have been various. When one loyal southerner was asked by a probing Yankee why the murder rate in the South was so high, he replied that he reckoned there were just more folks in the South who needed killing.

Few apologies surpass this one in purity, but there is a more popular one that tries to explain the high homicide rates in the southern states by

⁹ Suicide-Homicide Ratio=100 (Suicides/Suicides+Homicides). As the ratio approaches 100, it registers the increasing preference for suicide rather than murder among the members of a given group. The ratios were computed from figures taken from Forrest E. Linder and Robert D. Grove, *Vital Statistics Rates in the United States, 1900-1940* (Washington, D. C., 1943); and US, Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, *Vital Statistics of the United States*, for the appropriate years. The asterisks in the table indicate that: in 1920 all of the former Confederate states were included in the figures except Alabama, Arkansas, Georgia, and Texas; Arkansas, Georgia, and Texas were still not reporting in 1925, but by 1930 only Texas was excluded; since 1935 all southern states are included.

Figure 1



the extremely high rates of violence among Negroes who constitute a large part of the population. As Table I indicates, however, southern whites considered by themselves vary from the national norm in the same direction as Negroes, though to a much lesser extent. In addition, Porterfield points out that for the twelve southern states with the heaviest Negro population, the coefficient of correlation between serious crimes and the percentage of Negroes in the population is $-.44$. There is actually a tendency for states to rank lower in serious crimes as the percentage of Negroes in the population increases.¹⁰

A more sophisticated theory is that southern white society contains a larger proportion of lower status occupations so that the same factors that cause lower status groups in the North to become more violent than the rest of society have a proportionately greater effect on the South. The dif-

¹⁰ Austin L. Porterfield, "A Decade of Serious Crimes in the United States," *American Sociological Review*, XIII (Feb. 1948), 44-54; see also James E. McKeown, "Poverty, Race, and Crime," *Journal of Criminal Law and Criminology*, XXXIX (Nov.-Dec. 1948), 480-83.

ference in rates would then be accounted for by the numerical bulge in the high risk group, and only the stratification of society would be peculiarly southern. Unfortunately for this theory, southern cities, in which whites show the distinctive pattern of southern violence, actually have greater percentages of the white population in higher status jobs than do northern cities.¹¹ It is not the class structure that causes the southern skew in the statistics.

In the same way, the agricultural nature of southern life might account for the pattern of southern violence. That the peculiar configuration exists in southern cities as well as in the countryside could possibly be accounted for by the large migration into the city of people who learned their ways of living and dying in the country. Table II shows that both homicide and

Table II
Homicide and Suicide Rates by Race and by Size of Population
Group, United States, 1940¹²

	US	Cities 100,000 and up	Cities 10,000- 100,000	Cities 2,500- 10,000	Rural
Suicide (All Ages, Both Sexes)					
All Races	14.4	16.8	15.6	15.1	12.0
White	15.5	17.8	16.4	16.0	13.3
Nonwhite	4.6	7.2	5.8	4.5	3.0
Homicide (All Ages, Both Sexes)					
All Races	6.2	7.1	5.7	7.3	5.7
White	3.1	3.2	2.5	3.7	3.3
Nonwhite	33.3	43.3	43.0	51.9	23.1

suicide rates are lower for rural districts than for urban areas. This results in an SHR for the white population of rural districts considered by themselves of 80.1, as compared with an SHR of 83.7 for the white population of the nation as a whole. The SHR of 68.8 in 1940 for southern whites, both urban and rural, is significantly lower than the national ratios and indicates

¹¹ Norval D. Glenn, "Occupational Benefits to Whites from the Subordination of Negroes," *American Sociological Review*, XXVIII (June 1963), 443-48, esp. Table I.

¹² The source for this table is Linder and Grove, *Vital Statistics Rates in the United States, 1900-1940*, Table 24.

that southern whites tended more to act out their aggressions than the white population of either the cities or the countryside in the rest of the nation.

Another way of testing the notion that the rurality of the South may be the root of its strange configuration of violence is summarized in Table III,

Table III

Suicide and Homicide Rates and Suicide-Homicide Ratios for Southern States and Eleven Most Rural Nonsouthern States, 1940¹⁸

Population Group		Suicide-Homicide Ratio	
Southern Nonwhite		6.7	
National Nonwhite		12.2	
Southern White		68.8	
Nonsouthern, White Rural (11 states)		79.0	
National White Rural		80.1	
National White		83.7	

Southern States	White		Rural Nonsouthern States	White	
	Suicide Rate	Homicide Rate		Suicide Rate	Homicide Rate
Alabama	11.7	6.9	Arizona	15.2	7.5
Arkansas	8.0	5.1	Idaho	17.7	3.3
Florida	19.8	7.5	Iowa	15.2	1.3
Georgia	12.1	5.6	Kansas	13.0	1.1
Louisiana	12.4	5.5	Montana	21.1	4.8
Mississippi	10.1	5.7	Nebraska	16.8	.7
North Carolina	10.4	4.0	New Mexico	14.2	5.7
South Carolina	9.7	5.0	North Dakota	9.7	1.4
Tennessee	10.0	7.1	South Dakota	10.5	1.8
Texas	13.6	5.3	Vermont	16.7	.8
Virginia	18.4	5.0	Wyoming	23.5	4.5
Averages	12.4	5.6	Averages	15.8	4.2

a comparison of the SHR's of the eleven former Confederate states with those of the eleven most rural nonsouthern states. The nonsouthern states, mostly western, are closer in time to frontier days and are currently much more subject to instability caused by in-migration than are the southern

¹⁸ The source for Table III is *ibid.*, Table 20. All rates are per 100,000 population.

states, but otherwise the two sets of states are similar enough for purposes of comparison. In 1940 the percentage of population living in the urban areas of the southern states ranged from 13.4 per cent to 36.7 per cent, with the mean falling at 26.1 per cent, while in the eleven nonsouthern states the degree of urbanization ranged from 13.6 per cent to 36.7 per cent, with the mean at 31.2 per cent. In order not to distort the picture more than necessary, Nevada, with an extraordinary suicide rate of 41.3 per 100,000 population, is omitted from the comparison. At the same time, Virginia and Florida, with nonsouthern SHR's, are retained in the southern sample. The results still show a significant difference between the suicide-murder ratio of the southern states and that of the most rural nonsouthern states. The strange bent of southern violence cannot be accounted for by the rural nature of southern society.

Poverty is also a logical factor to suspect as the underlying cause of the South's pattern of violence. Howard Odum computed that in 1930 the Southeast had 20.9 per cent of the nation's population but only 11.9 per cent of its wealth.¹⁴ Whether or not the region was poor before it was violent is undetermined. Even more to the point, poverty alone cannot explain high homicide rates. The decline of homicides during business depressions in the United States underlines this argument, as does the fact that crime rates among second-generation immigrants are much higher than among first-generation immigrants despite increased material welfare of the former.¹⁵ One study has found no significant correlation between crime rates and the proportion of the population on relief by county in Minnesota, whereas there was a strong correlation between crime rates and the degree of urbanization. Like the rural poor in Minnesota, the Japanese of Seattle were poor but honest and nonviolent.¹⁶

Though the data are extremely questionable, there is, nevertheless, a significant positive correlation between the SHR for the fifty-six world polities for which information is readily available and almost every measure of modernization that can be quantified.¹⁷ It is difficult to determine whether it is underdevelopment or the process of change that accounts for this, for scholars have noted that the process of modernization generates various sorts

¹⁴ Howard Odum, *Southern Regions of the United States* (Chapel Hill, N. C., 1936), 208.

¹⁵ Edwin H. Sutherland and Donald R. Cressey, *Principles of Criminology* (6th ed., New York, 1960), 92, 146-49.

¹⁶ Van B. Shaw, "The Relationship between Crime Rates and Certain Population Characteristics in Minnesota Counties," *Journal of Criminal Law and Criminology*, XL (May-June 1949), 43-49.

¹⁷ Simple intercorrelations were run between the indexes of homicide and suicide and measures of social and economic activity using data from *World Handbook of Political and Social Indicators*, ed. Bruce M. Russett *et al.* (New Haven, Conn., 1964); and Statistical Office of the United Nations Department of Economic and Social Affairs, *Demographic Yearbook*, 1963 (New York, 1964), Table 25.

of conflict and violence.¹⁸ For both developing and industrialized nations, education is the most powerful predictor of a country's SHR, but indexes of industrial and urban activity, along with reflections of the society's general welfare, are also significantly correlated with the SHR. This is true for the fifty-six world polities considered together as well as for the European nations as a group and for the non-European countries taken together. That southerners over the past half century have been growing more similar to nonsouthern Americans in their tastes in violence as the gap between the nation and the South in economic development has slowly narrowed also argues that there may be no increment of violence in the South that is not "explained" by the relative slowness of the region's development.

Multiple regression analysis offers a technique for testing the possibility that variations in the key indexes of modernization operating in an additive fashion might account for the South's particularity in rates of violence. Six independent variables measuring the four factors of wealth, education, urbanization, and age are included in this analysis. Except where indicated below, their values are taken from the *United States Census* for 1940. Urbanization is stated as the percentage of the population living within towns of 2,500 or more; education is measured by the median number of school years completed by persons twenty-five years old and older; "income" is the state's per capita personal income in dollars for 1940; unemployment is expressed as the percentage of the working force out of work; "wealth" is the state's per capita income in dollars in 1950; and age is the median age of the population. The values of each variable except "income" are recorded by race. "South" is a dummy variable included in the analysis in order to see if any of the unexplained residue of the dependent variable is associated with the fact of its occurring either inside or outside the South. All of the former Confederate states were assigned the value of one, while all nonsouthern states were recorded as zero. The dependent variables that require "explaining" are the suicide rate, the homicide rate, the sum of the suicide rate and homicide rate, and the suicide-homicide ratio. Even though these rates are taken from the most reliable source, *Vital Statistics of the United States*, there may be large errors between the published rates and the true rates. Some violent deaths are never recorded, and many are improperly classified, but there is no reason to suspect that there has been a long-term, systematic bias in the collection and recording of the statistics for the southern states.

¹⁸ Richard S. Weinert, "Violence in Pre-Modern Societies: Rural Colombia," *American Political Science Review*, LX (June 1966), 340-47; *Internal War, Problems and Approaches*, ed. Harry Eckstein (New York, 1964); E. J. Hobsbawm, *Primitive Rebels: Studies in Archaic Forms of Social Movement in the 19th and 20th Centuries* (New York, 1959). An important synthesis and statement of theory is Ted Gurr, "Psychological Factors in Civil Violence," *World Politics*, XX (Jan. 1968), 245-78.

For the purpose of the crude comparison between South and non-South, the *Vital Statistics* are acceptable.

The results of the analysis are summarized in Table IV. The coefficient of correlation between each of the independent variables and the dependent variable is found in the column labeled "Simple." The percentage of the variation in the dependent variable that is associated with, and thus "explained" by, the variation in the independent variable is found by squaring the coefficient of correlation. Education, for example, is the best single predictor of the white suicide rate. The simple coefficient of correlation of .62 between education and suicide in Table IV indicates that approximately 38 per cent of the variation in the white suicide rate among the forty-eight states in 1940 is associated with variations in the educational level of the populations. The positive correlation means that the suicide rate tends to rise from one state to the next as the educational level rises. The negative coefficients of correlation between each of the independent variables, except South, and the white homicide rate indicate, conversely, that the homicide rate tends to decline as the indexes of development rise.

The effect on the dependent variable of all of the independent variables considered together is measured by the coefficient of multiple correlation, "R." Thus 72 per cent of the white suicide rate and 52 per cent of the white homicide rate are explained by the seven independent variables operating in an additive fashion. The coefficient of partial correlation expresses the relationship of each independent variable with the unexplained portion of the dependent variable after the independent variables acting collectively have done all the explaining possible. The coefficient of partial correlation for the dummy variable (South) is the most important yield of the multiple regression analysis.

Even though the seven independent variables acting together explain 72 per cent of the variation of the white SHR among the forty-eight states in 1940, 28 per cent ($r = -.53$) of the remaining portion of the variation of the white SHR is associated with the South. This means that the white SHR is lower in the South than can be accounted for by the lower indexes of urbanization, education, wealth, and age. There is, similarly, a significant portion of the variation from state to state in the white homicide rate, and in the white suicide rate, that is not explained by variations in measures of development, but that is explained by southernness.

If the deviation of the South from the national norms for violence cannot be attributed to backwardness, or at least not to the static measures of underdevelopment, there are other possible explanations that should be considered. The concept of anomie, developed by Émile Durkheim in his

Multiple Regression Analysis
Violence, Development, and Sectionalism in the United States, 1940¹⁰

Dependent Variables by State	R ² Variation Explained	Urbanization		Education		Income		Unemployment		Wealth		Age		South	
		Simple	Partial	Simple	Partial	Simple	Partial	Simple	Partial	Simple	Partial	Simple	Partial	Simple	Partial
White Suicide Rate	.72*	.25	-.64*	.62*	.52	.56*	.14	.22	.33	.53*	.35	.55*	.59*	-.31	.42*
White Homicide Rate	.52*	-.45*	-.24	-.17	.09	-.42	.23	-.13	.26	-.42	-.12	-.58*	.24	.54*	.49*
White Homicide plus Suicide Rate	.57*	.07	-.59*	.52	.44*	.36	.20	.15	.35	-.34	.22	-.30	.41*	-.09	.50*
White Suicide-Homicide Ratio	.72*	.53*	-.02	.40*	.11	.63*	-.24	.25	-.18	.62*	.29	.76*	.49*	-.68*	-.53*
Nonwhite Suicide Rate	.30	.08	-.13	.30	.25	.47*	.26	.15	-.09	.34	-.00	.13	-.04	-.34	.08
Nonwhite Homicide Rate	.25	-.07	-.28	-.19	-.25	-.11	.18	-.17	.21	-.09	-.04	.04	.40*	.28	.37*
Nonwhite Homicide plus Suicide Rate	.22	-.02	-.30	-.03	-.12	.13	.27	-.08	.15	.09	-.04	.10	.35	.09	.37*
Nonwhite Suicide-Homicide Ratio	.35	.27	.32	.36	.31	.43*	.18	.30	-.11	.36	-.10	.12	-.40	-.36	-.09

¹⁰ The asterisks in the table denote that the chance that a random ordering of the data would produce a relationship this strong is less than one in one hundred.

study, *Suicide*, in 1898, is frequently mentioned as an explanation of both homicide and suicide. Anomie has meant slightly varying but not contradictory things to different investigators. It is most generally understood to be a social condition in which there is a deterioration of belief in the existing set of rules of behavior, or in which accepted rules are mutually contradictory, or when prescribed goals are not accessible through legitimate means, or when cognition and socialization have been obstructed by personality traits that cluster about low ego-strength.²⁰ As it is manifested in the individual, in the form of anomy, it is a feeling of normlessness and estrangement from other people. An anomic person feels lost, drifting without clearly defined rules and expectations, isolated, powerless, and frustrated. In this state, there is a strong strain toward deviant behavior in various forms. The problem is that both homicide and suicide are thought to be related to it, and the theory does not predict what sorts of people or what groups will favor one form of behavior rather than another.

To look at southern violence as the product of anomie in any case would involve a great paradox. The most popular explanation of the high rates of violence in America as compared to Europe places the blame on the rapid urbanization, secularization, and industrialization of the United States and on the social characteristics associated with this remarkable growth: geographic and status mobility, an emphasis upon contractual relationships and upon social norms rather than upon personal relationships, competitive striving, and a cultural pluralism that involves a high level of dissonance among the values that everyone tries to put into practice.²¹ The South has traditionally served as the counterpoint to the American way of life because it seemed to differ from the North in these very aspects.²² Southerners have a greater sense of history than northerners, a greater attachment to place, and more deferential social customs. By all reports, southerners place more emphasis on personal relations and on ascribed statuses than do northerners. Not only do southerners prize political and social cohesion, but by most measures the South is much more homogeneous than the non-South.²³ Yet, though the South differs from the North on so many of the factors that supposedly contribute to anomie and thus to violence, the South is the nation's most violent region.

²⁰ Herbert McClosky and John H. Schaar, "Psychological Dimensions of Anomy," *American Sociological Review*, XXX (Feb. 1965), 14-40.

²¹ David Abrahamsen, *The Psychology of Crime* (New York, 1960), 18-21, 177-83. These relationships are greatly illuminated by the discussion in David Potter, *People of Plenty: Economic Abundance and the American Character* (Chicago, 1954).

²² William H. Taylor, *Cavalier and Yankee: The Old South and American National Character* (Garden City, N. Y., 1963); C. Vann Woodward, *The Burden of Southern History* (Baton Rouge, La., 1960), 109-40.

²³ Jack P. Gibbs and Walter T. Martin, *Status Integration and Suicide: A Sociological Study* (Eugene, Ore., 1964), esp. Table 6.

One body of theory seems to predict higher rates of violence precisely because of the South's homogeneity. Reformulating the observations of George Simmel and Bronisław Malinowski, Lewis Coser writes that "we may say that a conflict is more passionate and more radical when it arises out of close relationships." "The closer the relationship," so the reasoning goes, "the greater the affective investment, the greater also the tendency to suppress rather than express hostile feelings. . . . In such cases feelings of hostility tend to accumulate and hence intensify." Such a theory fits the empirical observation that individuals who express hostility retain fewer and less violent feelings of antagonism toward the source of their irritation.²⁴ But Coser himself states that, though conflicts within close relationships are likely to be intense when they occur, "this does not necessarily point to the likelihood of more *frequent* conflict in closer relationships than in less close ones." There are situations in which accumulated hostilities do not eventuate in conflict and may even serve to solidify the relationship.²⁵

The frustration-aggression hypothesis involves similar perplexities.²⁶ One of the alternative ways of adapting to frustration is, for example, to turn the frustration inward upon the self. In extreme cases this can result in suicide.²⁷ A psychoanalyst has concluded after an extensive study that a major portion of Sweden's high suicide rate is caused by the frustrations arising from a highly competitive, success-oriented society.²⁸ The general rise in suicide rates in the United States during economic downturns argues that the same mechanism is at work among some segments of the population. Consequently, nothing in the frustration-aggression hypothesis predicts the direction the aggression will take.

There are currently two theories that attempt to explain the generally inverse relationship between homicide and suicide as reactions to frustration. The first, developed by Andrew F. Henry and James F. Short, Jr.,²⁹ is based on the assumption that both homicide and suicide are the result of frustration-aggression and builds upon Porterfield's initial suggestion that the

²⁴ Lewis A. Coser, *The Functions of Social Conflict* (New York, 1956), 57, 62, 71; Albert Pepitone and George Reichling, "Group Cohesiveness and Expression of Hostility," in *Personality and Social Systems*, ed. Neil J. Smelser and William T. Smelser (New York, 1963), 117-24.

²⁵ Coser, *Functions of Social Conflict*, 72.

²⁶ John Dollard et al., *Frustration and Aggression* (New Haven, Conn., 1939); Leonard Berkowitz, *Aggression: A Social Psychological Analysis* (New York, 1962); Aubrey J. Yates, *Frustration and Conflict* (New York, 1962).

²⁷ Karl Menninger, *Man against Himself* (New York, 1938), 23. The assumption that homicide and suicide are simply aggressions manifested in different directions is the basis of the concept of the suicide-homicide ratio.

²⁸ Herbert Hendin, *Suicide and Scandinavia: A Psychoanalytic Study of Culture and Character* (Garden City, N. Y., 1965), Chap. v.

²⁹ Andrew F. Henry and James F. Short, Jr., *Suicide and Homicide: Some Economic, Sociological, and Psychological Aspects of Aggression* (Glencoe, Ill., 1954).

strength of the relational system might have something to do with an individual's choice of either homicide or suicide.³⁰ Henry and Short adduce data on the relationship of homicide and suicide rates to the business cycle and to certain statistically distinct groups. They reason that overt aggression against others "varies directly with the strength of external restraint over the behavior of the adult—external restraint which is a function of strength of the relational system and position in the status hierarchy."³¹ According to this theory, overt aggression increases as the strength of the relational system increases and as a person's position in the status hierarchy decreases.

Martin Gold has pointed out, however, that contrary to the hypothesis of Henry and Short, upper status people are likely to be more restrained by the expectations of others than are lower status people. Even more damaging is Gold's demonstration that the Henry and Short hypothesis does not correctly predict the greater preference of women for suicide rather than homicide;³² nor does it correctly predict that suicide rates are lower among the middle classes than at either extreme of the social scale.

The second theory, fashioned by Gold, attempts to relate differences in child-rearing practices to preferences for hostility or guilt as an accommodation to frustration. Gold shows, specifically, that there is a positive correlation between the incidence of physical punishment commonly used in the child-rearing practices of certain groups and the rate of homicide for that group. His conclusion is that physical disciplining of children leads to aggression against others rather than against the self.³³ To confound the theory, restrictive child-rearing practices in Europe evidently do not lead to the physical violence that such practices among the lower classes in America are supposed to produce. It is also doubtful that there is a significant class differential in the degree of physical punishment used to discipline children.³⁴ William and Joan McCord found in their study of juveniles that there was no strong relationship between disciplining methods and criminality except when a child is rejected by his parents or when his parents provide him with a deviant role model; harsh discipline does

³⁰ Porterfield, "Indices of Suicide and Homicide," 488.

³¹ Henry and Short, *Suicide and Homicide*, 119.

³² Martin Gold, "Suicide, Homicide, and the Socialization of Aggression," *American Journal of Sociology*, LXIII (May 1958), 651-61. Gold originated the SHR, which he called the "suicide-murder ratio."

³³ *Ibid.*

³⁴ Melvin L. Kohn, "Social Class and the Exercise of Parental Authority," in *Personality and Social Systems*, ed. Smelser and Smelser, 297-314; Martha Sturm White, "Social Class, Child Rearing Practices, and Child Behavior," *ibid.*, 286-96; Bernard C. Rosen and Roy D'Andrade, "The Psychosocial Origins of Achievement Motivation," *Sociometry*, XXII (Sept. 1959), 185-215, cited in *Anomie and Deviant Behavior: A Discussion and Critique*, ed. Marshall B. Clinard (New York, 1964), 260-61; Bernard Berelson and Gary A. Steiner, *Human Behavior: An Inventory of Scientific Findings* (New York, 1964), 479-81.

less damage than neglect.⁸⁵ Despite such complexities, it is reasonable to suppose that there is some causal relationship between the socialization of aggression and a group's SHR, but before such a relationship can be a useful ingredient of an explanation of southern violence, anthropologists and historians need to know much more about regional differences in child-rearing techniques.

Whether or not the cause can be located in child-rearing practices, several bodies of evidence point to the conclusion that southern violence is a cultural pattern that exists separate from current influences. For instance, several commentators have suggested that the habit of carrying guns in the South made murder a much more frequent outcome of altercations among southerners than among northerners. This argument is buttressed by a 1968 survey, reported in Table V, which showed that 52 per cent of south-

Table V
Per Cent of Families Owning Firearms⁸⁶

	Yes	No	Not Sure
Total White	34	65	1
South	52	45	3
Non-South	27	72	1
Total Nonwhite	24	70	6
South	34	61	5
Non-South	15	78	7

ern white families owned guns, as opposed to only 27 per cent of their nonsouthern white counterparts. It may be, however, that this differential in ownership of guns is the result of a violent turn of mind rather than the cause of violence. This is the implication of the fact that when the House of Representatives in 1968 passed a weak gun control bill to restrict the mail-order sale of rifles, shotguns, and ammunition by the overwhelming vote of 304 to 118, representatives of the eleven former Confederate states nonetheless voted 73 to 19 against the bill.⁸⁷ It should be noted, too, that while some southern states have relatively strict firearms laws, these laws do not dramatically affect their homicide rates.⁸⁸ Furthermore, the assault rate is

⁸⁵ William McCord and Joan McCord, *Origins of Crime: A New Evaluation of the Cambridge-Somerville Youth Study* (New York, 1959), 172, 198.

⁸⁶ The source of Table V is a survey of national statistical sample by Opinion Research, Inc., for a Columbia Broadcasting System program, September 2, 1968.

⁸⁷ *New York Times*, July 25, 1968.

⁸⁸ Carl Bakal, *The Right to Bear Arms* (New York, 1966), 346-53.

extremely high in the South, indicating that southerners react with physical hostility even without guns.

A glance at Table IV reveals that for Negroes either the data are grossly skewed or there is little relationship between violence and the selected indexes of social welfare. The barest hint exists that, controlling for the selected factors, there is some explanatory value in sectionalism, a conclusion that has independent verification. Thomas F. Pettigrew and Rosalind Barclay Spier found that the major correlate of the Negro homicide rate in the North was the proportion of Negroes in a given area who had been born and raised in the South and that this was in addition to the effect of migration itself. It had long been known that homicide was much less frequent among northern than among southern Negroes; this finding suggests that violence in the South is a style of life that is handed down from father to son along with the old hunting rifle and the family Bible.³⁹

The great contribution to the discussion of southern violence made by Wilbur J. Cash in his book *The Mind of the South* was precisely that southern violence is part of a style of life that can only be explained historically.⁴⁰ According to Cash's own poetic and impressionistic rendering, violence grew up on the southern frontier as naturally as it grows up on any frontier. Violence was an integral part of the romantic, hedonistic, hell-of-a-fellow personality created by the absence of external restraint that is characteristic of a frontier. The cult of honor, with its insistence on the private settlement of disputes, was one manifestation of the radical individualism of the South, but there were other influences at work. The plantation, the most highly organized institution on the southern frontier, reinforced the tendency toward violence that had been initiated by the absence of organization. This was so, Cash argues, for two reasons: whites on the plantation exercised unrestrained dominance over blacks; and whites were generally raised by blacks and consequently were deeply influenced by the romantic and hedonistic Negro personality. Cash does not explicitly say what forces produced this Negro personality, but the implication is that it is fixed by the laws of genetics. But if the more likely position is taken that Negro and white personalities are shaped by environment and experience, then the reader is left with yet another Cashian paradox: violence in the white personality stems at the same time from the effect of being unrestrained and from imitating the Negro personality which was formed out of a situation of dependency and subordination.

³⁹ Thomas F. Pettigrew and Rosalind Barclay Spier, "The Ecological Structure of Negro Homicide," *American Journal of Sociology*, LXVII (May 1962), 621-29.

⁴⁰ Wilbur J. Cash, *The Mind of the South* (New York, 1940; Vintage ed., 1960), 32-34, 44-52, 76, 115-23, 161, 220, 424.

The mediating variable that brings together the various inconsistencies in Cash's explanation of how violence came to be established in the late ante bellum period as part of the southern personality may be the absence of law. Not disorganization nor individualism, not dominance nor submission, not lack of restraint—none of these forces played as important a role as the absence of institutions of law enforcement in compelling southerners to resort to the private settlement of disputes. Cash makes this explicit in his treatment of Reconstruction, the second frontier.

During Reconstruction, according to Cash, southern whites resorted to individual and collective violence because the courts were dominated by carpetbaggers and scalawags. Though this is logical, it is not consistent with Cash's earlier argument that the growth of law had been inhibited on the ante bellum frontier by the desire of southerners to provide their own justice. Apparently the direction of causation in the relationship between law and violence changes in accordance with the needs of Cash's interpretation.

Just as the first and second southern frontiers simultaneously promoted social solidarity and individualism, the third southern frontier, progress, changed the South in the direction of the American norm of Babbitry while at the same time accommodating continuity in the basic traits of the southern mind. A further paradox is involved in the impact of progress on the pattern of violence. Because violence originally arose from individualism, Cash says, the growth of towns should have brought a decrease in rates of violence. This decrease did not materialize because progress also brought poverty, and poverty destroys individualism. Cash argues in effect that individualism produced violence in the ante bellum period and the loss of individualism produced violence in the twentieth century.

Though Cash failed to formulate a coherent theory of southern violence, he did focus on two factors that are obvious possibilities as the chief motive forces of southern violence: the frontier experience and the presence of the Negro. The American frontier did spawn violence, but it seems improbable that the frontier could have much to do with the fact that in the twentieth century southern states on the eastern seaboard have much higher rates of violence than the nation at large. There is also considerable difficulty with the notion that the presence of large numbers of Negroes accounts for the great propensity of whites for violence. There is, in fact, little interracial homicide,⁴¹ and there is no reason to question John Dollard's hypothesis that Negroes murder and assault each other with such appalling frequency because of their daily frustrations in dealing with

⁴¹ Marvin E. Wolfgang, *Patterns in Criminal Homicide* (Philadelphia, 1958), 222-36.

white men. Because aggressions against whites would call forth extreme negative sanctions, frustrated Negroes transfer their aggressive feelings to other Negroes.⁴² If this is the case, it is difficult to see how high rates of violence among the dominant white group would also be attributed to the white-Negro relationship, especially when the presence of Negroes in the North is not accompanied by a proportionate rate of violence among the whites. It is also interesting that whites in South Africa who also experienced frontier conditions and a subordinate nonwhite population have a homicide-suicide ratio almost identical to the ratio for the American North but quite different from that of the South.

Subservience, rather than dominance, may be the condition that underlies a pattern of low SHR's. In his extremely popular book *The Wretched of the Earth*, Franz Fanon suggests that the oppressed status of a colonial people produces a pattern of aggressiveness directed against fellow colonials and a need to achieve manhood through violence. The task of revolutionaries is to mobilize the aggressive drives, provide them a sustaining ideology, and direct them against the oppressors.⁴³ Defeat in the Civil War and the South's resulting position as an economic dependency of the industrial Northeast qualify it for consideration as a violent colonial region. In addition to the difficulty of separating the effects of subservience from the effects of sheer underdevelopment, the problem with this line of reasoning is that the heroic myths created about the Lost Cause and the relatively early return of home rule after the Civil War may have mitigated the trauma of defeat and social dislocation. It would be difficult to maintain that the South's historical experience as a region is the equivalent of the sort of cultural conflict that leads to the loss of self-esteem, disrupts the processes of socialization, and initiates the cycle of self-crippling behavior within the subordinate group.⁴⁴ Furthermore, American Indians have responded to their experience of defeat and repression with higher rates of suicide and other intrapunitive behavior rather than with aggression against others. Similarly, while industrialization was transforming and disrupting its established folk culture, Harlan County, Kentucky, had the highest homicide rates in the country, but a study of community growth in New England finds suicide and depressive disorders highly correlated with the disruptive impact of geographic mobility.⁴⁵

⁴² John Dollard, *Caste and Class in a Southern Town* (3d ed., Garden City, N. Y., 1949), Chap. xiii.

⁴³ Franz Fanon, *The Wretched of the Earth* (New York, 1963).

⁴⁴ Thomas Stone et al., "Poverty and the Individual," in *Poverty and Affluence*, ed. Leo Fishman (New Haven, Conn., 1966), 72-96.

⁴⁵ Paul Frederick Cressey, "Social Disorganization and Reorganization in Harlan County, Kentucky," *American Sociological Review*, XIV (June 1949), 389-94; Henry Wechsler, "Com-

Though the social sciences offer no clearly authenticated hypothesis that predicts the relationship in different populations between homicide and suicide rates,⁴⁶ there are some potentially illuminating investigations currently in progress. Assuming that depressed mental patients are people who have turned anger inward through introjection and guilt when under chronic stress, while paranoid patients are those who have turned anger outward through denial and projection, one study has found an interesting association between the pattern of intrafamily communication and the direction taken by mental pathology when it occurred. Depressed patients in this study came from families in which as children they were forced to try by themselves to attain the desired forms of behavior through positive, "ought" channels. Paranoid patients came from families in which they were forced into acceptable modes of behavior by negative "ought not" procedures.

In families of *depressed* patients the child comes to view his environment as non-threatening to him physically. It is something to be manipulated by him in order to bring about the desired effects that will win approval. There is directionality here, and it is *from* the child *toward* his environment. On the other hand, in families of paranoid patients the child comes to view his environment as having potentially harmful properties that he cannot control and that must be avoided in some way. Here the directionality is *from* the environment *toward* the child.⁴⁷

The hypothesis is that a manipulative attitude toward the environment will be associated with intrapunitive behavior and that a passive attitude toward the environment, with the absence of the internalization of a feeling of responsibility for the self, will be correlated with a greater use of projection in ego-defense.

There are firm indications that cultural patterning as well as child-rearing techniques will affect the perception of the environment and the orientation of the personality on the paranoia-depression continuum. In Burma, a hierarchical society in which a person's prestige and authority increase as he gets older, the social and physical environment is typically perceived as potentially harmful, and Burma has one of the highest homicide rates in the world.⁴⁸ There is also the possibility of a connection between the high rates of violence among Afro-Americans and the recent diagnosis

munity Growth, Depressive Disorders, and Suicide," *American Journal of Sociology*, LXVII (July 1961), 9-16.

⁴⁶ Jack O. Douglas, *The Social Meanings of Suicide* (Princeton, N. J., 1967), 3-160.

⁴⁷ Hazel M. Hitson and Daniel H. Funkenstein, "Family Patterns and Paranoid Personality Structure in Boston and Burma," *International Journal of Social Psychiatry*, V (Winter 1959).

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*

that the Negro psyche has been rendered paranoiac by the hostile American environment.⁴⁹

Testing the hypothesis that a paranoid perception of the environment is the root cause of the pattern of violence in the white South is a problem for future scholarship. The most immediately useful technique would be a survey of attitudes toward violence, perceptions of the environment, feelings of personal efficacy, and other measures of alienation. There may be regional differentials in these categories as well as class, age, and sexual differentials. A rigorous comparison of rates of violence in perhaps a Kentucky county and an Ohio county at comparable stages of settlement is also a promising approach. The records of the county court, the reports of the state attorney general, and newspaper surveys might produce useful data on both individual and collective violence. Some effort must be made to determine when the South became violent; timing may reveal much about the relationship of slavery to violence. The possible effects of Scotch-Irish immigration, population density, temperature, and religious fundamentalism should be investigated with quantitative methods. Even though the SHR's of Australia and Canada fit the European mold, some insight may derive from pursuing such comparative cases in a detailed manner. Much can be done.

Meanwhile, in the search for a valid explanation of southern violence the most fruitful avenue will probably be one that seeks to identify and trace the development of a southern world view that defines the social, political, and physical environment as hostile and casts the white southerner in the role of the passive victim of malevolent forces. When scholars locate the values that make up this world view and the process by which it was created and is transmitted, the history of the South will undoubtedly prove to have played a major role. The un-American experiences of guilt, defeat, and poverty will be major constituents of the relevant version of that history,⁵⁰ but perhaps they will not loom so large as the sense of grievance that is at the heart of the southern identity.

Southern self-consciousness was created by the need to protect a peculiar institution from threats originating outside the region. Consequently, the southern identity has been linked from the first to a siege mentality. Though southerners have many other identities, they are likely to be most conscious of being southerners when they are defending their region against attack from outside forces: abolitionists, the Union Army, carpetbaggers, Wall Street and Pittsburgh, civil rights agitators, the federal government, feminism, socialism, trade-unionism, Darwinism, Communism, atheism,

⁴⁹ William H. Grier and Price M. Cobbs, *Black Rage* (New York, 1968).

⁵⁰ Woodward, *Burden of Southern History*, 3-26.

daylight-saving time, and other by-products of modernity. This has produced an extreme sensitivity to criticism from outsiders and a tendency to excuse local faults as the products of forces beyond human or local control. If the South was poor, it was because the Yankees stole all the family silver and devastated the region in other ways after the Civil War. If industrialization seemed inordinately slow in the South, it was because of a conspiracy of northern capitalists to maintain the region as an economic colony. Added to this experience with perceived threats has been the fact that almost every significant change in the life of the South has been initiated by external powers. This is even true of industrialization. Though there was a fervent native movement to sponsor industrialization, absentee ownership has been characteristic. Furthermore, the real qualitative change in the southern pattern of low-wage industry came as a result of World War II and the activities of the federal government.

Being southern, then, inevitably involves a feeling of persecution at times and a sense of being a passive, insignificant object of alien or impersonal forces. Such a historical experience has fostered a world view that supports the denial of responsibility and locates threats to the region outside the region and threats to the person outside the self. From the southern past arise the symbiosis of profuse hospitality and intense hostility toward strangers and the paradox that the southern heritage is at the same time one of grace and violence.

Racial Segregation in Ante Bellum New Orleans

ROGER A. FISCHER

THE search for the roots of racial segregation has occupied the attention of scholars since the appearance of C. Vann Woodward's *The Strange Career of Jim Crow* in 1955. Interpreting the "separate but equal" legislation enacted by the southern states after 1887 as a fundamental turning point in the region's race relations, Woodward wrote of the "relative recency" of segregation and claimed that to identify the system with the ante bellum South was "to forget the nature of relations between races under the old regime."¹ In a new introduction to a 1957 edition, Woodward carefully qualified his thesis by admitting the antiquity of white supremacist thought, the proscriptions imposed upon free Negroes before the Civil War, and the exclusion of Negroes from many public facilities after Appomattox. But his central premise remained resolute, that "the era of genuine segregation was yet to come—the era when the principle was consciously and deliberately applied to all possible areas of contact between the races, and when the code became a hard-and-fast dogma of the white race."²

The theory that racial segregation had been developed during a "capitulation to racism" after 1887 won wide acceptance among historians eager to discredit the antiquity of the system. Some scholars carried the Woodward thesis to extremes, ignoring the cautious qualifications of its creator and neglecting altogether the period before the Civil War. A textbook on post-bellum southern history published in 1963 informed its readers that during the ante bellum period "the circumstances which later gave rise to the segregation codes could not exist."³ Another scholar, writing an interpretation of *Plessy v. Ferguson* in 1963, set forth the blanket assertion that "Racial segregation in the Old South had been unknown."⁴ As late as 1966 a third

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¹ C. Vann Woodward, *The Strange Career of Jim Crow* (New York, 1955), 13-14.

² *Ibid.* (Galaxy ed., New York, 1957), xvii.

³ John Samuel Ezell, *The South since 1865* (New York, 1963), 184.

⁴ Barton J. Bernstein, "Plessy v. Ferguson: Conservative Sociological Jurisprudence," *Journal of Negro History*, XLVIII (July 1963), 200.

historian stated categorically that the segregation system "did not spring directly from slavery or from the timeworn customs of many generations."⁶

The logic that lay behind this assumption was compelling. In an agricultural society composed of masters and slaves, racial segregation would have been not only impossible but unnecessary, for slavery was in itself the supreme segregator. The iron discipline, rigid routine, and absolute authority that were combined to preserve plantation order were their own means of racial control, rendering any secondary reminders of the color line superfluous. Since familiarity on the plantation carried with it no possible inference of racial equality, the masters and their families often joined in such festivities among the slaves as weddings and banquets. As Ellen Betts, raised a slave in Louisiana's Teche country, fondly remembered, "When the work slight, us black folks sure have the balls and dinners and such. We git all day to barbecue meat down on the bayou, and the white folks come down and eat 'longside the colored."⁷ In a rural setting where whites and Negroes lived in virtually a total state of interdependence, formal race separation would have been an absurdity, hindering daily routine and serving no possible purpose. In their assumption that rural plantation slavery and formal segregation could not have existed side by side, Woodward and his disciples were substantially correct.

The fundamental flaw in this line of reasoning was that it greatly oversimplified the role of the Negro before the Civil War. In 1860 more than 220,000 free Negroes resided in the North, beyond the pale of the slavery system altogether. Another 260,000 free people of color lived in the South, congregating in sizable communities in the major cities.⁸ A substantial number of southern slaves were owned by urban masters and kept in conditions vastly different from those prevailing on the rural farms and plantations.⁹ Investigating these exceptions, other scholars engaged in the search for the origins of Jim Crow sharply challenged the "relative recency" of his birth. Leon F. Litwack's seminal study of Negroes in the ante bellum North reported that racial segregation was widespread, systematic, and rigid in the "freedom land" across the Ohio.¹⁰ V. Jacque Voegeli found abundant evidence of similar patterns in the Old Northwest during his investigation

⁶ *The Age of Civil War and Reconstruction, 1830-1900: A Book of Interpretive Essays*, ed. Charles Crowe (Homewood, Ill., 1966), 439.

⁷ Quoted in *Lay My Burden Down: A Folk History of Slavery*, ed. B. A. Botkin (Chicago, 1945), 128.

⁸ John Hope Franklin, *From Slavery to Freedom: A History of American Negroes* (2d rev. ed., New York, 1956), 215.

⁹ Nearly 77,000 Negro slaves were kept in the ten largest southern cities in 1850, according to census figures for that year.

¹⁰ Leon F. Litwack, *North of Slavery: The Negro in the Free States, 1790-1860* (Chicago, 1961).

of racial attitudes in that region during the Civil War.¹⁰ Richard C. Wade's study of slavery in ante bellum southern cities demonstrated that racial segregation had existed side by side with the "peculiar institution" where personal racial control had been weakened by the complexities of urban slavery.¹¹ These investigations offered convincing evidence that Jim Crow was not the child of the era of Pitchfork Tillman.¹²

Segregation first developed formally in the ante bellum cities, North and South, where the complexities of urban life and the anonymous nature of the city population made a mockery of the personal supervision of racial relationships that had prevailed in the country. On the farms and plantations, where the roles of master and slave were absolute, interracial contacts did not endanger the great caste barriers on which the sovereignty of the white race rested. But in the cities, where whites and Negroes were brought together frequently as total strangers, white supremacy and black subordination were neither automatic nor implicit. Such basic functions as dining, drinking, entertainment, and travel became public and institutional with the development of restaurants, taverns, theaters, and public conveyances. In the cities interracial contact was eliminated by the whites in order to preserve the distinctions of caste among strangers. Urban segregation often developed hand in hand with the decline of personal racial control and the rise of public accommodations.

Such was the case in New Orleans, the largest and most cosmopolitan city in the lower South. Very old by western standards, the city already had highly developed public accommodations when it became a part of the United States in 1803. A great port city linking the Mississippi River Valley with the commerce of the world, New Orleans continually played host to thousands of transients from all corners of the globe. Its resident white population was a veritable potpourri of native Creoles, rural southerners, Yankees, Germans, French, Irish, and others.¹³

The Negro slaves, 23,448 of them in 1840, enjoyed conditions far different from those prevailing in the surrounding rural regions. Domestic servants were given many of the duties of household management, including mar-

¹⁰ V. Jacque Voegeli, *Free But Not Equal: The Midwest and the Negro during the Civil War* (Chicago, 1967).

¹¹ Richard C. Wade, *Slavery in the Cities: The South, 1820-1860* (New York, 1964), 266-77.

¹² In *The Strange Career of Jim Crow* (2d rev. ed., New York, 1966), Woodward defended his emphasis on the importance of the Jim Crow laws and reiterated his opinion that a "capitulation to racism" in the 1890's produced a segregation system much more rigid and harsh than anything that had existed before that time. But he acknowledged the contributions of Litwack, Wade, and others and gave a new importance to ante bellum and Reconstruction segregation practices as steppingstones to the Jim Crowism of the 1890's.

¹³ Robert C. Reinders, *End of an Era: New Orleans, 1850-1860* (New Orleans, 1964), 17-20.

keting and other missions that allowed them to roam about the streets of the city, as the New Orleans *Bee* complained in 1835, "at liberty to purchase what they please, and where they please, without the personal inspection of any member of the family."¹⁴ Many slaves worked as carpenters, longshoremen, draymen, factoryworkers, and mechanics. Along with the free Negroes, they monopolized the market and vending trades.¹⁵ The complexities of these tasks brought liberties and responsibilities unknown to rural slaves. Nearly all New Orleans slaves came into contact with whites who were not masters and Negroes who were not slaves; nearly all enjoyed a generous measure of personal freedom unheard of on the farms and plantations.

The most independent of all New Orleans slaves were those whose labor was "hired-out."¹⁶ This system, designed to meet urban demands for a fluid labor supply within the bounds of slavery, allowed a prospective employer to rent the services of another man's slave. In some cases, these slaves saw nothing of their masters except periodically to turn over a stipulated portion of their earnings. Many of them rented their own dwellings and lived virtually free from the whites. The New Orleans *Daily Picayune* was hardly exaggerating in 1859 when it bemoaned their liberty "to engage in business on their own account, to live according to the suggestions of their own fancy, to be idle or industrious, as the inclination for one or the other prevailed, provided only the monthly wages are regularly gained."¹⁷ In many instances, all that separated these slaves from total independence was the academic matter of their legal status.

Adding to the unique diversity of ante bellum New Orleans society was a community of free people of color that numbered nearly twenty thousand at its peak in 1840.¹⁸ Unlike most of the free Negroes in the rural regions, who eked out pitiful existences at the sufferance of ever-wary whites, the New Orleans *gens de couleur* exercised a wide latitude of liberties. Strikingly diverse, their community contained moneylenders and mendicants, brokers and bootblacks, poets and prostitutes.¹⁹ Separated from the slaves by their legal status and set apart from the whites by the color of

¹⁴ New Orleans *Bee*, Oct. 13, 1835.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*; Werner A. Wegener, "Negro Slavery in New Orleans," master's thesis, Tulane University, 1935, 58-60.

¹⁶ An excellent summary of this practice is found in Wade, *Slavery in the Cities*, 38-54.

¹⁷ New Orleans *Daily Picayune*, Jan. 27, 1859.

¹⁸ Their numbers declined from 19,226 in 1840 to 10,689 in 1860, owing primarily to emigrations provoked by a series of proscriptive laws aimed at them during the 1840's and 1850's.

¹⁹ The best description of their attainments is found in Donald E. Everett, "Free Persons of Color in New Orleans, 1803-1865," doctoral dissertation, Tulane University, 1952, 203-25. For a highly biased account, see Charles B. Rousseve, *The Negro in Louisiana: Aspects of His History and His Literature* (New Orleans, 1937), 49-91.

their skin, the free Negroes of New Orleans added a third dimension to the complex racial structure of the city.

Attitudes of the slaves and free Negroes reflected the unusual scope of freedom they enjoyed. As one student of ante bellum New Orleans society observed, Negro behavior was "singularly free of that deference and circumspection which might have been expected in a slave community."²⁰ In 1806 the legislature of the Territory of Orleans, perhaps indulging in a little wishful thinking, adopted a statute forbidding free Negroes and slaves from presuming themselves "equal to the white."²¹ Seldom has a law been more universally disregarded. To judge from complaints in the newspapers, Negro insolence toward whites was common, particularly on the banquettes in front of the numerous taverns that catered illegally but openly to the Negro trade.²² Mourning the decline of racial discipline in 1859, the New Orleans *Daily Picayune* complained that the Negroes "have become intemperate, disorderly, and have lost the respect which the servant should entertain for the master."²³

In crime as in demeanor, New Orleans Negroes, free and slave, made a mockery of the "Sambo" stereotype. Petty pilferage was common here as elsewhere, but the more resourceful black thieves stole horses, picked pockets, embezzled, swindled, and executed daring armed robberies.²⁴ Negroes assaulted whites with pistols, knives, clubs, rocks, barrel staves, brickbats, broken bottles, water buckets, horsewhips, cold chisels, and billiard cues.²⁵ In rare cases, free Negroes and slaves even defied the ultimate taboo of a white supremacist society by raping white women and girls.²⁶ These assaults on person and property constantly reminded white New Orleansians that theirs was not an order in which they commanded and the Negroes instinctively and meekly obeyed.

Control over the Negro population was, in short, virtually nonexistent in New Orleans. The personal system of race discipline that worked so well in the rural areas simply could not function in an urban amalgam of absentee owners, indifferent strangers, and unusually sophisticated free Negroes and slaves. As the system died, the burden of maintaining the social dis-

²⁰ Joseph G. Tregle, Jr., "Early New Orleans Society: A Reappraisal," *Journal of Southern History*, XVIII (Feb. 1952), 33.

²¹ Quoted in Everett, "Free Persons of Color in New Orleans," 167.

²² New Orleans *Daily Picayune*, Dec. 24, 1849, Jan. 3, Feb. 3, 1850, Apr. 1, 1855; New Orleans *Bee*, July 2, 1836, June 22, 1855.

²³ New Orleans *Daily Picayune*, Jan. 27, 1859.

²⁴ New Orleans *Bee*, Sept. 30, Oct. 12, 1835, July 1, 1855; New Orleans *Daily Picayune*, Jan. 16, Mar. 1, 5, 1850, Jan. 14, 16, Feb. 13, 1855.

²⁵ New Orleans *Bee*, Sept. 30, 1835, July 12, 1853, July 1, 1855; New Orleans *Daily Picayune*, Feb. 6, Mar. 1, 1850, Jan. 14, 16, Mar. 8, July 19, Aug. 10, Sept. 27, Nov. 3, 1855, July 13, 1858.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, Nov. 11, 1854, June 2, 3, 1855.

tinctions of white supremacy fell increasingly on a public color line, first practiced in the city's municipal facilities and places of public accommodation. If urban conditions had made the law of the lash obsolete, it was hoped that segregation of Negroes in public places would constantly remind them of their lowly station in society.

Theaters and public exhibitions were legally segregated by an ordinance adopted on June 8, 1816, that forbade "any white person to occupy any of the places set apart for people of color; and the latter are likewise forbidden to occupy any of those reserved for white persons."²⁷ This edict merely ratified a long-standing policy of the management, for most exhibition halls and theaters had for many years segregated their customers by allocating rear sections or galleries for their Negro patrons. When Bernardo Coquet remodeled his ballroom into the St. Philip Street Theatre in 1810, he included in his alterations the construction of a tier of "upper boxes for women of color."²⁸ These galleries soon became known as "nigger heavens," a term that survived in the common vernacular for a century and a half, until the practice itself was finally abandoned.

Of all such seating arrangements, the one that attracted the most attention from visitors was the gallery that accommodated the free Negro aristocracy in the French Opera House. Thomas Low Nichols, the English food faddist and spiritualist, interpreted the "nigger heaven" as something of a victory for the free Negroes, referring to their gallery as "the portion of the house devoted to ladies and gentlemen of colour, . . . into which no common white trash was allowed to intrude."²⁹ But other visitors viewed the arrangement differently. The English geologist Sir Charles Lyell made reference to the economic and cultural attainments of the *gens de couleur* confined to the gallery and denounced their ostracism as a "tyranny of caste."³⁰ The Hungarian traveler Ferencz A. Pulszky agreed. Fascinated by the paradox inherent in the social position of the free Negro elite, he observed: "Some of them were pointed out to me as very wealthy, but no money can admit them to the pit, or to the boxes."³¹

²⁷ John Calhoun, *Digest of the Ordinances and Resolutions of the Second Municipality of New Orleans, in Force May 1, 1840* (New Orleans, 1840), 144; Perry S. Warfield, *Digest of the Acts of the Legislature and Decisions of the Supreme Court of Louisiana Relative to the General Council of the City of New Orleans, Together with the Ordinances and Resolutions of the Former City Council, and the General Council of the City of New Orleans, in Force on the First of August, 1848* (New Orleans, 1848), 129.

²⁸ Quoted in Henry A. Kmen, "The Music of New Orleans," in *The Past as Prelude: New Orleans, 1718-1968*, ed. Hodding Carter (New Orleans, 1968), 217.

²⁹ Thomas Low Nichols, *Forty Years of American Life, 1821-1861* (New York, 1937), 355-56.

³⁰ Sir Charles Lyell, *A Second Visit to the United States of North America* (2 vols., New York, 1849), II, 94.

³¹ Ferencz Pulszky and Theresa Pulszky, *White, Red, Black Sketches of American Society in the United States during the Visit of Their Guests* (2 vols., New York, 1853), II, 101.

The races were also segregated in the more lowly public pursuits. The city jails kept white and Negro prisoners in separate quarters and dressed them in different colored uniforms. On August 11, 1836, the city council extended the racial distinction to labor details by adopting an ordinance requiring free Negroes and slaves confined for more than three days to be put to work "cleaning and repairing the streets and public roads or levees, or on any other public work,"⁸² apparently exempting the white prisoners from such duties.

Streetcar segregation, not required by city law, was practiced as company policy from the time the cars were placed in service in New Orleans in the 1820's. A few of the omnibus lines excluded Negroes altogether, but others operated special cars for colored passengers, identified by large stars painted on the front, rear, and both sides to avoid confusion.⁸³ This practice gave rise to local use of the term "star" to denote all varieties of segregated Negro facilities, much as the label "Jim Crow" would later be adopted throughout the United States a half century later.

White restaurants and saloons were strictly segregated by local custom and management policies, as they were throughout the ante bellum South.⁸⁴ Hotels were also off limits to Negroes, but exceptions were made for the personal attendants of the white guests. None of the local private clubs and local chapters of national fraternal organizations admitted Negroes to membership. By the beginning of the Civil War, the free Negroes who sought club membership and could pay for the privilege had already formed a large number of lodges and benevolent societies of their own.⁸⁵

Education for free Negroes developed in a similar way. Excluded from the white private schools in New Orleans since early in the eighteenth century, the children of the *gens de couleur* were also denied admission into the new public-school system that developed in the city in the 1840's. Forced to fall back upon their own resources, the free Negroes instituted and supported a large number of private schools, varying from exclusive academies in the best continental tradition to such charity schools as the *École des Orphelins Indigents*, generously endowed by Aristide Marie, Thomy Lafon, and other free Negro philanthropists.⁸⁶

The Charity Hospital of Louisiana, located in New Orleans, opened its doors to sick whites and Negroes alike, but segregated the races within the institution. It served the medical needs of a great international seaport; in

⁸² Calhoun, *Digest of the Ordinances*, 253; Wade, *Slavery in the Cities*, 268.

⁸³ New Orleans *Daily Picayune*, Nov. 9, 1864.

⁸⁴ Wade, *Slavery in the Cities*, 266-67.

⁸⁵ Everett, "Free Persons of Color in New Orleans," 258.

⁸⁶ *Ibid.*; Betty Porter, "The History of Negro Education in Louisiana," *Louisiana Historical Quarterly*, XXV (July 1942), 731.

1859 its patients were described as being "of every age and sex, of every color, from the blue-eyed, fair-browed Anglo-American, to the tawn, sun-browed child of the Tropics."⁸⁷ In the ante bellum period, before increasing Negro admissions led to entirely separate wings for whites and Negroes, segregation was accomplished by separate wards for the two races. On the eve of the Civil War, Charity Hospital was operating three of its eleven surgical wards for the care of Negro patients.⁸⁸

In pre-Civil War New Orleans the color line extended to the grave. On March 5, 1835, a long-standing local practice was written into law when the city council adopted an ordinance zoning the city's cemeteries into three sections, allotting one-half of the space for whites, one-fourth for slaves, and one-fourth for free Negroes.⁸⁹ Six years later segregation in cemeteries was carried a step further by an ordinance requiring separate burial registration lists for whites and Negroes.⁴⁰

Segregation in public pursuits was applied thoroughly throughout the ante bellum period. Free Negroes and slaves were systematically excluded from white accommodations and social activities and were relegated to separate and usually second-class quarters in the public facilities to which they were admitted. The system achieved its immediate purpose quite well, for it removed any danger that unwilling whites would be forced to surrender the social prerogatives of the master race by mingling with Negroes in public places. But it had its limitations. While the segregation system prevented Negroes from crossing the color line and participating in white activities and using white facilities, it was virtually powerless to prevent whites who so desired from mixing freely with Negroes in colored taverns, bawdyhouses, and dance halls. In these clandestine pursuits, the color line broke down completely.

The innumerable taverns or "grog shops" catering illegally but openly to Negroes frequently brought the races together in the brotherhood of John Barleycorn. According to shocked complaints in the newspapers, it was quite common for white men and boys to frequent these Negro saloons "to revel and dance . . . for whole nights with a lot of men and women of saffron color, or quite black, either slave or free."⁴¹ According to the "city intelligence" column of the *Daily Picayune*, one such "intolerable nuisance"

⁸⁷ Quoted in A. E. Fossier, *The Charity Hospital of Louisiana* (New Orleans, 1923), 30.

⁸⁸ Stella O'Connor, "The Charity Hospital at New Orleans: An Administrative and Financial History, 1736-1941," master's thesis, Tulane University, 1947, 94.

⁸⁹ Grace Elizabeth King, *New Orleans: The Place and the People* (New York, 1895), 399; Wade, *Slavery in the Cities*, 270-71.

⁴⁰ *A Digest of Ordinances and Resolutions of the General Council of the City of New Orleans* (New Orleans, 1845), 6.

⁴¹ Quoted in Kmen, "Music of New Orleans," 214.

on the corner of Baronne and Perdido Streets nightly entertained "a mixed assemblage of slaves, free negroes, and disreputable whites of both sexes."⁴² In these taverns, in private rooms, and in back alleys, whites and Negroes often congregated over a deck of cards or a pair of dice.⁴³

Men and women in search of sexual pleasures commonly made a mockery of the color line. The practice of *placage*, the more or less permanent arrangements between white men and free women of color, was fairly widespread.⁴⁴ Far more common, however, were the momentary dalliances between whites and Negroes in the more tawdry brothels and "cribs." Although the majority of these interracial affairs consisted of Negro prostitutes entertaining white men, some of the bawdyhouses offered white and colored women to all customers, regardless of race.⁴⁵ One such establishment next to the home of United States Senator Pierre Soulé on Basin Street annoyed the august lawmaker so much that he filed a complaint against the bordello "where whites and blacks meet indiscriminately" and "make the night the accomplice of their vices and the time for their hellish amusements."⁴⁶

Liaisons between Negro men and white women beyond the pale of prostitution occasionally occurred. Many of these were thoroughly sordid affairs, like that of the white woman and free Negro man arrested in 1855 for "carrying the depravity of Dauphine street even beyond its recognized extent."⁴⁷ Others gave every indication of true and lasting affection. A white woman, arrested in 1852 for living with a runaway slave, held in her arms "a mulatto male child, about two years of age," on whom she reportedly bestowed "all the endearments of a mother."⁴⁸ Whatever the circumstances, these liaisons between white women and Negro men defied the most sensitive taboo of a white supremacist society.

Many white New Orleanians feared that the very foundations of their social order were endangered by these transgressions of the color line. The Negroes, they reasoned, would hardly stand in awe of the master race if they danced and drank and gambled with whites or even on rare occasion enjoyed the favors of a white woman. This surreptitious mixing of the races, moreover, posed a real danger to the institution of slavery. Not only would

⁴² New Orleans *Daily Picayune*, Apr. 1, 1855.

⁴³ *Ibid.*, June 12, 1852, Feb. 20, June 10, 1855; Reinders, *End of an Era*, 165.

⁴⁴ The intricacies of these alliances are discussed in Everett, "Free Persons of Color in New Orleans," 202-209.

⁴⁵ New Orleans *Daily Picayune*, June 30, July 1, 18, Aug. 7, 1855; New Orleans *Bee*, July 14, 1853; Reinders, *End of an Era*, 166; Herbert Asbury, *The French Quarter: An Informal History of the New Orleans Underworld* (New York, 1938), 388.

⁴⁶ New Orleans *Daily Picayune*, Aug. 7, 1855.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, June 30, July 1, 1855.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, July 24, 1852.

such clandestine contacts with whites "corrupt" the slaves, but they also offered ideal opportunities for white *provocateurs* to spread the insidious doctrines of abolitionism among the servile population.

The first attack upon transgressions against the color line was aimed at the quadroom balls, by all accounts the most celebrated of all interracial activities carried on in the city. Free Negro balls had attracted large numbers of eager white men since the colonial period, but the quadroom ball was born in 1805, when a dance hall proprietor named Auguste Tessier began holding balls twice a week limited to white men and free Negro women. The experiment proved enormously successful, and the quadroom ball was soon established as one of New Orleans' major attractions. White men flocked to the balls for easy sex, for an introduction that might lead to a *placage*, or simply for the pleasure of an evening of dancing.

But the quadroom balls soon collected a host of implacable enemies. Strait-laced critics mourned the decline of morality, and guardians of the color line prophesied the collapse of white supremacy. White women, enraged when their escorts neglected "the white privets to gather black grapes,"⁴⁹ clamored for the elimination of the balls. Apparently the members of the city council agreed or found it impossible to withstand the feminine fury, for they adopted an ordinance on January 4, 1828, forbidding white men, with or without masks, from attending "dressed or masked balls composed of men and women of color."⁵⁰ The decree, however, did little to dampen the enthusiasm for the balls. No serious efforts were made to enforce it, and the city council abandoned its attempts to legislate against interracial amusements for nearly thirty years.

During the 1850's the intensifying sectional controversy brought renewed efforts to curb contacts between whites and Negroes. As tensions mounted and forebodings of conspiracies against the peculiar institution became a southern fixation, white New Orleanians grew increasingly suspicious of all activities that brought whites and Negroes together. These fears found expression in a series of new segregation laws aimed directly at those pursuits that most flagrantly defied the conventions of the color line. A pair of ordinances passed in December 1856 and January 1857 tried to eliminate interracial gambling in Negro taverns. The measure enacted on December 13, 1856, prohibited proprietors of taverns and coffeehouses from letting "white persons and colored persons . . . play cards together, or any other game in their house."⁵¹ If such activities came to the attention of the au-

⁴⁹ Quoted in Kmen, "Music of New Orleans," 214.

⁵⁰ Calhoun, *Digest of the Ordinances*, 128; Warfield, *Digest of the Acts*, 145.

⁵¹ Henry J. Leovy, *The Laws and General Ordinances of the City of New Orleans, Together with the Acts of the Legislature, Decisions of the Supreme Court, and Constitutional Provisions, Relating to the City Government* (New Orleans, 1857), 46.

thorities, the unfortunate barkeeper could be fined as much as one hundred dollars. The companion decree, adopted three weeks later, set the punishments for the participants. Whites and free Negroes could be fined from twenty-five to one hundred dollars, and slaves were to be assessed fifteen lashes.⁵² An ordinance passed on March 10, 1857, outlawed mixed bawdy-houses: it prohibited white and colored women "notoriously abandoned to lewdness" from living in the same dwelling and also prohibited free Negroes from lodging white prostitutes.⁵³

After Louisiana left the Union and the hostilities began, rampant fears that slaves, free Negroes, and white strangers might be enemy agents in their midst led white New Orleanians to still greater surveillance of interracial contacts. The results occasionally assumed absurd proportions. In May 1861 Dr. Thomas Jinnings, a prominent free Negro physician and Sunday-school teacher, took his wife to a charity fair sponsored by the white Episcopal church with which his Sunday school was affiliated. Jinnings was promptly arrested and formally charged with "intruding [*sic*] himself among the white congregation . . . and conducting hisself [*sic*] in a manner unbecoming the free colored population of this city, and in a manner to create insubordination among the servile population of this State."⁵⁴ Jinnings was released and the charges dropped only after several white parishioners testified that the doctor had behaved well and that he and his wife had been invited to the affair by one of the white ladies of the congregation.

Many New Orleans Negroes bitterly resented the segregation codes and practices that defined their lowly station in virtually every aspect of their public lives. In 1833 a group of Negro men bound for Lake Pontchartrain led an armed attack on a white streetcar that had refused to carry them.⁵⁵ But expressions of their discontent were largely limited to such sporadic outbursts, for they lacked the power to do anything else.

With the collapse of the old regime, however, New Orleans Negroes expressed their resentments more forcefully. Shortly after the city fell to the Federals in 1862, free Negro leaders mounted a campaign against the color line that rocked the segregation system to its very foundations before the campaign finally collapsed fifteen years later. A massive Negro demonstration led to the desegregation of city streetcars in May 1867.⁵⁶ New Orleans Negro representatives led the successful campaigns in the constitutional convention of 1867-1868 that wrote desegregation of public accommodations and public

⁵² *Ibid.*, 260-61.

⁵³ *Ibid.*, 378.

⁵⁴ *New Orleans Daily Picayune*, May 30, 1861.

⁵⁵ *New Orleans Argus*, Aug. 1, 1833, as quoted in *Niles Register*, Aug. 24, 1833.

⁵⁶ *New Orleans Daily Crescent*, May 7, 8, 10, 1867; *New Orleans Times*, May 5, 7, 1867; *New Orleans Tribune*, May 4, 7, 9, 1867; *New Orleans Daily Picayune*, May 7, 8, 1867.

schools into the law of Louisiana.⁵⁷ A number of Negro boys and girls studied in white New Orleans public schools from 1871 to 1877, and a few of their elders sat in white theater boxes, ate in white restaurants, and drank in white saloons during the same period.⁵⁸ The drive to destroy the New Orleans color line persisted for fifteen years and finally collapsed when the Federal soldiers were withdrawn and the state Republican regime became a casualty of national reconciliation.

The Democratic redeemers who came to power in 1877 lost no time in redefining the Negro's "place" in Louisiana life. They immediately restored the color line in the New Orleans public schools and offered silent support to *de facto* segregation practices in places of public accommodation.⁵⁹ With the assistance of two landmark decisions by the United States Supreme Court, the redeemers soon dismantled the egalitarian legal apparatus put together piece by piece under the Radicals.⁶⁰ Finally in 1890 they began to write their "final solution" into Louisiana law with a series of "separate but equal" statutes. Soon New Orleans Negroes were again segregated in virtually every public pursuit.

The new segregation code was not an exact duplicate of its predecessor, for the two systems differed in scope and origin. The newer segregation was written into state law and was designed to preserve racial distances throughout Louisiana, while the code that developed in New Orleans before the Civil War had been purely local in its scope and influence. The ante bellum "star" system had been fashioned in an era alarmed by threats to its peculiar institution, while the "Jim Crow" code of the 1890's was put together by men who carried with them the bitter memories of Radical Reconstruction. But the results were strikingly similar: both systems effected a thoroughgoing separation of the races and the visible subordination of the New Orleans Negroes in nearly every area of public activity. If the ante bellum code proved less than a "final solution" to race relationships in its day, it provided a remarkable preview to a later segregation system put forth as the ultimate defense of white supremacy a half century later.

⁵⁷ *Official Journal of the Proceedings of the Convention, for Framing a Constitution for the State of Louisiana* (New Orleans, 1867-68), 4, 17, 27, 35, 60-61, 121-22, 125, 201.

⁵⁸ For school desegregation, see Louis R. Harlan, "Desegregation in New Orleans Public Schools during Reconstruction," *American Historical Review*, LXVII (Apr. 1962), 663-75. For a discussion of efforts to desegregate the city's public accommodations, see Roger A. Fischer, "The Segregation Struggle in Louisiana, 1850-1890," doctoral dissertation, Tulane University, 1967, 63-98.

⁵⁹ *New Orleans Daily Picayune*, June 27, Dec. 6, 1877.

⁶⁰ The Democrats replaced the 1868 Constitution with a new one in 1879 that ignored altogether the color line in schools and public accommodations. The Supreme Court nullified the state Enforcement Act of 1860 in *Hall v. De Cuir*, 95 US 485 (1878) and struck down the federal Civil Rights Act of 1875 in the Civil Rights Cases, 109 US 3 (1883).

* * * * *Reviews of Books* * * * *

General

CONTINUITY IN HISTORY AND OTHER ESSAYS. By *Alexander Gerschenkron*. (Cambridge, Mass.: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press. 1968. Pp. x, 545. \$10.00.)

ALEXANDER Gerschenkron has brought together a second volume of his smaller writings, including some of his more important book reviews, to show how they relate to his greater themes. This "companion volume" to *Economic Backwardness in Historical Perspective* (1962) is perhaps a bit less useful, but it is equally brilliant. Like the first, this volume contains many different sorts of statements bearing more or less directly on the four reasons why Gerschenkron is so important to us: his "great spurt" concept of the relations between rapid industrialization and relative backwardness; his tension thesis, that a dictatorship must dictate or decay and that therefore we are not seeing, nor can we expect, gradual and peaceful changes in the basic nature of Soviet government or its policy of superindustrialism; his insistence on methodology and general knowledge adequate to the problem studied, that is, his deflation of those economic historians not as competent in theory and history as he is; and his demonstration that insights for social scientists can be found in philosophy and literature.

Space allotted to this review does not allow a proper appreciation of this collection's significance. Nor does it permit the "penetrating, thought-provoking disagreement" Gerschenkron laments not finding in reviews of *Economic Backwardness*. Perhaps the best I can do is list the main entries and say: buy it. For all but the dullest, it is a feast of information and concepts in the form of sharp intellectual challenges. It is a highly personal form of communication between scholar and reader. Gerschenkron's hard sell leaves little room for noncombatants. Those selections I would label vintage Gerschenkron include his "Changeability of a Dictatorship" (1962), perhaps the most complete statement of his tension thesis; his "Stability of Dictatorships" (1963), an exploration of the general implications of the tension thesis; his second round in the debate with Rosario Romeo over the role of agriculture in capital formation for Italian industrialization; his overkill of Vladimir Nabokov's translation of *Eugene Onegin*; his statement on current trends in economic history methodology, which includes parts of his presidential address delivered to the Economic History Association in 1967; his elegant, pioneering study of the various meanings of historical continuity; and his definitive account of the abolition of Russian serfdom and the role played in the causes and effects of this change by agrarian policy, reprinted from the *Cambridge Economic History of Europe*. The social scientist, says Gerschenkron, "must first of all learn to listen to the objects of his study." It is a pleasure to listen to one who listens very well indeed.

University of Pennsylvania

MARTIN WOLFE

THE USES OF HISTORY: ESSAYS IN INTELLECTUAL AND SOCIAL HISTORY PRESENTED TO WILLIAM J. BOSSENBROOK. Compiled and edited by *Hayden V. White*. With a foreword by *Alfred H. Kelly*. (Detroit: Wayne State University Press. 1968. Pp. 285. \$7.95.)

THIS book is a *Festschrift*, and, as is the case with most such books, the editor has had to struggle with the problem of unifying the more or less disparate essays. Professor White has bravely bridged the gaps with the broad theme of "this mutual involvement of thought and action . . . of historical consciousness and social existence." Yet the true unity within this and other similar collections lies in the fact that all the essays are tributes of respect and gratitude to a beloved teacher and colleague.

More precisely, we are told that most of the essays are concerned with "historicism," which is here defined as "a world-view in which the historical process itself, whatever the specific nature ascribed to it, is conceived to furnish the prime motive power of human activities." Inasmuch as historicism is also seen as developing in response to the breakdown of "conventional theological and metaphysical conceptions of the world process" during the nineteenth century, it is not surprising that John Weiss's essay on "Adam Smith and the Philosophy of Anti-History" should have been chosen to head the collection and to set the tone. Adam Smith appears as a major contributor to the erection of a false or antihistorical consciousness that has dominated the last several generations and has been a main reason for the present generation's being "intellectually adrift" and urgently in need of a "truly historical consciousness," which historians should bend all of their efforts to create.

Professor White's own stimulating essay on "Romanticism, Historicism, and Realism" probes the relationships of this "family of concepts," leaving us with the feeling that he is nostalgic about realism and anxious about a modern age of "foreclosure" on such ideas. Aaron Noland's "History and Humanity: The Proudhonian Version" covers one outstanding example of the view that man must henceforth take upon himself "the burden of history," while Milton Covensky's penetrating article on "Hintze and the Legacy of Ranke" shows how Ranke's "legacy" of thought was altered and made "useful" in ways that Ranke would have scarcely have wanted or approved. These essays, along with Berthold Riesterer's study of "Karl Löwith's Anti-Historicism," fit most easily into the general theme that has been indicated.

Other essays deal with more purely philosophical aspects of the theme, with ideas in art, history, and political action. Of the last group, the essay by John Cammett, "Antonio Gramsci: Marxism and the Italian Intellectual Tradition," and that by H. D. Harootunian, "From Principle to Principal: Restoration and Emperorship in Japan," interestingly illustrate the uses of history for political change.

Because of the variety of the subjects treated, many different scholars will find items of interest here, but those likely to find it most useful are the historiographers.

University of Toronto

RICHARD M. SAUNDERS

FORCE, ORDER, AND JUSTICE. By *Robert E. Osgood* and *Robert W. Tucker*. (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press. 1967. Pp. viii, 374. \$10.00.)

THIS searching study by two well-known authors is concerned with force *between states*; the consideration of order and justice is incidental. "Examining the role and rationale of force" the authors state as their purpose, and they rightly insist upon the importance of doing so. The treatment is nonhistorical; its seven chapters are divided into two parts, the evolution of force and the rationale of force. An adequate index and sufficient footnotes assist the reader in assessing the work.

At the outset of the first chapter, entitled "The Persistence of Force," the authors pose the fundamental question of whether nuclear weapons have made military power obsolete or whether it remains an indispensable instrument of conflict and order among autonomous states. Obsolescence, they think, implies an inability to function adequately. They rightly argue that the answer has crucial implications for national policy and, indeed, for the very nature of international politics. Although they recognize that others besides pacifists have argued the obsolescence and dysfunctionality of military power (defined in the manner of Clausewitz), they themselves feel that force is essential to international politics and that "there is no reason to suppose that all major states with conflicting interests can pursue their interests without exploiting force. . . ." History seems to them to prove this; one cannot "imagine" history without it. The persistence of force does not, however, merely follow from that, nor from individual psychic drives, but "from the basic political imperatives that operate among all autonomous political units." Stress is put upon the "realism" of this position: "the need of force springs from compelling functional needs . . . of survival and welfare." They discern an "increasing appeal" of force in the contemporary world. This basic position is further elaborated in sections on "the integral role of force in international politics," the "contemporary relevance of force," and the "impact of nuclear weapons upon international politics." In another section force is presented as "an instrument of order," while in conclusion "the expansion and control of force" is explored and leads to the "conjecture" (and hope) that the world is now entering a "regulatory" phase.

Further chapters deal with the expansion, the control, the moral economy, the rationale, and the conquest of force; there is also a chapter on the need to justify force that ties the two parts together. Unfortunately in such a brief review it is impossible to indicate the content of these challenging discussions, let alone to evaluate them critically. Even the authors' thoughtful critique of my position on reason of state can only be mentioned. The authors fully recognize that "a change has occurred in men's attitude toward war." But in trying to assess the future they have, understandably, presented questions rather than answers. "We can only hope for an eventual transformation of attitudes toward force that strikes deeper roots than the recent transformation described in this study." Perhaps we should console ourselves with Cressida's: "Things won are done; joy's soul lies in the doing."

Harvard University

CARL J. FRIEDRICH

QUANTITATIVE INTERNATIONAL POLITICS: INSIGHTS AND EVIDENCE. By *Chadwick F. Alger et al.* Edited by *J. David Singer*. [International Yearbook of Political Behavior Research, Volume VI.] (New York: Free Press. 1968. Pp. xiii, 394. \$10.95.)

THE unity of the ten contributions that comprise this book stems from the authors' shared commitment to apply the scientific method to the study of international politics. From this common perspective, the collection presents a variety of substantive topics and quantitative research techniques. Although techniques for the generation and analysis of quantitative data on international politics are essential to each chapter, the significance of the book does not lie in its presentation of research methods. In fact, some important tools used in quantitative research—surveys, interviews, regression models, and simulations—are not represented. Instead the book presents a cross section of political topics and hypotheses currently being investigated in international politics through the use of quantitative data. The issues explored include the relative effect of role and individual qualities on senatorial attitudes, the insights into international diplomacy from direct observation, the relationship between the perceptions and actions of policy makers, the pattern of behaviors during the Berlin crisis, the variables related to national aggression and foreign conflict, the impact of alliances on war, and the development of international regions and integration.

The significance of the work of the contributors to this volume is evident from the fact that in almost every case the reported research is part of a larger, continuing project. In reducing his work to chapter length, however, each author faced a dilemma: on the one hand, he had to avoid a superficial treatment of complex research problems, and, on the other hand, he had to shun an involved presentation that might not be comprehensible to readers previously unfamiliar with his work. Most, but not all, of the contributors succeeded in achieving a remarkable balance between these extremes.

Several features of this book may be of particular interest to historians. Critics of behavioral approaches have occasionally charged that such analyses tend to collect data for only the contemporary international situation and to neglect historical experience as an explanation of present international behavior. Several studies in this volume confront these objections. The authors of three chapters report systematic data collected for a period of thirty-five years or more. (The alliance study involves data from 1815 to 1960.) Two other chapters utilize diplomatic documents exchanged in the prewar 1914 crisis. Several of the contributors attempt, moreover, to account for the effect of prior experience through the use of time lag models, while others engage in trend analysis to reduce the static quality of their findings. All the authors would appear to concur with the position of Rosenau, who observes that "the user of this method views history through nomothetic and not idiographic eyes."

For the historian who wonders if his variables are capable of quantitative analysis, this collection offers repeated evidence that materials in their "natural" state need not be numerical. Furthermore, even in their final state data need not produce a scale equivalent to that used to measure temperature. For the historian who is uninterested in engaging in quantitative research but who is prepared to

assist in interpreting findings from such studies, this volume presents many opportunities for the analysis of deviant cases, that is, exceptions to established, general patterns of behavior. For example, why did France, unlike other Western democracies, display little involvement in the Fifth Committee of the UN General Assembly. Finally, the historian already convinced of the worthlessness of quantitative research will find ammunition for his position in an author's occasional, questionable assertion about the philosophy of science, in an unsatisfactory research procedure, or in an overgeneralization of a finding.

Princeton University

CHARLES F. HERMANN

HEAVEN, HELL, & HISTORY: A SURVEY OF MAN'S FAITH IN HISTORY FROM ANTIQUITY TO THE PRESENT. By *John T. Marcus*. (New York: Macmillan Company. 1967. Pp. xxv, 293. \$6.95.)

THE aim of this exciting study is breathtaking: Professor Marcus proposes nothing less than an analysis of the rise and decline of historical consciousness in Western thought. The questions he asks are as awesome as they are fundamental: How and why did such consciousness become for Western man "a redemptive faith," a secular religion in which he might find true immortality in historical transcendence? What has been the "impact of historicity on the character of values in our civilization?" And, finally, how and why did such a view of human transcendence through history become lost in our time? Convinced that the roots of the contemporary crisis of values can be found in the failure of a transcendental historical imagination to provide any sense of order or meaning in current experience, Marcus concentrates his attention on key figures and movements in the seventeenth, eighteenth, and nineteenth centuries in an effort to trace the career of this idea and to demonstrate the profound role such an imagination had played.

Such an undertaking is obviously monumental in scope. Marcus has elected, therefore, to divide his labors. In the present volume he concerns himself with the "popular and philosophical uses of historical consciousness," with considerably more attention given to the philosophical. In a subsequent volume he proposes to deal with "the psychology of historical-mindedness" and the "essential elements of historicity and their cultural impact on the forms of thought and action." One questions the wisdom of such a division in that it deprives this volume of a certain richness, complexity, and depth. The account is already foreshortened; too often it reads like a brief intellectual history of Europe with textbook-like summaries of various philosophical positions from Hobbes and Locke through Voltaire and Rousseau and on to Marx, Nietzsche, and Freud. Although he dutifully shows the relationship between his theme and conservatism, liberalism, nationalism, and socialism as movements in European history, he strangely omits, at least in this volume, the special series of problems involved in the notion of a Christian philosophy of history or, perhaps better stated, the problem of men who were believers in both religious and historical transcendence and in personal and historical salvation, a theme essential to the fullest understanding of the issues he is investigating, at least since the time of the Reformation, and certainly central in those very centuries upon which he concentrates his analysis. While Marcus insists that

his case can be made by reference to popular movements and to figures who are neither philosophers nor historians, he rarely does so. There are special moments, none more brilliant than his chapter on the French Revolution, when he does go beyond an analysis of philosophers to show the consequences of historical thinking on the movement of historical events themselves. But these are exceptional instances. Since this volume is a relatively brief sketch of the history of an idea, there is hardly a page that will not produce at least an uplifted eyebrow and perhaps even an outraged cry of protest. Marcus states baldly (and sometimes with a genuinely new insight) as fact controversial interpretations. His method makes it easier for his reader to understand how historical consciousness developed but rarely why. Too often ideas alone seem to beget ideas, and that suffices as explanation; larger socioeconomic, psychological, political, or other developments serve, when offered, as vague "background." Yet an enriched context can make parts of his study memorable. Witness his account of the decline of historical transcendence—the last quarter of his book—where he deals not only with new trends in science, philosophy, and art but also with the whole problem of the relationship between historicity and "totalitarian psychology."

The caveats have been entered; let the reader beware, but by all means let there be readers. With all of its flaws, this is an important book; it deals intelligently with a whole range of most significant questions and deserves a wide audience. Those professionally involved with historical study will want to know Marcus' work, for he is interested in nothing less than the atmosphere in which our enterprise was born and has flourished, in the importance of attitudes toward history and their consequences for our civilization. The contemporary crisis he discusses has clearly special significance for those of us who are historians. I await his second volume eagerly and confess myself grateful for this one.

Rutgers University, New Brunswick, New Jersey

WARREN I. SUBMAN

YESTERDAY'S TOMORROWS: A HISTORICAL SURVEY OF FUTURE SOCIETIES. By W. H. G. Armytage. (Toronto: University of Toronto Press. 1968. Pp. x, 288. \$5.50.)

Yesterday's Tomorrows, by W. H. G. Armytage, professor of education at Sheffield University, is an encyclopedic survey of ideas concerning the future as they have been expressed throughout Western history. The opening chapter draws upon Biblical prophets, Greek philosophers, Roman oracles, Christian views of Vergil, Jewish legends of the golem, Geoffrey of Monmouth, and Joachim of Flora. The next chapter takes up the utopian ideas of More, Bacon, and Campanella, passing on to Rabelais, Swift, Berkeley, and others. The third chapter brings in Defoe, Condorcet, Fourier, Jules Verne, Gabriel Tarde, Renan, Hugo, and Berthelot.

This headlong pace is maintained throughout the book. The Gothic novel is followed by Macaulay, Lord Lytton, and Samuel Butler. A chapter on "Mechanical Millenarians" includes Bellamy, William Morris, W. D. Howells, and Mark Twain. Under the heading "Superman," H. G. Wells, Nietzsche, Shaw, D. H. Lawrence, and W. B. Yeats (on the strength of *The Second Coming* and *A Vision*) pass in review. Chesterton, Kipling, E. M. Forster, W. H. Auden, Aldous

Huxley, William Golding, and Robert Graves follow in rapid succession as examples of "Disenchanted Mechanophobes."

Technology and science fiction contribute illustrations from the contemporary world. Soviet Russia is represented, along with critics of the Soviet system like George Orwell. Ayn Rand, James Joyce, and William Burroughs jostle one another within two pages. In a final chapter ("Operational Eschatologies"), beginning with a RAND conference on the political implications of outer space, we pass on swiftly to Freud, Marx, Trevor-Roper on Toynbee, and Kierkegaard, among others.

The book ends on an optimistic note. Pierre Teilhard de Chardin and Sir Julian Huxley are quoted in support of the thesis that the "forays into the future," which modern science makes possible, do indeed "represent a valid modern mythology." A secular utilization of the mythopoetic faculty, Armytage suggests, "constitutes a more reverent and relevant escape from 'the power and service of transitory things' than the more conventional avenues of the theologians."

In this survey of speculation about the future, an immense range of literature is examined, but there is little attempt to evaluate the significance of the innumerable utopias and fantasies mentioned, either with reference to the psychology of their creators or to the political and social conditions from which they originated. This taxonomic survey is useful as a comprehensive guide to the literature of future societies, but its information is too densely massed to have much appeal for the ordinary educated reader.

University of Washington

GIOVANNI COSTIGAN

MADNESS IN SOCIETY: CHAPTERS IN THE HISTORICAL SOCIOLOGY OF MENTAL ILLNESS. By *George Rosen*. ([Chicago:] University of Chicago Press. 1968. Pp. x, 337. \$5.95.)

THESE ten essays, written during the late 1950's and the 1960's, can, in some respects, serve as a model of research in the historical sociology of mental illness, a branch of medicine perhaps particularly susceptible to social analysis but until recently notably deficient in it. The author, the public health specialist and medical historian George Rosen, ranges over most of Western history, from the ancient to the medieval to the contemporary world; the section on ancient times composes over one-third of the book and apparently contains the only previously unpublished material. The author is concerned with "the recognition of mental illness as a problem in the community, and the circumstances which lead to it; the concepts, ideas, and theories which are available for interpreting strange behavior as mental illness and which provide a basis for community action or inaction; and the development or existence of special institutions and personnel to deal with these matters."

Such work demands a knowledge of history, medicine, sociology, and ancient and modern languages. Rosen, uniquely well qualified in all these fields, utilizes them to produce a sophisticated and suggestive series of analyses. One example is an intriguing examination of the Hebrew text of the Old Testament, which, together with various scholarly sources, leads to the conclusion that the prophets were not, as a group, psychotic, though they were no doubt "different."

Equally fascinating and skillful is the extensive research into deviant group behavior—variously called psychic epidemics, collective psychoses, mass delusions, crazes, or group psychopathy. Can such behavior be equated with individual madness? Rosen's studies of witchcraft from antiquity to the eighteenth century and of dance frenzies, demonic possession, and revival movements in Europe and the United States from the fourteenth to the twentieth century give him a negative answer. He argues convincingly that these phenomena were not essentially expressions of mental illness but "reactions to stress," attempts to manage trying situations often arising from social and economic crises or natural disasters. Another revision of traditional beliefs indicated by Rosen's evidence and corroborated by more recent research is that through the ages harshness toward the mentally ill was not universal; the most humane care, however, was consistently confined to members of the upper classes.

Not all the essays are of equal value, and some could benefit from updating, but Rosen makes a significant contribution in almost every one. As he realizes, they do not together form anything like a comprehensive work; they are certainly a good augury of the one he promises us.

Rutgers University, Newark, New Jersey

NORMAN DAIN

THE GENESIS OF THE CONTRACTUAL THEORY AND THE INSTALLATION OF THE DUKES OF CARINTHIA. By *Joseph Felicijan*. ([Klagenfurt: Družba sv. Mohorja v Celovcu.] 1967. Pp. 144.)

IF we are to believe the author of this little book, there is a direct line from the "ancient ritual of installation of the dukes of Carinthia," through Aeneas Silvius Piccolomini (Pope Pius II), by way of Jean Bodin to Thomas Jefferson. From there it is an easy transition to the implication that Slovenian peasants of the Middle Ages, among other accomplishments, were the remote authors of the Declaration of Independence. In the epilogue we read: "This great declaration of independence of mankind became linked through Thomas Jefferson with the great traditions of Western thought and Christian philosophy, with the work of Bodin, Pufendorf, Locke, and with the ancient story of the Installation of the Dukes of Carinthia." How did all this happen? Those Slovenes who settled in the ancient Roman province of Carantanum evolved the custom of investing their ruler with his office. A fragment from an Ionian column served as the seat for the free peasant who presided at the ceremony. Over the years the elements of the investiture changed, but the basic concept remained the same: the people transferred sovereignty to their ruler. He in turn promised to rule wisely and well. At times the presiding peasant held a mare and cow. On occasion, too, the duke was led around the stone three times on horseback to symbolize the land over which he would rule. Piccolomini observed the ceremony and recorded it in his *De Europa*. Bodin saw the story and repeated it in the *Republic*; Jefferson read it in Bodin.

Originally the Slovenes had their own people as rulers. Under Charlemagne, Frankish counts replaced native princes. At the end of the tenth century Carinthia became an imperial duchy, and from then until the installation of Ernest of Habsburg in 1414 a series of princes including Meinhard of Tyrol and Albert the

Lame was installed by their subjects. Ernest's son, Frederick, who became Holy Roman Emperor in 1440, iconoclast that he apparently was, refused to abide by this ceremony because he regarded it as "incompatible with the imperial dignity" as Professor Felicijan tells us three different times. Indeed, labor of love that it is, this small volume is marred by repetition to the extent that the reader finds himself thinking he forgot to turn the page. The phrase "ancient ritual of installation of the dukes of Carinthia" either precisely in this wording or with minor variations on the theme appears with distracting regularity. The title of Bodin's *Les Six Livres de la République* and the story of the installation itself are repeated far more often than necessary.

The account of the ducal installation is a fascinating vignette, but I question whether it had the influence on political thought that the author would have us believe. Further, it is all somewhat reminiscent of the crowning of the ancient Kshatriya kings of India and the primitive contractual origins of political power described in the *Arthashastra* and elsewhere. Piccolomini's state, "originating in Divine Will and human reason" with human reason being the basic guide, the *circuitus terrae*, the livestock, and the contractual theory explaining the emergence of government, recall concepts and practices far away from Carinthia in time and space.

Wisconsin State University, La Crosse

GEORGE R. GILKEY

THE ISLAMIC DYNASTIES: A CHRONOLOGICAL AND GENEALOGICAL HANDBOOK. By *Clifford Edmund Bosworth*. [Islamic Surveys, Number 5.] (Edinburgh: University Press; distrib. by Aldine Publishing Company, Chicago. 1967. Pp. xviii, 245. \$4.75.)

THIS useful handbook, the first such to appear in half a century, is therefore more than welcome. Until now, Stanley Lane-Poole's *Mohammadan Dynasties* (1894; photoreproduced without alterations, 1925) has had to serve; many needed changes in that work have been long overdue. The utility of Lane-Poole's general format has been retained: a chronological table of rulers for each of the included Islamic dynasties, together with a brief historical summary of the political events associated with the dynasty. Tables of genealogical relationships that Lane-Poole had included have not been retained, however, the reader being referred to Von Zambaur's *Manuel* (1927), now also in need of some correction. The geographic area covered is principally that of North Africa, the Islamic central lands, and major dynasties in India; sub-Saharan Africa and Southeast Asia have been omitted. For each table there is an appended bibliography containing further pertinent information. Both *Hijrī* and Christian dates are listed for each entry; where a person may be known by more than one name, the index has attempted to furnish the cross reference.

In his introduction the author points out the necessity to limit his scope, both as to the areas and dynasties covered and the amount of description allotted to each dynasty. Within his limits he has admirably succeeded. His descriptions, in spite of their brevity, contain much useful information, and students of the various Islamic history fields, as well as other users of the manual, will find them important to read. The work is obviously carefully done, and it includes all the re-

cent studies that have made parts of Lane-Poole obsolete. The field can only benefit from having this handbook now available. The "Islamic Surveys" series, of which this book is the fifth, has proved itself to be of real significance.

University of Chicago

REUBEN W. SMITH

FUREURS PAYSANNES: LES PAYSANS DANS LES RÉVOLTES DU XVII^e SIÈCLE (FRANCE, RUSSIE, CHINE). By *Roland Mousnier*. (Paris: Calmann-Lévy. 1967. Pp. 354. 21.60 fr.)

For a dozen years or more, Professor Mousnier has been arguing with the Porchnev school of historians about the nature of seventeenth-century peasant rebellions. The distinguished French historian has insisted that the Russians have presented a simplistic picture and provided a pat explanation for a social phenomenon that was really too complex for dogmatic Marxist treatment. This present book is a brilliant and, in my opinion, devastating rebuttal to the Soviet position; it probably will not prevent men from "reasoning history," but it should end the effort to impose twentieth-century social conceptions on seventeenth-century society.

Mousnier has chosen to make a comparative study of seventeenth-century peasant upheavals in France, Russia, and China. His method is vigorous and effective. He starts with the assumption that one cannot understand a rebellion without placing it within its politico-socioeconomic background as well as in the context of the religious and folk conceptions of the people involved. Thus in each case he provides his reader with an extended and systematic picture of the historical processes at work in each of the communities that he studies. As he points out himself, forty years of research in French archives and libraries have given him an authoritative grasp of the French situation; indeed, the fifty pages in which he describes the social structures in the kingdom of France, and the place of the peasants in the context of seventeenth-century rebellions in general, present the most lucid, concise, and penetrating statement that I have ever seen. In dealing with Russia and China, Mousnier has had to rely upon the work of others; in both cases it is interesting to see how much of the work has been done by American scholars. Naturally here Mousnier's writing lacks some of the authoritative tone that characterizes his discussion of French society, but there are few French, or other, historians as comfortable as he is in the field of comparative history.

After the preliminary statement about the backgrounds, he turns to the rebellions themselves and studies each as a unique problem. Again he has had more contact with the sources for French history, but, using the works of others, he has been able to present creditable pictures of the revolts in China and Russia. In each case he refuses to fall into a simple explanation for complex processes; we see real men, rather than prototypes of puppets, dealing with complex problems that are deeply rooted in the social and economic structures of their lands. It gives us an excellent example of the best sort of historical analysis.

Mousnier's conclusions underline his position in the recent controversies. It is almost as though he asserts that, since seventeenth-century historical scholarship has been able to shake off the "liberal" interpretation of nineteenth-century historians who saw the period either as preparation for their revolution or as a foil for their political system, we must not now allow "Marxist" interpretations to be-

come another dogma. Mousnier is willing to agree with De Salmonet who wrote in 1661 that the "fundamental reason" for the rebellions was "original sin and the refusal [of men] to obey God's Commandments"; but his "secondary" explanations are rooted in more tangible evidence. He examines a variety of causes for rebellion (a wide fan ranging from refusal to pay taxes to simple banditry), the motives of the rebels and of their leaders and instigators, the geographical distribution of the rebellions, the organization of the rebel forces and forms of leadership, and, finally, the programs, aims, and possible ideologies behind the uprisings. After his analyses it is evident that Marxist explanations simply ignore or distort the evidence.

This volume should long inspire any student who hopes to write comparative history.

University of Illinois, Chicago

JOHN B. WOLF

BRITAIN AND GERMANY IN AFRICA: IMPERIAL RIVALRY AND COLONIAL RULE. Edited by *Prosser Gifford* and *Wm. Roger Louis*. With the assistance of *Alison Smith*. (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press. 1967. Pp. xvii, 825. \$17.50.)

THIS collection of essays derives from a conference held at Yale University in 1965, which honored the retirement of Harry R. Rudin. It is designed to reflect two of his major interests: European diplomatic rivalry in Africa and colonial administrative policies there. This dual focus has produced two quite separate and distinct books, utilizing different sources and analyzing different problems, which are presented together here. As in any symposium, the papers vary in interest and quality; they illustrate, but do not in any sense cover comprehensively, the two focal areas.

The first section on diplomatic rivalries includes some able papers that summarize the current state of research; they indicate both that economic motives for imperial policy were more overt in Germany than in England and that the perennial argument over Bismarck's motives in establishing a colonial empire for Germany has not yet been concluded. Generally, the authors have worked in English or German archives but not both, so that negotiations or motives tend to be more fully documented on one side of the story. Generally, also, the British official position is the scholastic starting point, and German policies are viewed as challenging or adding to a standard framework. This same attitude is also apparent in the section on colonial policy and administration, a reflection of the training of many scholars and of the greater openness and availability of the English records. Subsequent academic generations will, hopefully, transcend this rather one-sided approach.

The papers on administrative policies seem more revealing to me than those on diplomacy, partly because so little work has yet been done on the German colonial territories. Elizabeth Chilver's paper on the impact of German rule on the Bali of the Cameroons is a model; it analyzes, as noted in a summary essay by John Fage, the point where European, African, and colonial history intersect. John Iliffe's discussion of the effect of the Maji-Maji rebellion on the administration of German East Africa similarly illuminates. Conference discussions, it is

reported, established a real difference between the official British policy of indirect rule and an earlier technique used by both Britain and Germany, that of "ruling indirectly," an interesting distinction that is particularly important for the understanding of British policies after World War I.

This symposium raises the question of whether we really learn very much from attempting to compare next door neighbors such as the Gold Coast and Togo, or from considering South-West Africa progressively under German and South African control; it also establishes that we have as yet no very adequate answer and a long way to go before really comparative history can be written. There is an extremely useful annotated bibliography, helpful particularly on the German side, by Alison Smith and Hartmut Pogge von Standmann; unpublished theses are included. Given the intricacy of discussion in most of the papers, the maps included are disappointing; they need to show much more detail. The book includes several essays on Belgian and Italian imperialism in Africa, but recognizes a major gap in the exclusion of French material. A second volume, based on a conference in March 1968, is promised.

Smith College

MARGARET L. BATES

RUSSIA AND BRITAIN IN PERSIA, 1864-1914: A STUDY IN IMPERIALISM. By *Firuz Kazemzadeh*. [Yale Russian and East European Studies, Number 6.] (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press. 1968. Pp. ix, 711. \$15.00.)

DIPLOMATIC history—"what one clerk wrote to another clerk"—no longer has the standing it had when politicians and the historians who tracked them assumed that a knowledge of the rules of the game plus a simple efficiency in playing it were keys that would open the rustiest political door: to know what people wanted, what they meant, one had only to read what they wrote, or even said. Alas, no. "Documents" are papers written for reasons not normally confessed. Yet occasionally a book that sets out to analyze the memorandums that passed from one department to another, between one foreign office and another chancellery, succeeds in illuminating the hopes that lie concealed under the name of "policy." Such a book would emphasize that few policies ever reach a conclusion satisfactory to any of the parties involved and, in a particular case, could show clearly the nature of the limitations within which such parties were forced to confine themselves. In doing this, a job of rehabilitation would also be done: "balance of power," for example, might possibly emerge as a concept still capable of sensible use.

Firuz Kazemzadeh has written this kind of book concerning Russo-British rivalry for the establishment and maintenance of influence at Tehran. To the British, Persia was an anteroom to India whose keys they must keep. They were wrong about this. As this most interesting and detailed study shows, the British failed at Tehran, but maintained hegemony in that area which, in fact if not in theory, mattered much more to them: the Persian Gulf and its crucial states. The Russians thought that using Persia to buttress their expanding empire in Turkistan and Transcaspia would gravely weaken the British position in India to a point where fears for Indian security would handicap if not entirely ruin any anti-

Russian stand in Europe that the British might want to take. They were wrong, too. But the diplomats and soldiers representing both sides during the half century covered by this book were not fools; they were doing what they were paid to do. They pursued their own country's interest without bothering about "policy." That was considered to be the business of their masters, the statesmen in St. Petersburg and London, who were supposed to know what the stakes in "The Great Game in Asia" actually were.

Kazemzadeh calls his book, which is based on close and accurate research, a study in imperialism. It is more a study of the techniques that professional imperialists used; but it is a first-class piece of scholarship, careful in its judgments, and it is of little help to Russophiles, Anglophobes, and their variants. It shows, too, how the "old diplomacy," at its best, could slowly draw the poison from a potentially lethal situation—a knack our generation has missed.

University of Toronto

A. P. THORNTON

THE REVOLUTIONARY INTERNATIONALS, 1864-1943. By Milorad M. Drachkovitch et al. Edited by Milorad M. Drachkovitch. (Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press for the Hoover Institution on War, Revolution, and Peace. 1966. Pp. xv, 256. Cloth \$6.95, paper \$2.95.)

THE centennial of the establishment of the First International in 1864 occasioned many scholarly conferences, the most fruitful of which, in terms of publications, seems to have been held at Stanford University. It was organized by the Hoover Institution on War, Revolution, and Peace on the general theme of "One Hundred Years of Revolutionary Internationals" and held on October 5-7, 1964. The papers of the first day, revised and expanded with the benefit of critical comment, are presented here; those of the second and third day have appeared in separate volumes, also edited by Drachkovitch, under the titles *Marxism in the Modern World* and *Marxist Ideology in the Contemporary World: Its Appeals and Paradoxes*. The seven papers of the first day deal with historical aspects in chronological order: "The Rise and Fall of the First International," by Jacques Freymond and Miklós Molnár; "Secret Societies and the First International," by Boris I. Nicolaevsky; "The Anarchist Tradition," by Max Nomad; "The Second International: 1889-1914," by Gerhard Niemeyer; "Social Democracy," by Carl Landauer; "The Third International," by Drachkovitch and Branko Lazitch; and "The Comintern as an Instrument of Soviet Strategy," by Stefan T. Possony.

Among what are essentially interpretive pieces, the contribution of the late Nicolaevsky stands out as an interesting effort to find the "missing link" between the First International and the earlier currents and organizations aimed at social reform and international solidarity such as the latter-day Babouvists, *Carbonari*, Chartists, "Young Europe" enthusiasts, and others. The link, according to the evidence Nicolaevsky marshals, were the Masons, more particularly the French Lodge of the Philadelphians, which aspired to establish a "Universal Social and Democratic Republic" and to do away with the tyrannical Second Empire. The masonic traditions intertwined with inclinations to conspiracy, terrorism, and tyrannicide to produce some of the most troublesome groupings in the heterogeneous First International.

In the more homogeneous Second International and its Social Democratic subculture, the phenomenon of the "Second Reality," that is, the Marxist fixed idea about life, people, and the world embraced as if it were real, has led Niemeyer to ask the questions, meaningful in regard to Marxists then and now, concerning whether a person is less guilty for clinging to his cherished "Second Reality" than for clinging to superstition and whether this attitude of substituting fixed ideas for perceptions and experiences from real life can be considered altogether harmless. Niemeyer is equally critical of historians for dealing gently with the Second International as a feeble but noble enterprise. Historians, of course, have their own bias, which idolizes the French Revolution and its dreams of emancipation and prevents them from seeing "phenomena like the International for what they are."

Compared with its ruminant predecessor, Lenin's "carnivorous" Third International was set to the military task of helping to win, through political action and revolutionary violence in the capitalist world, the *kto kogo* (who destroys whom) struggle with the enemy class. As Possony points out, Soviet foreign policy consistently pursued the interlinking aims of securing the survival of the regime and setting the capitalists to fight each other, and for these aims both Lenin and Stalin found German nationalists and revanchists useful allies. Possony catalogues the instances of this cooperation before 1933 and after, beginning with the deal between the German General Staff and Lenin in World War I, as well as the disastrous results for the German Communists and the nearly disastrous result for the Soviet Union.

The volume suggests areas for further study such as the fate of the many foreign Communists and Comintern functionaries who sought refuge in Moscow and disappeared during the purges. Also useful would be a study of the training of Comintern cadres in the international brigades during the Spanish Civil War and the role they played in the take-over of Eastern Europe at the end of World War II.

San Fernando Valley State College

MARIN PUNDEFF

HISTORY OF THE INTERNATIONAL. Volume II, 1914-1943. By *Julius Braunthal*. Translated by *John Clark*. (New York: Frederick A. Praeger. 1967. Pp. xi, 596. \$17.50.)

THIS volume first appeared in a German-language edition some four years ago. The author has prudently used the interval to update his sources and to make minor changes based on new materials. It remains fundamentally the same book as the German edition and benefits from the careful work of an able translator. It is by no means a perfect book; in fact, it is flawed in many ways. The subject matter—the history of the socialist *and* Communist internationals and their activities—is far too broad and too diffuse to afford the close coverage and analysis that one might wish. The author himself is too personally involved with the historical characters and events to view them dispassionately. Prodigious research notwithstanding, the author often uses monographs as sources when the original

sources are easily available. Yet, this is an important book and a major contribution to an important field: the history of socialism.

It is quite evident that Mr. Braunal's real affection, and often his bitterness, is reserved for the Second International and its successor organization, the Labour and Socialist International. The volume opens with the denouement of the old Second International: the decision of the German Social Democrats on August 4, 1914, to support the imperial German government's request for war credits. As do all historians of the socialist movement, Braunal finds this a singularly traumatic event. He attempts, thereafter, to weave a complicated path through the Zimmerwald Movement and the Third International, stressing and, to my taste, overstressing Lenin's role. Time and time again, however, he returns to the Social Democrats. He castigates them, he analyzes their failures, and, most important, he sincerely tries to understand them. In his penultimate chapter he conducts an agonizing post-mortem on the demise of the Labour and Socialist International after the outbreak of World War II, a demise as inglorious as the fiasco of war credits in 1914. In a sense, the last chapter on the termination of the Communist International really belongs with the appendixes. For Braunal the International ended with the weak manifesto of May 1940—a manifesto notable for its failure to so much as scold either Hitler and Stalin and which demonstrated thereby that if diplomats and generals do not always learn lessons from world wars, neither do socialists.

Duke University

WARREN LERNER

POLITICS AND DIPLOMACY OF PEACEMAKING: CONTAINMENT AND COUNTERREVOLUTION AT VERSAILLES, 1918-1919. By Arno J. Mayer. (New York: Alfred A. Knopf. 1967. Pp. viii, 918, xx. \$15.00.)

As readers of his *Political Origins of the New Diplomacy* could have predicted, Arno Mayer's study of the Peace Conference does not follow conventional lines. It makes no attempt, for instance, to discuss all of the territorial issues that engaged the energies of the diplomats in 1919, and the words "mandates" and "Shantung" do not even appear in its very extensive index; nor does it deal with the personalities and psychological frailties of the major participants, which have been the subject of so extensive a literature. The question as to whether Wilson's determination to secure a League of Nations made him vulnerable to the tactical maneuvers of other negotiators (discussed by Paul Birdsall and others) and the procedural problems about which Marston and Nicolson have written do not receive much attention here either. Mayer is more interested in putting the Peace Conference back into its historical context, and he has consequently addressed himself to the reciprocal relationship between what went on in that omnium-gatherum and the domestic politics of the states represented in its meetings. In so doing he has written a book that is too long but that is, nonetheless, one of the few truly exciting diplomatic studies that have appeared in the last generation.

To understand the decisions made at Paris, Mayer argues, one must first accept the fact that the war did not interrupt politics, but continued it, or, specifically, that it accentuated the polarization of politics that had been taking place

since the turn of the century and had been making it increasingly difficult for the forces of moderate reformism to maintain themselves. By 1918 the process was far advanced, and the middle position was threatening to disappear completely; in his autobiography Sir Llewellyn Woodward, a prewar Liberal, tells of the shock of coming home from the war and discovering that, politically, he had no place to go. "Victory," Mayer writes, "strengthened, hardened and emboldened the refractory Right; and the Russian Revolution had a similar impact upon the militant Left." Of the two sides, the Right was the stronger, as was demonstrated by the November elections in the United States, the coupon election in Great Britain, the *chambre bleu horizon* in France, and the domination of the Italian Parliament by Sidney Sonnino, and it was the Right that went on the offensive, to secure long-sought domestic goals and to assure itself that nothing in the peace terms would, actually or potentially, threaten them. In Mayer's formulation, "the forces of order appear to have taken advantage of the intoxication of victory either to preserve or advance their class interests and status positions under an ideological cover which was a syncretism of jingoist nationalism, baleful anti-Wilsonianism, and rabid anti-Bolshevism." Against them, liberals seeking a peace without victory at Paris had limited maneuverability since, given the pervasive fear of Bolshevism, appeals to the Left for help merely fed the strength of the extremists of the Right. This was Woodrow Wilson's dilemma at Paris.

In a general way, of course, this is all well known. But no one before Mayer has so meticulously described the domestic currents in the United States, Great Britain, France, and Italy that determined the policy and tactics of their representatives: the way in which Orlando's devotion to *trasformismo* shaped the selection and the philosophy of the Italian delegation or the effect of the Clydeside labor troubles of January 1919 upon Lloyd George's attitude toward intervention in Russia. No previous writer has so effectively elaborated Ray Stannard Baker's perceptive comment that "Paris cannot be understood without Moscow" or shown in such detail Wilson's unsuccessful attempts to escape the ultimate logic of anti-Bolshevism by the use of the economic weapon against the Moscow regime. Finally, no previous work has demonstrated so convincingly the effect of Béla Kun's seizure of power in Hungary and Kolchak's misleading successes in the spring of 1919 in alternately encouraging and defeating attempts to appease Germany by giving it lighter terms.

In view of the masterly treatment of these themes, to say nothing of the author's incisive comments on German politics, the Prinkipo plan, the Bullitt mission, and Wilson's attempts to understand and control Italian politics in the Fiume matter, the excessive length of the book is perhaps pardonable. It is true that Mayer's sections on domestic politics are at times so detailed and extensive that they blur what he is saying about the negotiations. He himself seems so apprehensive that his readers might forget essential points that he repeats things rather too often; one memorandum of Herbert Hoover is cited three times at considerable length. Yet he has so much to say that is new and important that this will hardly daunt the serious scholar, who will be able to recognize a good thing when he sees it.

LOST FATHERLAND: THE STORY OF THE MENNONITE EMIGRATION FROM SOVIET RUSSIA, 1921-1927. By *John B. Toews*. [Studies in Anabaptist and Mennonite History, Number 12.] (Scottsdale, Pa.: Herald Press. 1967. Pp. 262. \$6.95.)

THIS interesting book deals with the dramatic migration of some 25,000 Mennonites from Russia to Canada between 1921 and 1927 because they found it impossible to accommodate themselves to the changes brought about by the Russian Revolution of 1917. It is the story of a small religious and ethnic group caught in the vicious grasp of upheaval and drastic change during the early Soviet era.

Mennonites were originally attracted to Russia by the special invitation of Catherine the Great, who set most liberal terms for Mennonites in order to encourage them, as successful farmers, to settle and develop some of the newly acquired swampy areas of Russia. For many years Russia was hospitable to Mennonites and allowed them considerable freedom to develop their religious and civil genius in their prosperous and rather independent colonies.

After Catherine's reign certain restrictions were imposed, and many Mennonites emigrated to the Americas. The nineteenth- and twentieth-century migrations are dealt with in *The Coming of the Russian Mennonites* (1927), by C. Henry Smith, and in *Mennonite Exodus* (1962), by Frank H. Epp. John B. Toews covers the emigration, mainly from the Russian Ukraine after World War I, in this volume.

Toews vividly describes the catastrophe of unprecedented proportions that the Russian Mennonites faced after 1917. Events that led to the breakup of Mennonite settlements naturally alienated Mennonites from their "Fatherland" and motivated them, even though bankrupt, to leave Russia. Progressively uprooted by the crosscurrents of revolution, they struggled for survival by exploring every possible alternative for a better future. In spite of serious and prolonged dialogue with Russian authorities concerning Mennonite social, economic, cultural, and religious values, survival seemed hopeless. Hence, as these negotiations were still going on, arrangements were quietly made to emigrate.

Toews has a thorough understanding of the Russian Revolution, the Civil War that followed, and the early years of Communist rule, as well as recent Mennonite history. He also covers the knotty question related to Mennonite involvement in self-defense efforts when bandits molested, tortured, and killed inhabitants of Mennonite villages. This was a time of tension, tragedy, and heartbreak. In the end only about one-quarter of the Mennonite minority in Russia managed to find a new "Fatherland" in Canada.

Such a prolonged and difficult process also produced such noteworthy heroes as B. B. Janz, a leader and negotiator in Russia, H. B. Unruh, "The Man in the Middle" in Germany, and David Toews, the "Moses" on the receiving end in Canada.

Since it results from a doctoral thesis, the book is well documented. Many private files of various leaders and the files of such various agencies as the Canadian Mennonite Board of Colonization, the Mennonite Central Committee, and the Bethel College Historical Library are used. Valuable maps and pictures

also enrich this volume which is recommended to those interested in Mennonite history and all concerned with the tragic story of the suppression of freedom anywhere.

Bethel College

ED. G. KAUFMAN

Ancient

FROM SOLON TO SOCRATES: GREEK HISTORY AND CIVILIZATION DURING THE SIXTH AND FIFTH CENTURIES B.C. By *Victor Ehrenberg*. (London: Methuen and Company; distrib. by Barnes and Noble, New York. 1968. Pp. xv, 493. Cloth \$8.00, paper \$4.25.)

For the writing of this book Professor Ehrenberg could draw upon the resources of a long and distinguished career in teaching and writing ancient history. In addition to many articles and his discussion of political institutions in *The Greek State*, there are *Ost und West*, *Sophocles and Pericles*, *The People of Aristophanes*, the latter books primarily concerned with that unity of historical experience—political, social, economic, and intellectual—which Ehrenberg wishes to emphasize in this study. A graceful introduction indicates the aims of the book: to write a narrative unifying the various aspects of Greek history in its most significant period, the sixth and fifth centuries B.C., and to indicate the uncertainties of scholarship in what he characterizes as “a jungle of ancient traditions and modern conjectures, with very few undisputed facts.” At the outset of the period lived Solon, who represented “a kind of middle class between the landowners and the manual workers.” At its end died Socrates, who “believed in the rule of law” and perished for revolutionizing Greek thought. Both were concerned to find a new bond of unity within the city-state between the extremes of its society. Both lived in Athens, which is necessarily the focus of Ehrenberg’s account for at least the fifth century.

The narrative is concerned mainly with Greek history from the Ionian Revolt, which ushered in the Persian Wars, to the defeat and revolution in Athens at the end of the Peloponnesian War. Four lengthy chapters treat the material: “The Wars for Freedom”; “The Ascendancy of Athens”; “The Peloponnesian War”; and, on the revolution, intellectual and political, of the late fifth century, “Know Thyself.” Considerable space is given to the military action of the wars and to the problems of the fifty years between them, where the omissions of Thucydides and epigraphical evidence have provided congenial ground for the growth of the “jungle.” Ehrenberg finds a clear path through it in a cautious and generally conservative fashion. For example, in confronting the Themistocles Decree, about which a new forest has grown, he writes, “If it (the decree) throws some new light on the events, it poses at least as many new problems, and some of the most important facts mentioned are likely to be later invention.” More importantly, he has skillfully illuminated the concerns of the Greeks who lived through this vital century by drawing on Aeschylus and Pindar, Sophocles, Euripides and Aristophanes. The redating of the plays of Aeschylus has provided the occasion of a new assessment of the generation of the Persian Wars. There are an excellent

characterization of Pericles and an interesting interweaving of political action and intellectual reaction for the Peloponnesian War.

The sixth century receives rather cursory treatment. By way of introduction we have a sketch of early Greek history through the seventh century; it is very brief, but there is notice of recent interpretation of the major phases of development. Two chapters, "Early Sparta" and "Athens before and under Solon," set the scene for an account of the sixth century—a single chapter discussing the Pisistratan tyranny in Athens, Cleisthenes, and surveying the wider Greek scene in Ionia and western Greece. The discussion of early Sparta is properly guarded, and that on Solon's work is very good, but Ehrenberg has not developed the quality of Greek civilization for the sixth century as well as for the fifth. Perhaps that is because the focus is on Athens, which was relatively unimportant in sixth-century Greece; perhaps it is the result of Ehrenberg's rather slight and conventional treatment of art. For the sixth century that might be given the role that literature plays for the fifth. Then, too, Ehrenberg does not move as easily in the scholarly work on archaic Greece as in that on the classical city-state. For example, reference to Ionia, while necessarily brief, is frequently faulty. Did Ionia begin to exert a "strong" influence on the art of the islands and of the motherland from the mid-seventh century? Should the Ionian cities be described as the terminals of important caravan routes and outlets for Asiatic empires? Or, should the Ionian League be described, because the central god was Poseidon, as "largely a union of small maritime states intent on checking piracy"?

While the book has no illustrations, there are ten black-and-white maps (including battle sites), an index, and ample citation of recent work, mainly in English. The notes, with Ehrenberg's own evaluation and interpretation, make the volume of particular interest to advanced students and ancient historians. The general reader, too, will find a well-written, thoughtful narrative, rather conservative in nature. Ehrenberg describes his position: "We are a generation in between, no longer sure of critical positivism, nor, on the other hand, of the rationalist intuition now so much in vogue."

Northwestern University

CARL ROEBUCK

HISTOIRE POLITIQUE DU MONDE HELLÉNISTIQUE (323-30 AV. J.-C.). Volume II, DES AVÈNEMENTS D'ANTIOCHOS III ET DE PHILIPPE V À LA FIN DES LAGIDES. By *Édouard Will*. [Annales de l'Est, Mémoire Number 32.] (Nancy: Faculté des Lettres et des Sciences humaines de l'Université de Nancy. 1967. Pp. 564.)

THIS concluding volume of Professor Will's work covers a period of nearly two centuries, from the accession of Philip V and Antiochus III until the death of Cleopatra, but the treatment of the first part of this period (Part III, 223-164 B.C.) is much more detailed than the last (Part IV, 164-30 B.C.). The earlier part corresponds almost exactly, and by design, with the plan Polybius had in mind when he decided to write a history. Will holds the usual view that these years were the decisive years for the history of the Greeks, and he also stresses somewhat the coincidence that impressed Polybius: the entrance of Hannibal, Philip V, Ptolemy IV, and Antiochus III on the world stage at the same moment in time. The

later part (Part IV) deals with the manner in which Roman rule was extended and put on a permanent footing, a lengthy process because Rome had to settle its own internal problems before it could end the anarchy its purely military victories had created.

The format is unchanged: the narrative is divided into a multitude of sections and subsections, each of which is followed by a list of sources and a bibliography, often including detailed examination of modern scholarly opinion. This discussion of the literature, along with a more complete reference to monographs, articles, epigraphic and numismatic reports than has appeared in one place since Niese wrote his famous work at the end of the last century, should make Will's history attractive to specialists in the field as well as indispensable to beginning scholars. And this is probably what the author had in mind—a manual for the study of Hellenistic political history rather than a history in its own right.

A favorite word of Will's is "nuance," and he shows exceptional sensitivity in seeking shades of meaning overlooked before. This applies to individuals like Titus Flamininus, who is held to be both a convinced Hellenist and a self-seeking politician, and to institutions like the Roman Senate, which is not an abstraction but an ever-shifting combination of cliques and individuals. The author reacts strongly against the tendency to oversimplify either the motives of individual statesmen or the social and economic background of the problems they faced. The larger question of Roman imperialism, which runs through the whole volume, is treated with an acute sense of the strong points and the weaknesses of views advanced by scholars such as Mommsen, Holleaux, Rostovtzeff, Frank, Tarn, and many others.

But Will's cryptic style can be irritating. For example, after explaining that some Boeotian malcontents who objected to the alliance with Perseus set out for Rome to present their grievances, he remarks that, "they never got there," and then goes on to other matters! Almost anyone would wonder what happened to these men. Niese tells us (*Gesch. d. griech. u. makedon. Staaten*, III, 102), but not Will.

The narrative sections are followed by a convenient series of short essays, with bibliography, on the leading ancient writers (chiefly, but not exclusively, historians) on the Hellenistic period. Agatharchides would have been a welcome addition to the list.

University of California, Los Angeles

TRUESDELL S. BROWN

THE LAW OF PERSONS IN THE LATER ROMAN REPUBLIC. By *Alan Watson*. (New York: Oxford University Press. 1967. Pp. xii, 269. \$12.00.)

THIS book is part of a comprehensive study of private law during the last two centuries of the Republic. A volume covering obligations appeared in 1965, and two more are planned. It may seem surprising that no full account of Roman private law during a period undoubtedly very important in its development should exist. A partial explanation is that the sources are scanty and often hard to evaluate; nor have they been enlarged by new materials as is true for the Empire. They make much less feasible the systematic studies and elaboration of juristic subtleties

that have been provided so abundantly for the classical period from Augustus to Diocletian and for Justinian's law.

The author sets forth the evidence for each part of the law of persons, conscientiously excluding arguments from what is known in earlier or later periods. His essential contribution is the careful examination of texts, and he refrains from providing general summaries of the character and development of this branch of republican law or any part of it. He succeeds admirably in what he set out to do. His examination of texts is judicious, resourceful, and penetrating, and he makes it far easier than it has been to determine what is actually known for this period about each legal institution.

Watson hopes that his book will be useful to Roman historians, especially social historians, as well as lawyers. Undoubtedly it will be. They can hardly ignore such matters as marriage, *patria potestas*, and slavery, and they should not neglect to read what he has to say. They will not, however, find any attempt to relate law to social history or historical developments. For instance, in Chapter XVIII ("The *Liber homo* Treated as a Slave") Persian and Carthaginian slave girls in Plautus are given about as much space as the woman of Arretium whose liberty Cicero defended in 79. One would suppose that vindication of liberty became a matter of quite different character and dimensions when, from the time of the Social War, thousands of Italians, many with relatives interested in their fate and in a position to act, became enslaved or treated as slaves (see, for example, *Pro Cluentio*, 23-25; Suetonius, *Augustus*, 32.1). But the austerity and narrow limits of Watson's volume are in the tradition of the Roman jurists, and they help make this a solid foundation for further studies and an essential reference work.

Institute for Advanced Study

J. F. GILLIAM

CAIUS MARIUS. By Phillip A. Kildahl. [Twayne's Rulers and Statesmen of the World Series, Number 7.] (New York: Twayne Publishers. 1968. Pp. 191. \$4.95.)

MARIUS and his rival Sulla have generally been treated in English as figures in the over-all history of the later Republic. Sulla still lacks a scholarly English treatment; Baker's *Sulla the Fortunate* (1927) scarcely fills the need. For Marius, Professor Carney provided in *Proceedings of the African Classical Association*, Supplement I (1962) a fundamental consideration of the sources and problems. Professor Kildahl draws heavily on Carney's conclusions, though not always consistently; for example, in the preface, Marius is "of lowly birth," and his possession of only two names "set him apart from his fellows." Later, in the body of the work, he becomes, as he did for Carney and other recent scholars, "a member of a prosperous and influential family" of Arpinum, with good connections in Rome, and his name is said to have been "common in Rome." Kildahl might have added that two names only is the common pattern of Italian nomenclature outside of Rome, as, for example, Gnaeus Pompeius. But to carp at such details would be ungracious and space consuming. Suffice it to add that the annotation is brief, and the bibliography, though useful on recent articles, is hardly exhaustive. It does not include A. Passerini's good Italian biography (1941) or the long one in French by J. Van Ooteghem (1964). It cites Boak's *History* in the third edition (1943), not

the fifth edition by W. G. Sinnigen (1965). Scholars will therefore be disappointed in this study as compared with those by Passerini, Carney, and Van Ooteghem.

Kildahl's work is, however, addressed rather to the general reader. Thus, it goes somewhat fully into matters of background, such as Roman military organization and the constitution, becoming at times wordy, inexact, and interpretive beyond the evidence. With Carney, it rejects the unfavorable view of Marius found in the ancient sources from Cicero on as reflecting the hostility of contemporary senatorial writing, particularly that of Sulla, whose *Memoirs* minimized Marius' successes. Highly favorable to Marius, the book emphasizes his capacity as a military reformer and as a general. It admits that Marius, though sympathetic to proposals of immediate reform, had no long-range concept of democratizing the state and that he straddled by trying to stand in with both reformers and conservatives. Thus Caesar's ostentatious Marianism was an appeal to his popularity, not to any political program. In conclusion, therefore, this study, though it does not exhibit definitive scholarship, is adequate for its purpose.

Harvard University

MASON HAMMOND

KLEINASIEN ZUR RÖMERZEIT: GRIECHISCHES LEBEN IM SPIEGEL DER MÜNZEN. By *Peter Robert Franke*. (Munich: Verlag C. H. Beck. 1968. Pp. 70, 512 plates. DM 16.80.)

In the centuries from Augustus to Aurelian hundreds of cities in Asia Minor issued their own coinage. The thousands of extant specimens have inevitably become a precious repository of evidence for the art, life, and propaganda of the Roman East. In a slight and unpretentious volume Professor Franke has given us a good sampling of these numismatic treasures. He has illustrated and described 512 representative pieces from the great collection of Hans von Aulock in Istanbul. The book is, by Franke's own admission, not designed for the specialist; it is, rather, a stimulus for the interested amateur. Limitation of Franke's exhibits to the Aulock collection means, unfortunately, that in some cases the clearest specimens cannot be shown and that in other cases important items have to be mentioned without illustration at all.

Franke's introductory text of twenty-six pages is helpful, although superficial. He touches cursorily upon many problems, the complexity of which would not easily be grasped by the inexperienced reader. One could not, for example, imagine the difficulties that confronted Miss Levick in analyzing the use of Latin on the coins of the Pisidian colonies in her *Roman Colonies in Southern Asia Minor* (1967). In the matter of art Cornelius Vermeule has recently shown how instructive a thorough discussion of major pieces can be in his *Roman Imperial Art in Greece and Asia Minor* (1968). Sometimes Franke is not so much superficial as wrong. With a more secure knowledge of Roman history he would hardly have been astonished at the scarcity of numismatic portraits of living men from outside the imperial house; nor would he have stated twice that the native city of Hadrian's Antinoüs was Nicomedia instead of Bithynium-Claudiopolis.

In the exacting task of describing individual coins, Franke is not always reliable. Sex. Iulius Frontinus is assigned an Asian proconsulate in 82-83: Franke has

missed the new inscription at Phrygian Hierapolis (*Ann. Scul. Arch. di Atene*, XLI-XLII [1963-64], 409-10), revealing Frontinus' year as either 84-85 or 85-86. In annotating coins mentioning M. Plancius Varus, Franke makes Varus proconsul in Asia in 78-79, ignoring S. Jameson's arguments in *JRS*, LV (1965), 56-58; and, by a slip, Varus is even placed in Bithynia in 78-79. But Franke cannot be blamed for ignorance of the new Varus inscription from Babadat, poorly illustrated in *Archaeology* (XVI [1963], 169) and still unpublished.

Harvard University

G. W. BOWERSOCK

RELIGION AND PHILOSOPHY IN THE HISTORIES OF TACITUS. By Russell T. Scott. [Papers and Monographs of the American Academy in Rome, Volume XXII.] ([Rome:] the Academy. 1968. Pp. xiv, 139.)

DR. Scott presents three main themes. First, after an introductory review of previous treatments of his topic (Chapter I), he summarizes the history of Roman religion (Chapter II). He argues that the basic Roman attitude toward religion remained a constant behind superficial changes imposed by the impact of foreign cults, by Greek philosophy, or in the course of normal development. Even in the fourth and fifth centuries A.D. the attacks on Roman paganism by such writers as Lactantius and St. Augustine reveal the persistence of Roman concern for meticulous religious observance and for a proper relationship of men to the divine. Secondly, in Chapter III, he places Tacitus' *Histories* squarely in this Roman religious tradition. Book I of the *Histories* is dominated by the theme that Rome lost divine favor through degeneration from ancient virtues and lack of respect for the gods. In the following books this degeneration of the year of civil war (A.D. 68-69) is redeemed by the emerging *fortuna Flaviania*, identified with the *fortuna Romana*. Finally, in Chapter IV, Scott analyzes three passages from the *Annals* to show that Tacitus' philosophic views also adhered to Roman tradition.

The book is provided with full notes, many of which might well have been incorporated into the text. There are both a general index and an index of passages cited from Tacitus.

Scott makes a good case for Tacitus' religious and philosophic Romanism and for his confidence (*fides*) that degeneration would be redeemed when the *fortuna Flaviania* fulfilled Rome's historical destiny. Yet one may wonder how much of this confidence survived in Tacitus' lost treatment of Domitian. Moreover, the discussions of the three topics all leave a sense of incompleteness. While the survey of Roman religion fills nearly a third of the book, it is still, nevertheless, too cursory for so complex a subject. The author might better have limited himself to a statement of the Roman religious attitude in the time of Tacitus. Also, in identifying Tacitus as religiously Roman, Scott neglects his probable upbringing in northern Italy or Provence and the consequent possibility that, whether he descended from native or Roman stock, he was exposed in youth to Celtic religious attitudes. Also, Scott merely notes Tacitus' rhetorical ("satiric") pessimism and critical tone, which, as in the case of Sallust, lead to an overcoloring of the picture of degeneration. Finally, the restriction of the discussion of religion to the *Histories*, and of philosophy only (and briefly) to the *Annals*, leaves the total picture incomplete, even though Scott emphasizes the consistency of Tacitus' attitudes through-

out his surviving works. Thus this study, useful for its interpretation of Tacitus, remains a thesis rather than being a book.

Harvard University

MASON HAMMOND

Medieval

THE PAULICIAN HERESY: A STUDY OF THE ORIGIN AND DEVELOPMENT OF PAULICIANISM IN ARMENIA AND THE EASTERN PROVINCES OF THE BYZANTINE EMPIRE. By *Nina G. Garsoïan*.

[Publications in Near and Middle East Studies, Columbia University, Series A, Number 6.] (Paris: Mouton & Co. 1967. Pp. 293.)

Pace some old-fashioned Byzantinists, Byzantine studies cannot thrive without a linguistic and historical conversancy with things Caucasian and especially Armenian. Professor Garsoïan's book is a brilliant vindication of this. Combining the evidence of both the Byzantine and the Armenian sources, the author has succeeded in presenting the first consistent and comprehensive history of the Paulician movement in Armenia and the Eastern Empire. The divergences between the two groups of sources, and those among the Byzantine sources themselves, are explained on chronological and historical grounds, and the evidence of the Armenian material makes it possible at last to appreciate correctly that of the Byzantine. In presenting the history of Paulicianism, the author confirms some of F. C. Conybeare's conjectures. The movement, a survival of an early Adoptionist trend, originated in Armenia, and its name may well be derived from Paul of Samosata. Certain anti-iconic features, originating from Caspian Albania, were added in the seventh century; in the tenth century it appeared under the name of Thondrakism, and it has since survived, underground, almost to today. In this context the author's analysis of the *Key of Truth* (edited and translated by Conybeare in 1898) is important. In the mid-seventh century Paulicianism spread to the Byzantine Empire, where it was to play an important role. Byzantine Paulicianism manifested new—Docetic and dualistic—features that may justify calling it Neo-Paulicianism. This development would appear to have been a matter of the inner logic of the movement itself, rather than of any traceable Gnostic or Manichaean influence or, a fortiori, origin, with which it has been credited by opponents. In the eighth and ninth centuries Neo-Paulicianism acquired a political significance as its adherents formed a state, centered in Tephrike on the Euphrates, which maneuvered between Byzantium and Islam until its destruction by Basil I in 872. Thereafter, a wave of Neo-Paulician refugees returned to Armenia, causing, precisely, the evolution of local Paulicianism into Thondrakism; while at the same time another wave moved to the Balkans to open a new phase of Paulician history that lies beyond the scope of this book, which contains the following chapters: "The Greek Sources"; "The Armenian Sources"; "The History of the Paulicians"; "The Paulician Doctrine"; "The Origin and Nature of Paulicianism." There are also an introduction, a conclusion, three appendixes, a bibliography, an index, and a map.

The following remarks concern minor points that may detract somewhat from the excellence of this important contribution. There is, to begin with, an ambigu-

ity of ecclesiological terminology regarding those groups—Catholics, Nestorians, Monophysites, and, during the medieval disputes, Greek Orthodox and Armenian Orthodox—who claimed the laudatory epithet “orthodox,” reserving for their opponents the pejorative term “heretics.” These two terms are, accordingly, relative, in contradistinction to the fixed and unmistakable names that designate the several contending religious bodies. It is regrettable that this book uses the equivocal value judgments “orthodox” (no less equivocal for being written with a capital “o”) and “heretic” in referring to the more specific groups mentioned above. Certain ambiguities and contradictions might have been avoided had the author used the fixed names or other, more general terms like: “Official/Established Church” and “Dissent/sect/sectarians” instead of “orthodox/orthodoxy” and “heretic/heresy.”

Next, it is extremely difficult to see in early Adoptionism “the main stream of Orthodox [*sic*] Christianity in the Orient.” Nor can it be said that an extant variant of Luke 3:21–22 “gives the Adoptionist version” of the baptism of Christ because this passage is merely a quotation from Psalm 2:7. As for the passage in Galatians 3:26–27, far from being “one of the most Adoptionist passages,” it refers not to Christ, but to the Christians, indisputably “adopted children of God.”

Other, more minor terminological matters concern the use of various Eastern terms and their transcription or translation. These little imprecisions do not, of course, in any way detract from the fundamental worth of this welcome and handsomely presented contribution to both Caucasian and Byzantine studies. All those interested in the *partes Orientis* owe a debt of profound gratitude to the author.

Georgetown University

CYRIL TOUMANOFF

A HISTORY OF ANGLO-LATIN LITERATURE, 597–1066. Volume I, 597–740. By W. F. Bolton. (Princeton, N. J.: Princeton University Press. 1967. Pp. xiv, 305. \$10.00.)

NEVER has Latin literature of early Anglo-Saxon England (to A.D. 740) been treated so fully in English as in this important and highly useful volume. It succeeds in its twofold task: to describe the primary Latin materials, however fragmentary, “associated with individual (although sometimes anonymous) writers . . . but not the institutional or official forms,” and to compile the most nearly complete bibliography, within defined limits, of secondary works on its subject. Although its *terminus a quo* is St. Augustine’s mission of A.D. 597, one-fifth of the text is devoted to British Latin before that date, with Pelagius, Patrick, Gildas, Columba, Columban, and others discussed in their political and religious context. The period 597–740 is divided into chapters on “The Seventh Century,” with emphasis on Theodore of Canterbury, Benedict Biscop, Wilfrid (Bolton’s dislike of whom is refreshing), and Aldhelm; “Bede”; and “The Age of Bede.” So little often survives from great men of their day—one letter from Bishop Acca of Hexham, for example, or one letter and one poem from Abbot Ceolfrid of Jarrow, than whom “*nemo per id temporis . . . doctior illo posset inveniri*” in Church law—that Bolton is to be particularly praised for resisting mere en-

comium in his balanced analysis of the giant to whom almost half the pages of the major chapters are given: Bede.

The life and works of each author are described, and examples, with translations, are well chosen to illustrate style and content. Medievalists who have tried their hand at translating the *Hisperica famina* or the extravagant, "hisperic" style of Aldhelm and others will, I think, admire Professor Bolton's versions presented for his unlatined readers. His surveys of historical background press him into stating certainties that are uncertain, however, and, when he puts his mind to it, he can pack three historical errors into two lines as on page ten. Sometimes also one wishes for footnote references since the only footnotes are translations, but these are very minor complaints in the face of over sixty pages of well-arranged bibliography of a thousand items and the most complete and cohesive literary history in any language of English Latinity of its period. A second volume, carrying the subject to 1066, is awaited with pleasure.

Lawrence University

WILLIAM A. CHANEY

DA SAN NILO ALL'UMANESIMO. By *Gabriele Pepe*. [Storia e civiltà, Number 2.] ([Bari:] Dedalo Libri. 1966. Pp. 256. L. 3,000.)

THE title of this volume may mislead prospective readers by suggesting that it is a cultural history of medieval Italy. In reality it is a collection of seventeen essays and reviews on medieval subjects; they were first published between 1927 and 1959 and are reprinted here without major revision by their author except for some updating of the footnotes. There is no unifying theme. Collectively, however, the essays acquire a certain unity as the mirror of a historian's thought during his earlier years, when he was a rebel against the Italian historical and political establishment. Pepe's historiographical and subjective approach, his aversion to "scientific" and positivistic history, and his never-ending battle for a humanized history stressing spiritual and cultural values are stamped upon every one of these essays.

Part I consists of ten essays on subjects ranging from the tenth through the fourteenth century. The emphasis throughout is on Italy, and it is evident that Pepe's sympathies are usually with the radical, nonconformist elements in Italian society. An essay on St. Nilus and his significance as a herald of the Gregorian reform is followed by discussions of Abelard and Héloïse, Joachimite and Franciscan attitudes as revealed in medieval chronicles, the decadence of Calabria, and a series of profiles of Renaissance personalities, all with reference to the scholarly literature on the subject. Among the Renaissance group, "Petrarch the Man as Judged by the *Risorgimento*" traces the decline of Petrarch's reputation during Italy's political awakening and shows how Italian literary critics of the nineteenth century downgraded the poet-humanist in a confrontation with Dante and Machiavelli, the political activists.

Part II, an assemblage of book reviews, requires little comment. The most substantial item here is the survey of medieval historical studies in Italy contributed by Pepe to the Croce anniversary volumes of 1950, *Cinquant'anni di vita intellettuale italiana, 1896-1946*. Pepe condemns en bloc the monographic work produced in Italy during the half century in question, with the exception of Volpe's

books and a few favorable references to Buonaiuti, Salvatorelli, and Falco. No less unfavorable are his evaluations of the general medieval histories written during that period. His coverage is woefully incomplete, partly because he excludes legal history from his survey, but his assessments of individual works show critical perception. Most medievalists today would agree that Volpe's best work was his *Movimenti religiosi e sette ereticali nella società medievale italiana*. But the same half century produced many other monographs of high quality and lasting value; one need only recall various works by Forchielli, Magni, Leicht, Pivano, Vaccari, Luzzatto, and others. In an introductory paragraph Pepe does indeed pay tribute to the legal historians, praising their method and their contribution to social and economic history.

The dated and miscellaneous character of these studies makes appraisal difficult. Such a collection cannot escape defects inherent in the essay genre—superficiality and extreme brevity. Some of the essays are pretty tenuous in substance, opening vistas without exploring them in depth. They are, nevertheless, the work of a man with an intimate knowledge of medieval sources, and most of them have retained their freshness and suggestive quality.

Pepe's gift of historical imagination and insight, combined with a vivid literary style, supremely fitted him to write a cultural history of medieval Italy of the humanized kind he was forever demanding. That potentiality has not been realized, but it casts an aura over everything he wrote, saving even his minor work from mediocrity. This miscellany expresses the historical credo for which Pepe has fought all of his life. By its nature it cannot add to his professional reputation, which will continue to rest on his *Medio evo barbarico d'Italia* and its companion volume on barbarian Europe, his *Carlo Magno*, and his fine contribution to monographic literature, *Il mezzogiorno sotto gli spagnuoli*.

Boston, Massachusetts

CATHERINE E. BOYD

MONARCHS AND MERCENARIES: A REAPPRAISAL OF THE IMPORTANCE OF KNIGHT SERVICE IN NORMAN AND EARLY ANGEVIN ENGLAND. By *John Schlight*. [Studies in British History and Culture, Volume I.] (Bridgeport, Conn.: Conference on British Studies at the University of Bridgeport; distrib. by New York University Press, New York. 1968. Pp. xi, 105.)

HISTORIANS have long known that the Norman and early Angevin kings hired such mercenaries as Flemings, Bretons, Brabançonnese, and Welsh for their continental and English campaigns and for the defense of their castles, but what this book shows is how large and how important an element of the royal forces mercenaries were in the period between 1066 and 1189. Essentially, Mr. Schlight argues that the English kings found their feudal vassals too disloyal, too few, and too often incompetent to rely on them for important campaigns. More fortunate than most contemporary rulers because of their superior pecuniary resources, the English kings could hire more mercenaries. So essential did these mercenaries become that the English kings were inspired to make their financial administration, notably the Exchequer, more efficient. A scutage was levied already by William Rufus, and many were collected by Henry II who, it is suggested, may well

have budgeted certain sums annually for the payment of his numerous mercenaries.

Much that Schlight says about mercenaries is correct and challenges the Victorian argument of Stubbs and Freeman that in this period mercenaries were few, that they were abhorred, and that the defense of England rested primarily with the feudal levy and the fyrd inherited from the Anglo-Saxons. Schlight also joins the growing number of scholars who have become disenchanted with the Round-Stenton position on feudalism. He feels that feudal service was relatively unimportant, that, as a military system, feudalism in practice was quite different from what it seemed to be in theories propounded by Round and his disciples.

There are, however, shortcomings in this work by Schlight. It has but thirty-eight notes, most of which refer to secondary works; only scholars acquainted with the pertinent records will know the sources of Schlight's evidence. There is repetition of information already well known as, for example, the details on central administration. A discussion of the historiography of English feudalism is superfluous. Too often the obvious is presented as being new. The following quotation, for instance, is typical: "One of the conditions which had accompanied the rise of feudalism earlier was a scarcity of money. . . . As the volume of money in circulation increased land began to lose its role as a medium of exchange, and those services which were formerly derived from the land came gradually to be performed for cash." Schlight consistently emphasizes the contribution of Brabançonne mercenaries to the royal success in arms, but at the same time writes that the English kings hired their mercenaries from northern France. The duchy of Brabant was never a part of France! It is very doubtful that there was a rapid transition from feudal to nonfeudal institutions with an accompanying shift in mentality. Schlight states, and correctly, that there were more money fiefs in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries than in the twelfth, but why then did the English kings expend their resources on money fiefs when they could hire mercenaries without the bother of a fief and a feudal contract?

Although Schlight has justly emphasized the importance of mercenaries, he has, in the process, overemphasized their role and underestimated the value and vitality of feudalism.

Brown University

BRYCE LYON

ENGLISH CISTERCIAN MONASTERIES AND THEIR PATRONS IN THE TWELFTH CENTURY. By *Bennett D. Hill*. (Urbana: University of Illinois Press. 1968. Pp. xi, 188. \$6.50.)

THIS book, though short, is wider in scope than its title suggests. It consists of four studies: on the circumstances and personalities of the early Cistercian foundations in England; on the founders and benefactors of the second generation; on the Congregation of Savigny and its influence on the white monks; and on the Cistercian share in the Gregorian reform in its later stages. On all these topics Professor Hill has new and valuable things to say, based on wide, thorough research among the abundant printed sources for Cistercian history, many of which have never been fully exploited. He shows that the first generation of founders came from the high feudal baronage from the king downward in the

reigns of Henry I and, more particularly, of Stephen. The next generation was made up almost entirely of the knights, who were beginning their slow ascent to the position of a large landowning and administrative class above the yeomen and below the baronage. Here the evidence that their benefactions often had strings attached, such as a small sum of scutage or an annual small rent, reveals a hitherto unfamiliar aspect of the Cistercian departure from the letter and spirit of their primitive legislation, which was also a contributory cause of their frequent financial embarrassment. The chapter on Savigny further illuminates an unduly neglected subject and develops the very plausible opinion that the accession of this disorganized, mediocre congregation was a source of weakness to the English white monks. Finally, the analysis of Cistercian work as judicial agents of the papacy, who ultimately withdrew from tasks that implied involvement with the world and heavy expenses, is original and valuable.

While all these chapters reveal careful and exact scholarship, the short introductory account of the Cistercian origins is not wholly reliable. The topic is very involved, and Hill had no direct concern with it, but he fails to note that Cîteaux was the second attempt (Molesme being the first) of Alberic, Stephen, and others to establish a strict observance of the Rule, and this leads him to place the foundation of Cîteaux in the pontificate of Gregory VII. Further, he is not fully abreast of the copious literature on Cistercian origins, which has established that the *Carta Caritatis* was a composite and gradually evolving text.

This, however, in no way affects the value, interest, and sound judgment of the main chapters of the book.

London, England

M. D. KNOWLES

SOCIETÀ E STATO NEL MEDIOEVO VENEZIANO (SECOLI XII-XIV).

By *Giorgio Cracco*. [Civiltà veneziana, Studi, Number 22. Fondazione Giorgio Cini, Centro di cultura e civiltà.] (Florence: Leo S. Olschki. 1967. Pp. xiv, 491.)

THE central theme of Giorgio Cracco's important new interpretation of Venetian history in the communal age is the political, social, and economic contraction which, in the author's view, gradually transformed the dynamic and broadly based commune of the twelfth century into a narrow, oligarchical state by the end of the fourteenth century. Seeking to explain Venetian political evolution through analysis of underlying social and economic developments, he sees as central to this period a pattern of dialectic within Venetian society. It begins with an early communal power struggle between *grandi* and *popolo grasso*, then evolves into fourteenth-century contention within the defined ruling class over the direction of Venetian policy in the face of a grave economic crisis, particularly in the Levantine trade. This narrowing of the dialectic to an increasingly restricted element of Venetian society resulted, in Cracco's view, in the rigid, hierarchical state of the Renaissance and the *ancien régime*.

This suggestive and original interpretation, based largely on sensitive handling of published source material and an impressive use of suggestions from recent historical literature, performs the highly significant service of putting Venetian history into a larger Italian and European context. Although Cracco's phrasing of

economic developments is open to question, his discussion of Venice's commercial difficulties in relation to its political and social development is an innovation in Venetian historiography. While the new issues he raises are important, however, his conclusions merit further discussion. Many of Cracco's delineations of social conflict are based on evidence that is suggestive rather than conclusive. Indeed, in his concern to illustrate the socioeconomic dialectic he frequently constructs opposing social categories that seem to me gratuitous, even misleading. The researches of Gino Luzzatto and others have shown that patrician economic association constantly cut across the factional lines that Cracco dramatically draws. Consequently, the political contention he depicts as deriving from opposing noble economic interests is questionable.

Yet reservations about the degree to which Cracco carries his dialectical approach cannot obscure his book's achievement. With impressive erudition and an exceptional historical intelligence he has placed the Venetian experience fully into the larger perspective of late medieval Italian history. The very socioeconomic approach he employs, moreover, further illuminates problems that have been glossed over in the past by historians sympathetic to the Venetian achievement. In a word, Cracco has both reopened Venetian medieval and Renaissance history and offered a strong and stimulating configuration of it.

Michigan State University

STANLEY CHOJNACKI

THE DECLINE OF ENGLISH FEUDALISM, 1215-1540. By J. M. W. Bean.
(New York: Barnes and Noble. 1968. Pp. xii, 335. \$8.00.)

THE decline of English feudalism is a grand subject for a book today, when many specialized investigations await synthesis. The title of the book under review is, unfortunately, a misnomer; it should read "The Decline in the Value of Feudal Incidents in England." Relief, wardship and marriage, forfeiture and escheat are its concern, not fiefs or services, not homage or fealty, nor yet lordship and vassalage. Indeed, forfeiture and escheat are given little attention, and "our theme is the development of the feudal lord's fiscal rights over his tenants and their importance in the development of English landownership." This is certainly a valid subject for investigation, but it is a great disappointment beside the grander theme suggested by the title.

Within the limitations of its subject, the monograph makes useful contributions to the history of English land law and politics in its period. Its account of the events leading up to and proceeding from the statutes of mortmain and *Quia Emptores* contains much that is novel and interesting. It makes quite clear that a struggle was waged and won on the part of most landowners for freedom to alienate their property without their lords' approval; only the crown retained a right to license alienations, and the licenses were virtually for sale. The central third of the book deals with the development and employment of "uses," the legal device of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, which accomplished many of the purposes of a modern trust. By granting his real estate to feoffees for the use of himself or others at his direction, especially by last will and testament, a landowner could avoid payment of the feudal incidents of relief or wardship, could secure the payment of his debts from his land after his death, and could

provide for wife, daughters, and cadets otherwise than the common law permitted. Clearly such "uses" were to the detriment of feudal lordship, and the lack of opposition to their development is distinctly worthy of discussion. Only when the Yorkist and early Tudor kings were seeking to maximize nonparliamentary revenues was an effort made by the crown to limit "uses." The account of these monarchs' efforts, their successes and failures, is perhaps the most interesting part of the book. An appendix on "*Quia Emptores* and Bastard Feudalism" makes the valuable point that the latter did not depend upon the former. More or less incidental contributions on wills and testaments and on the equitable jurisdiction of the chancellor should also be remarked.

Mr. Bean is a painstaking scholar and tireless in his analyses. But his conclusions can be no better than his evidence. Some sections of his book have a hypothetical quality because, as none is more aware than he, he has not yet surmounted the mountain of financial and court records that remain from this period. Consequently, many of his ideas await verification and quantification. Perhaps he will supply this in the other works he promises us.

University of Connecticut

FRED A. CAZEL, JR.

ACTES RELATIFS À LA PRINCIPAUTÉ DE MORÉE, 1289-1300. Published by Charles Perrat and Jean Longnon. [Ministère de l'Éducation Nationale, Comité des Travaux Historiques et Scientifiques, Section de Philologie et d'Histoire, jusqu'à 1610. Collection de documents inédits sur l'histoire de France, Series in-8°, Volume VI.] (Paris: Bibliothèque Nationale. 1967. Pp. 243.)

THIS book contains 243 documents concerning the history of the French principality of Morea, or Achaea, in southern Greece during the reign of Charles II of Anjou, focusing upon the principate of Florence of Hainaut (1289-1297) and his widow, Isabeau de Villehardouin (1297-1300). Its aim is to "constitute as complete a collection as possible of the documents concerning Greek affairs at that time . . . above all the principality of Morea and its dependencies. . . ." An appendix contains the text of the treaty of May 24, 1267, by which Guillaume de Villehardouin, prince of Achaea, granted Achaea to Charles I of Anjou, brother of Saint Louis, with the cession to take effect after the grantor's death. (Three days later Baldwin II, the former Emperor of the Latin kingdom of Constantinople, ceded Charles I suzerainty of Achaea.)

Almost all the documents published here are Professor Charles Perrat's copies of originals in the famous Angevin registers in Naples, which were destroyed in September 1943. Many relate to political and diplomatic history, especially "the Greek policy of Charles II . . ."; others illuminate economic, social, and religious matters.

This is an excellent edition. Most of the documents are reproduced in their entirety, and each is prefaced by a brief summary of its contents and by bibliographic citations of any previous editions. The numerous annotations are extremely useful, and the volume includes a map and separate indexes of proper names and notable matters. For those who insist that every review contain at

least one cavi, future works of this sort might also have a chronological or numerical list and a brief, itemized description of their complete contents.

The introduction has a survey of principal events in the complex political and diplomatic history of Morea in the second half of the thirteenth century. Helpful, too, are the frequent citations of earlier publications of documents and some secondary works related to Achaea and the Angevin dominions in general.

This is a fine and worthwhile piece of scholarship.

University of California, Davis

WILLIAM M. BOWSKY

THE ROYAL POLICY OF RICHARD II: ABSOLUTISM IN THE LATER MIDDLE AGES. By *Richard H. Jones*. (New York: Barnes and Noble. 1968. Pp. vi, 199. \$6.00).

THIS book attempts to get behind Shakespeare's "indelible portrait" of Richard II and the more recent interpretations of the reign. The author wishes to portray Richard in terms "meaningful to his contemporaries," yet intelligible to modern students. His thesis is that "it was policy, not caprice, which impelled the king along the career that led from the throne to mysterious oblivion in the dungeons of Pontefract; and in combining to destroy Richard, the English community made a momentous [though evidently unconscious] decision concerning the nature of its relationship to the crown." Richard's conceptions of both monarchy and the social order were conservative and traditional, not revolutionary. The King undertook no daring administrative innovations, but tried to govern as his predecessors had, through established procedures, using his household, especially the chamber, yet depending on the cooperation of the great officers of state. He used Parliament as an extension of royal power, but did not attempt to subvert its powers. He emphasized the symbols and rituals of monarchy in the spirit of an age in which such outward show "helped to maintain the prestige which had formerly been based upon tacit recognition of function." He also, it is true, articulated more clearly the claims for prerogative absolutism and developed a more highly centralized bureaucracy, but this he was forced to do by the aggressions of the magnates and the disorder of the times. Three generations of experience were required before middle-class Englishmen would support strong monarchy because they recognized the evils of magnate rule. Richard was an absolutist, not a despot.

This interpretation offers attractions, but it requires that one neglect much of the evidence. Jones aligns himself with Galbraith against Anthony Steel's "seductive analysis" of Richard as a neurotic. He gives us no new insight into the King's personality. Richard was "nervous, temperamental, sensitive," and tenacious in pursuit of aims though politically naïf, but he was "not by any standard mad." Steel laid himself open to this sort of criticism by failing to distinguish between neurosis and psychosis. Jones tries to avoid the issue altogether by implying that the King's personality is irrelevant in understanding what he did and why he failed. This will not work. Contemporaries may have misunderstood Richard, but they reacted vigorously to the person who was there.

Jones does not revise the basic narrative of events. After the Shrewsbury Parliament, for example, Richard still wanders about the Midlands accompanied by four hundred Cheshire archers. He demands submissions, oaths of loyalty, and

forced loans. For Jones, this is the first free and full public expression of fundamental beliefs about monarchy that Richard had always cherished. The opposition failed to understand and rejected the logical implications of medieval monarchy. The main contributions attempted in this book are the placing of Richard's concept of monarchy in the frame of reference of contemporary political philosophy and the exploration of possible sources of influence on the King through advisers and associates, especially during the formative years. The results are disappointing.

The style of the book is difficult, sometimes obscure. What, for example, is one to make of the statement that the use to which Richard's allegedly cheerful abdication was put by Henry "is important to an understanding of the relationship between the Lancastrians and their parliaments, but the recognition of its falsehood is equally important as documentary testimony to the tenacity with which Richard clung to his own notion of the sanctity of the monarchy." Or what, indeed, is one to make of the last sentence of the text: "In the final analysis his blunders of statecraft were of less significance as causes of his fall than was the incapacity of kingship in his generation to command and serve community." It was, after all, Richard, sometime King, not medieval monarchy, that died in Pontefract castle.

Rutgers University, New Brunswick, New Jersey

MARGARET HASTINGS

BARCELONE: CENTRE ÉCONOMIQUE À L'ÉPOQUE DES DIFFICULTÉS, 1380-1462. In two volumes. By *Claude Carrère*. [École Pratique des Hautes Études—Sorbonne. VI^e Section: Sciences économiques et sociales. Civilisations et Sociétés, Number 5.] (Paris: Mouton & Company. 1967. Pp. 522; 532-993.)

A STRIKING feature of Spanish history under the Catholic Kings and the early Habsburgs is the minor role played by Catalonia in the new Spanish nation and its European and American dependencies, in contrast to the principality's prominence in the central Middle Ages and again in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Since the explanation lies in significant part in the ten years of fierce civil war that wrecked Catalan society and Barcelona's leading position as a commercial, industrial, and financial center from 1462, these two substantial volumes on the eighty-year period prior to the catastrophe are of exceptional importance. Based upon exhaustive archival research and presenting much new, lucidly analyzed material, they do not claim to resolve all the problems of the Catalan decline; indeed Mlle. Carrère concludes that, but for the deep-rooted social and political antagonisms, the economic crises might have been surmounted. But the economic factor is obviously so central that, without such a work as this, the other elements of the breakdown could not be understood.

Of the book's three subdivisions, the first describes at length the organization and business methods of the Barcelona merchant class, with particular attention to familial continuity, types of mercantile activity, mechanisms of capital investment, operation of the port of Barcelona, and the functioning of commercial brokers. Part Two deals with "structures": the shipbuilding industry and merchant navy (with admirable treatment of ship financing, recruitment of officers and crews, and handling of freight and passenger traffic); the funneling into the

capital city of the principality's foodstuffs and raw materials; industry, above all the great cloth trades with their valuable orientation toward export abroad; and the vital markets in Europe, North Africa, and the Near East. Finally, Part Three dissects the successive phases of the worsening economic crisis from 1380 on, marked by demographic decline, falling wages, widespread unemployment, bank failures, bankruptcies, the vicious but not economically disastrous pogrom of 1391, and the inflationary consequences of the drain of Catalan gold and silver specie into France and its replacement by debased French currency. Confrontation with these problems widened the gap between the Catalan *rentier* class, which aimed at protecting its fixed income from lands and controlling the reins of political power in the Cortes and in Barcelona's municipal government, and the coalition of merchants and craftsmen who sought governmental action to remedy their economic ills, and this conflict led to the ruinous civil war. Barcelona, with its heavily foreign-oriented industrial and commercial system, was especially affected by the general economic depression in Europe from 1428 to 1429, and when, in 1453, the bourgeois-artisan coalition, with royal support, gained control of municipal affairs, it was too late to stave off the war that came nine years later.

Since Carrère sees the economic crisis as ultimately soluble and thus less immediately responsible for the disaster than the nearsighted reactionary policies of the *rentier* classes, she cannot properly be criticized for neglecting the noneconomic aspects of the problem, especially since she promises a further work along these lines. There are, however, certain questions this monumental study leaves unanswered. Why was the Catalan bourgeoisie, at the accession of the favorably disposed Castilian Trastámara dynasty in the Crown of Aragon in 1412, so much less effective in securing large political and economic concessions than its Portuguese counterpart in the Aviz revolution of 1383-1385? Why did the Catalans lose out so miserably to the Genoese in commercial and financial relations with Castile, above all in Andalusia, the base for merchant capital moving eventually toward America? And since recovery from even the bitterest civil war need not take three centuries, does not the chance conjuncture of the conflict of 1462 with the new Spain's commercial shift toward the North Atlantic merit more emphasis?

University of Virginia

C. J. BISHKO

Modern Europe

WILLIAM III AND LOUIS XIV: ESSAYS 1680-1720 BY AND FOR MARK A. THOMSON. Edited by Ragnhild Hatton and J. S. Bromley. With an introductory memoir by Sir George Clark. ([Toronto:] University of Toronto Press. 1968. Pp. x, 332. \$7.25.)

THOUGH the title suggests a narrow focus on kings, this book is about the whole of diplomacy and war in Northern Europe after 1680. Mark Thomson's own fine articles, republished here, give a unity to the volume that the essays presented by his friends and pupils generally respect. This is nearly a model *Festschrift* for a scholar whose death did not permit him to complete the book of which these articles were a significant beginning. Only two essays out of the

sixteen published, neither of the two by Thomson himself, lack significance: the interception of posts in Celle merited a note, and the English newspapers from 1695 to 1702 are such an important topic that their too general treatment here adds little to what is already known.

This volume, though not dated, took at least four years to prepare; the absence of any reference to recent works by S. Baxter on William III or by G. Holmes on Anne's reign weakens its contribution, however. Much has been done on this period, from the days of O. Klopp and A. Legrelle down to the present; hence the contribution of this volume is one of retouching a familiar picture of Europe.

For Thomson the study of diplomacy involved the conflict of interests, whether national or dynastic, and how principles, including religion, determined policies. He saw William III and Louis XIV as the only sovereigns of their age who perceived and had the will to grapple with the conflicts between states that lead to war or peace. They tried to anticipate future conflicts, notably in making the partition treaties, and to avoid them. Other kings lacked the vision, pragmatism, and energy to do anything but respond traditionally to the initiatives of others. Louis, more than William, is depicted as someone who balanced between pragmatic diplomacy and the application of principles such as divine right in foreign policy. William clearly remained an enigma to Thomson while Louis fascinated him, particularly in regard to the apparent "mistakes" that Louis made in dealing with William over the years.

The portraits of Louis and William vary from article to article. J. S. Bromley describes William's talent as a naval strategist; A. Lossky sees Louis as being overinfluenced in his decisions by "maxims," those principles that he held to be true about different states and peoples; Thomson himself depicts the Sun King as more flexible and always willing to negotiate; Ragnhild Hatton's analysis of Louis's and William's competitive efforts to buy influence in Sweden suggests that the Swedes walked the neutralist tightrope successfully, thanks to Oxeñstierna, who alone as a prominent supporter of Vienna blocked a Franco-Swedish alliance. Maxims, as Lossky describes, however, are not quite the same as historical arguments in diplomacy, and it is significant that in his efforts to win Swedish support Louis insisted on the old ties of friendship that had bound the two countries before. John Rule's excellent analysis of Torcy's relationship with Louis is an outstanding contribution in the book because it demythologizes Louis, even from the myths Louis allowed to be created for himself, and shows him unsure of what to do to make peace, seeking advice from divided councilors, and prudent at least in old age. Rule amplifies Thomson's view and that expounded in a recent biography by J. B. Wolf, but, as Lossky suggests, Louis may have acted differently in the 1680's.

Columbia University

OREST RANUM

EUROPE OVERSEAS: PHASES OF IMPERIALISM. By *Raymond F. Betts*.
(New York: Basic Books, 1968. Pp. ix, 206. \$5.00.)

THIS, as the author says, is a small volume on a large subject, and, as he also says, it is an introduction to the subject. Written in a calm and judicious manner,

the book will serve well those students beginning the study of imperialism. The stress is on the new empires, those since 1870, with only one chapter being devoted to the earlier empires.

Imperialism is defined as "consciously undertaken state activity . . . to secure the long-range political or economic domination of foreign territory or peoples. . . ." In addition, Betts treats it as a significant aspect of foreign policy.

The new empires, he writes and I here paraphrase, were administrative and expropriative empires in which European residence was minimal, the land was worked by native and not European hands, the social components were never fused, the indigenous political systems were not usually abolished or successfully reformed, and the indigenous populations remained untrained and illiterate. For the merchants of the imperial powers the new empires were mainly sources of raw materials. They did not pay "nationally," though for some entrepreneurs, such as Taubman Goldie in Nigeria, they were "handsomely paying propositions." No nation in history, however, "rivalled the ability of Hapsburg Spain to impoverish itself with riches."

As the modern empires developed, there was a neat division of labor, with the colonies providing raw materials and the imperial powers the industry, while the colonies remained undeveloped and the powers modernized. In the main, as Bryce believed in the case of India and Britain, the powers did something for the people, but permitted nothing to be done by the people. For four hundred years the empires "arched majestically," but then they disintegrated swiftly. European imperialism was a great political and cultural force that eventually led to revolutionary nationalism and the end of empire.

Betts's narrative flows smoothly, and occasional pithy sentences enliven it. His conclusions present few if any surprises, yet they are, obviously, based on wide reading and calm reflection. This book will please neither old empire builders nor ardent new nationalists. Many of the new nations, Betts thinks, consist of a "cabinet, a flag, and a seat in the United Nations." Both capitalist and Communist theories of nationalism are critically evaluated. Just as the world of the old Mercator projection with Europe at its center no longer represents the world, so these theories now seem strangely irrelevant.

I raise three issues, all debatable. The classic interpretation of Hobson has been rightly criticized, but Betts does not stress the economic aspects of imperialism as much as the evidence seems to warrant. If political imperialism is dead, economic interest is not. Nationalism may be more important than Betts indicates, though he quotes Bülow's famous remark, "We do not want to put anyone in the shade, but . . . demand a place in the sun for ourselves." Thirdly, I would have liked more and more definite examples of imperialism, in the manner of the good old book of Parker T. Moon. But perhaps Betts, had he written a longer book, would have offered them.

Hilaire Belloc once quipped that Europeans had the Maxim gun and colonial peoples did not. The day of the supremacy of the machine gun and Europeans is apparently over. Yet Europe left a magnificent and sometimes awful legacy. Perhaps this will be the subject of other books.

THE GLASS INDUSTRY OF THE WEALD. By *G. H. Kenyon*. With a foreword by *D. B. Harden*. ([Leicester:] Leicester University Press. 1967. Pp. xxii, 231, 22 plates. 50s.)

HERE is a splendid example of the work produced by local historians and antiquarians in England. Meticulous in his research and dependent on the work of predecessors in the field—the Reverend T. S. Cooper and S. E. Winbolt—Kenyon has updated their research in the study of forest glasshouses in the Weald. The study has value for those whose interests are broader than medieval and early modern glassmaking techniques in Sussex. It was intended for people interested in the glass industry as a whole, and the author makes no claim that it is a specialized, technical, or archaeological treatise in the usual sense. He provides the pertinent published material and evidence from diggings on the sites, as well as supplying the reader with a fascinating report on the conditions of this minor industry in England.

The industry was never large in the Weald; it reached its greatest importance in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries. The migration to England of French glassmakers led by Jean Carré during the 1570's and 1580's accounts for the industry's increasing its size some four or five times in the last half century of its existence. After giving the reader some account of the difference in the quality of the later glass in order to distinguish it from that which predated Jean Carré, the author indicates the varied reasons for the migration of the Frenchmen to England. One is easily tempted to assume that the Frenchmen came to England because of religious persecution, and some of these men were Huguenots. It is clear, however, that religious beliefs were not the motivation; rather it was owing to the overcrowded nature of French glassmaking and the great opportunities provided for clever glassmakers in England, where demand for glass was increasing rapidly. The forest glass industry declined as rapidly as it had increased its production. Kenyon attributes the reason for the decline as being the growing scarcity of wood as a fuel and the development of coal-fired furnaces. By 1615 there was a royal proclamation in England prohibiting the use of wood fuel in glass furnaces. This drove the glass industry away from the Weald. Many of the workers went elsewhere in England and opened a new stage of glassmaking with the use of coal furnaces.

Kenyon's referral to the socioeconomic situation in England in medieval and early modern times balances the study. True to his goal of giving the reader as much explicit information as possible about the glass industry of the Weald, the author breaks his study down into many chapters that discuss wages and transport and marketing of the glass, supply all known information on families involved with the industry, and describe glasshouse sites; he catalogues the numbered sites of glasshouses in other chapters. The book is handsome and provides excellent plates of drawings as well as interesting and pertinent photographic illustrations.

Goucher College

GEORGE A. FOOTE

OCCUPATIONAL COSTUME IN ENGLAND: FROM THE ELEVENTH CENTURY TO 1914. By *Phyllis Cunnington* and *Catherine Lucas*. With chapters by *Alan Mansfield*. (New York: Barnes and Noble, 1967. Pp. 427. \$9.00.)

THE aim of the authors, and of their principal collaborator, Alan Mansfield, who contributes chapters on the specialized occupations of workers in transportation, seafaring, and in the fire brigades and police, is to complement available volumes on English dress that have tended to concentrate almost exclusively on the high fashion of the leisure classes. The text, replete with literary and historical references, is enhanced by over three hundred line drawings, and many half-tone illustrations and photographs, all well chosen from contemporary sources. It provides entertaining reading for both the specialist and general reader, and many novel facts abound; for instance, pockets, unknown in medieval garments, were first introduced in sixteenth-century trunk hose, then into breeches, and finally appeared, mostly as ornaments, in coats as late as the seventeenth century.

As each chapter deals with an occupation or group of related occupations and attempts to trace the development of adaptive garments and traditional accessories over the centuries, there are some overlapping, repetition, and disjointedness in the volume, but part of the inconvenience is overcome by a good index. The two final chapters endeavor to generalize on those conditions that have encouraged or discouraged the growth of functional dress in England; they show a continuous conflict between the desire for ornamentation and the need for utility in work clothes, particularly in protective garments, which the authors find have been "so few, so feeble and so fixed in their design." It is also demonstrated that the nineteenth century marks the real beginnings of diversity in working dress, in contrast to comparative uniformity during earlier times. It was, moreover, an age of many new materials for garments—for example, elastic was invented in the 1820's, and galoshes made of rubber, rather than leather, began to be used for protective purposes a decade later. This factor, together with a growing interest in hygiene and safety and the relative affluence of the twentieth century speeded development of efficient work clothing. On the other hand, class consciousness and fear of ridicule by fellow workers still perpetuate what the authors call "the rationale of irrational clothes" for workers.

University of South Carolina

GEORGE CURRY

ENGLAND UNDER THE YORKISTS AND TUDORS, 1471-1603. By *P. J. Helm*. (New York: Humanities Press, 1968. Pp. xi, 372. \$5.50.)

At the outset, Helm states that he intends "to keep narrative as such to a minimum"; he does so by encapsulating events into two or three pages at the start of each chapter, and so his history is one without story. Instead, the organization is segmentary, and he concentrates on the "main problems." These are conventional: Henry VII's restoration of regal power, Henry VIII's male heir and his divorces, the monasteries and money, Mary's Roman restoration, the Anglican settlement, and the Armada. The book is encyclopedic in character

and is a masterful synthesis of Tudor specialists' current conclusions. A terse prose enabled Helm to compress into 362 pages a maximum of doings, dates (Praise be!), data, and statistics, along with many quotations from the sources both in the text and appended to each chapter. How good that he gives more space and stress than usual to economic and financial matters; these sections cover not just government deficits and debased currency, but entrepreneurial capitalism, private profit, and the making of fortunes "out of the new world of finance" like the £100,000 Palavicino left at "his death in 1600" (Or was it, as the author later states, 1610?). Elsewhere excellent epitomes of recent writings, as of Neale's three volumes on Parliament, are done with dexterity.

Helm is, moreover, fair and judicious on controversial issues, but this at times results in an indecisive neutralism. He quotes a full page of Creighton's eulogistic and imaginative estimate of Wolsey in order to counterbalance the modern historical depiction of the cardinal "as a disappointing figure." As for his disciple, Thomas Cromwell, Helm adheres to the Eltonian aberration that substitutes Cromwell for Henry Tudor as the ruler during the 1530's, the one decade in all English history (except, perhaps, during Henry II's reign) when the king's personality determined England's destiny. After packing Henry VIII off to bed with his wives, Helm follows Elton's Cromwellocentric conclusions. Cromwell, admittedly, administered the realm, but Helm forgets that the motivation—the desires and demands, the ideas and the will power—was the King's. A British penchant for administrative history may explain this distortion, and at times Helm seems to see Tudor history from the constricted viewpoint of the bureaucrat rather than through the eyes of Elizabeth and Essex. Hence, the heroic and the dramatic give way to analyses of institutions, facts, and figures; even an admirable chapter on arts and letters is more taxonomic than aesthetic. Also, the "Tudor political thought," which Helm summarizes, is largely orthodox political theology drawn from academic tracts, and, though he quotes James Morice and Richard Hooker to show "the Crown under the Law," he fails to notice their recognition of the rule of law as a fundamental principle of governance. Such points that Helm fails to make give the book an unripened look, but to ask a young historian for original and imaginative interpretations is unfair. Helm need not, however, have missed several points: the 1539 Act of Proclamations was intended to supplement, not to supersede statute law, and to provide "speedy remedies" and due process in emergencies and only until "an ordinary law should be provided, by . . . parliament." Also, the legality in England of Mary's Roman Catholic restoration depended upon neither canon nor divine but rather upon statute law, and he might have noted Elizabeth's skillful use of patronage (rewards and favors) and "the arts of persuasion and manipulation," those precursors of Georgian influence and management. Helm's historiographical knowledge of Tudor England is impressive and yet insular. Only one continental scholar, a Frenchman, "L. Cohen," is cited, and only one professor in North America, "L. Stone," makes the index. Far worse, the writings and ideas of Americans like Hexter and MacCaffrey, L. B. Smith and L. B. Wright, and others are ignored.

Yale University

WILLIAM H. DUNHAM, JR.

THE HERBERTS OF WILTON. By *Tresham Lever*. (New York: Hillary House. 1967. Pp. xiv, 270. \$8.00.)

THE Herberts, earls of Pembroke and Montgomery, have been one of the foremost English aristocratic families since the sixteenth century, although they have never played a part in national affairs comparable to that of the Russells, Cavendishes, or Cecils. Their principal seat, Wilton, with its "Cube and Double Cube" rooms by Inigo Jones and John Webb, its Van Dycks and other art collections, and its famous Palladian bridge, is among the best-known and most admired houses in the country. Sir Tresham Lever, previously the author of a biography of Godolphin and a "group biography" of the Pitt family, has now written a disappointing account of the more eminent members of the family from William Herbert, its Tudor founder, to Sidney Herbert, the friend and associate of Florence Nightingale. His brief biographical sketches, drawn almost entirely from familiar sources, add very little to what is already well known about their subjects.

It is regrettable that he does not provide any deeper insight into their characters since most of them were all too typical of the least admirable qualities of their times. The first Earl was one of the most notorious Tudor timeservers; he was involved in every major conspiracy, but he managed, by astute changes of position, to augment his wealth under every sovereign and minister from Henry VIII and Cromwell to Elizabeth and Cecil. The fifth Earl, an ignorant and stupid man, notoriously drunken and profane but a prime favorite of Charles I, deserted his master during the Civil Wars and became a prominent "front" for the Parliamentarians for no discernible motive except picking the winning side to preserve his estates. The seventh Earl (1653-1683) was repeatedly indicted for murder committed in drunken rages, but he always escaped punishment because of his rank. The tenth Earl, whose career as a feckless rake and wastrel was revealed in two entertaining volumes of his, his wife's, and his mistresses' correspondence published by the present (sixteenth) Earl a few years ago, was perhaps the most ineffective eighteenth-century peer, although much more agreeable than his ancestors. Lever admires them too much and too uncritically to bring out any of these characteristics, except for the seventh Earl, "the most violent homicide of his age."

The book contains very little information on the history of Wilton House and its contents, or on the grounds. The political activities of the family, local and national, receive inadequate treatment. Most serious of all, there is no discussion of the accumulation and management of the family's estates and fortune, the sole source of their long pre-eminence. As a result, *The Herberts of Wilton* is only a pleasant and readable collection of familiar anecdotes and brief personal biographies of some well-known members of an aristocratic family over the past four hundred years. It is not, however, family history as it should and can be written to illuminate the course of English social, economic, and political history.

A CALENDAR OF LETTERS RELATING TO NORTH WALES, 1533-CIRCA 1700: FROM THE LLANFAIR-BRYNODOL, GLODDAETH, CROSSE OF SHAW HILL AND RHUAL COLLECTIONS IN THE NATIONAL LIBRARY OF WALES. Edited by *B. E. Howells*. [Board of Celtic Studies, University of Wales. History and Law Series, Number 23.] (Cardiff: University of Wales Press. 1967. Pp. x, 287, 5 tables. 50s.)

CALENDAR OF THE RECORDS OF THE BOROUGH OF HAVERFORDWEST, 1539-1660. Edited by *B. G. Charles*. [Board of Celtic Studies, University of Wales. History and Law Series, Number 24.] (Cardiff: University of Wales Press. 1967. Pp. viii, 274. 55s.)

FAMILY muniments, great sessions and quarter sessions records, and borough and parish records form the five main groups of archives produced, as it were, on the ground in Wales during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. These volumes present valuable and important material drawn from two of these groups. Family muniments as a rule contain a vast number of deeds, mortgages, and other legal documents; letters are by no means so numerously preserved. Hence the decision to publish a calendar of letters extracted from the muniments of four different gentry families in North Wales was in itself justified and has been amply justified by the manner of its execution. Save for a few dating from the sixteenth century, the letters calendared by Mr. Howells relate to the seventeenth century and are particularly good for the period of the Civil War and Commonwealth. The Gloddaeth letters considerably illuminate the organization of a county militia in the years immediately following the Restoration; the Rhual letters will be of interest to the student of early Nonconformity. Most of these letters, however, relate to the private affairs of the families concerned and of their correspondents; they provide a wealth of evidence illustrating the life of the Welsh gentry under the Stuarts.

The Haverfordwest volume deals with a different section of Welsh society during this period. Wales under the Tudors and Stuarts had few towns, and these were very small. Haverfordwest, probably the most flourishing of them, also had the distinction of being the only county borough in the principality. Its records have been well preserved, though relatively few are extant from the sixteenth century. The Haverfordwest officials kept letters as well as more formal records, orders, deeds, and accounts with their archives, and these, as calendared by Dr. Charles, contain a wide range of detailed information relating to the business of municipal administration and to the social and economic life of the borough. Of particular interest are the documents dealing with the town's affairs in time of trouble, during the Civil War and during the plague of 1652. In an appendix Charles has included a valuable run of borough accounts dating from 1563 to 1600. Equipped with admirably pertinent and useful introductions and edited with impressive care and skill, both calendars form a most welcome addition to the printed sources available for the study of the history of Wales, particularly its social and economic aspects, in the early modern period.

University College of Wales, Aberystwyth

W. O. WILLIAMS

DORSET ELIZABETHANS: AT HOME AND ABROAD. By *Rachel Lloyd*. (New York: Hillary House. 1967. Pp. xviii, 332. \$8.50.)

As the title suggests, *Dorset Elizabethans* is not a history of Elizabethan Dorset, but rather a study of prominent local personalities and events. Rachel Lloyd has sought to capture the drama and adventure of the Elizabethan Age and to illustrate well-known historical themes with Dorset examples. Her Dorset men were bold and courageous; they also practiced violence and freely defied the laws of the land when it suited their personal whims. Elizabethan society was ordered only in theory, for in the daily routine of life there was a harsh struggle for survival in which every man had to shift for himself. Notorious as a haven for pirates and smugglers, Dorset also contained a motley collection of corrupt and inefficient officials who were partners in crime. The county teemed with Catholic gentry—the Arundells, Turbervilles, and Tregonwells—who heeded the Queen's religious laws as little as the pirates respected the laws of the sea. Perhaps the most interesting native son was George Turberville of Shapwick, translator and poet. A Catholic loyal to the Queen, he survived both an attempted murder (during which he dealt a fatal blow to his attacker) and a visit to the court of Ivan the Terrible in Moscow.

Although based on extensive research, this book is disappointing because it never probes deeply into the social fabric of the county. Lloyd is content to tell a good tale and emphasize the superficial drama of the age. She begins with the romantic assumption that the Elizabethan period was grand and glorious and merely supplies the details from her county that support this conclusion. The final chapter on "The Atheism of Sir Walter Raleigh" is really a miniature biography of a man who was scarcely a local personality, and it digresses in a truly extraordinary fashion. Some generalizations are dangerously misleading; for example, there are rather trite references to the "typical" Renaissance man. The book is cluttered with complicated genealogies and abounds in tedious antiquarian detail. Readers who live beyond the boundaries of Dorset and want a helpful guide to the county will not receive a very hearty welcome; a writer who insists that "one must visit the little church of St. Peter the Apostle at Church Knowle in Purbeck" to appreciate John Clavell, father of Sir William, agent of the Lord President of Ireland in 1598, is a poor host indeed. Parochialism has always been the curse of local history, but in a period when some of the best historical scholarship is being done in this field, it is particularly to be regretted that the author failed to rise to the challenge of her subject.

Kent State University

BARRETT L. BEER

FRANCIS BACON: FROM MAGIC TO SCIENCE. By *Paolo Rossi*. Translated by *Sacha Rabinovitch*. ([Chicago:] University of Chicago Press. 1968. Pp. xvii, 280. \$5.95.)

THIS 1957 book is worthy of translation and will be welcomed by Baconian scholars and by students of early modern science or general intellectual history. It is an intellectual biography in the sense that it traces the origins and the develop-

ment of Bacon's significant thought. Rossi has successfully demonstrated the extent to which Bacon was a product of his past, the degree to which he was influenced by his own age, and the ways in which he broke with both.

Rossi's work demonstrates that Bacon lived in the web of magic, superstition, and the alchemical tradition of his age and that he found it impossible to escape. At the same time, he stalked Aristotle's ghost, recognized the scientific influence of the mechanical arts, bent his efforts toward changing man's attitude toward nature, and assisted in ushering in a more modern age. Any reader will better understand Bacon's method and his utilitarian view of nature after completing this work: science is to benefit mankind; it extends the limits of man's power over nature; there are, however, limits.

Bacon does not emerge as a hero; this is an honest appraisal. Rossi does not dwell long on the naïve or the absurd in Bacon, but he clearly indicates that here is not the inventor of the inductive method. It is made evident that Bacon was hardly a mathematician, and he was, therefore, not completely in tune with the emphases that produced Galileo and Newton. Mathematics was the alphabet of nature for Galileo, but for Bacon the alphabet was, as Rossi makes clear, the irreducible qualities of a perceptible substance. Rossi is a bit too charitable in referring to Bacon's "uncertain views on mathematics."

Rossi overemphasizes somewhat the sterility of the universities of the Baconian age. Sophistry, affectation, and dry academicism were to be found in abundance, and it is true that the Elizabethan Statutes of 1570 reveal little else. But the lives of professors and students make it clear that the other side of the coin was often quite different.

Excellent footnotes with a full bibliography accompany the work. Unfortunately, they follow the last chapter, making their use disruptive and inconvenient. This is not a book for beginners, who will be unfamiliar with the names and ideas of the age. Those who are already at home in the seventeenth century will be grateful to the author and the translator.

University of Missouri, St. Louis

GLEN R. DRISCOLL

CHARLES MIDDLETON: THE LIFE AND TIMES OF A RESTORATION POLITICIAN. By *George Hilton Jones*. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 1967. Pp. 332. \$10.00.)

MIDDLETON's youth, traced through estate documents and casual references by contemporaries, was not unlike that of many Restoration courtiers: in the train of the ambassador to France, volunteer at Sole Bay, service in the army, second to Mulgrave in three duels. In 1680, for parliamentary purposes, Charles II made a gesture toward an alliance against France, and Middleton was sent as envoy extraordinary to Emperor Leopold I. His first important appointment was in 1682, as joint secretary in Scotland. In 1684 he became English Secretary of State (Northern Department), a post he retained until James II's flight.

Forty volumes of Middleton papers, acquired by the British Museum in 1929, illuminate every side of the secretaryship during his tenure. The general picture of English policy is not notably altered, as the major theme, relations with Louis XIV, was the responsibility of Sunderland. Middleton was concerned with

routine issues: disputes with the Dutch in Bantam; the choice of a successor to the Elector of Cologne; rivalry between Brunswick and Denmark over Hamburg; pursuit of political fugitives in Holland.

On the domestic side, Middleton's Protestantism excused him from participation in the King's more flagrant pro-Catholic schemes, but as a leader of the court party he labored to gain parliamentary approval for royal policy. He signed the order for the arrest of the Seven Bishops, but took part in last-minute efforts to reconcile the Anglicans. The lack of any considerable body of private writings by Middleton makes this part of his life difficult to reconstruct in a completely satisfactory way, but the author has gone much farther than previous writers, content for the most part to quote passages from James II's memoirs or anecdotes from Burnet. Middleton was pliant, but his Protestantism was clearly a significant asset, and it is asserted that his deposition as to the birth of the Prince of Wales was weighty. This is undoubtedly true, for the Brandenburg envoy reported that his testimony and that of one other had the greatest effect because of their standing in the nation.

The summary of the tasks of the secretaryship is a contribution although there is no reference to Peter Fraser's *The Intelligence of the Secretaries of State & Their Monopoly of Licensed News, 1660-1688* (1956). Nor, while Middleton was a member of James's cabinet, is there any consecutive account of this body, which is the more regrettable because that institution is only dimly portrayed by constitutional historians, none of whom apparently had access to the Middleton Papers.

In 1693 Middleton joined James II in France, was converted to Catholicism, and lived abroad until his death in 1719. This section of the book is quite full and presents a clear picture of the troubles that dogged Jacobitism in its early phases.

In summary, a mass of manuscript and printed evidence is here used to present a full account of a statesman of the second rank.

Vanderbilt University

P. H. HARDACRE

POLITICS OF COLONIAL POLICY: THE BOARD OF TRADE IN COLONIAL ADMINISTRATION, 1696-1720. By I. K. Steele. (New York: Oxford University Press. 1968. Pp. xvi, 217. \$6.75.)

IN undertaking a study in a rather well-worked field, I. K. Steele seeks to give it new significance by two devices. Believing that earlier writers have placed "undue emphasis" on the Board of Trade as a "bureaucratic institution," he prefers, as he explains in the introduction, to view it as a "changing group of individuals" with particular political connections and consequently more or less influence with the centers of power. And, without actually announcing this plan, he selects a comparatively few projects of the board for testing his theory that "the Board's influence, much more than its policy, was bound to politics."

This is not, therefore, a work in general colonial administration. And, among the topics treated in some depth, only the resumption of colonial charters and the settlement of the Palatines in New York were in the strictest sense colonial

policies. Other major topics were in the field of trade or diplomacy and related to the colonies only indirectly. This study, therefore, differs from the usual, broader treatment of the subject.

For several reasons Steele's thesis is difficult to sustain. The political picture of the times, if one thinks in terms of parties, as he does, is confused. Members of the board were subject to political patronage; yet changes in the ministry did not necessarily result in a complete change in the board's membership. And while Steele sometimes finds it possible to discover the influence of individuals, he must often refer to the board as a whole.

Though not all the projects emphasized in this discussion attracted political support, most of them illustrate the author's theory in one way or another. Projects might succeed because of general approval, as was the case with the war on piracy, or fail because there was political apathy, as Steele seems to think was the case with the attack on the charters. The history of attempts to reorganize the Royal African Company, on the other hand, fits Steele's theory in a positive way. He is able to show how the fortunes of these attempts followed changes in the ministry. Politics was also apparent in the dwindling support for the Palatine settlement in New York.

The extensive and painstaking research, especially in manuscript sources, ranging from the better-known papers in the Public Record Office and the British Museum through less used records in private libraries both in this country and in England, is particularly notable for the many personal details unearthed. Considering the difficulties inherent in the subject as Steele has defined it, he has handled the problems of selection, organization, and presentation with considerable ability.

Statements of fact seem generally reliable. Unfortunately Steele repeats the error, long ago corrected by Curtis P. Nettels, that the Board of Trade took heed of Northey's warning and made the coinage proclamation of 1704 and the later statute conform to the rates fixed in the Massachusetts act of 1697. As contrasted with the author's special field of competence, impressions of the general administrative background too often lack authenticity.

Those familiar with the period can make allowances where allowances are necessary, and at the same time give credit for a challenging attempt to treat the Board of Trade in a somewhat unconventional manner.

Wilson College

DORA MAE CLARK

MAN VERSUS SOCIETY IN EIGHTEENTH-CENTURY BRITAIN: SIX POINTS OF VIEW. By J. H. Plumb *et al.* Edited by James L. Clifford. (New York: Cambridge University Press. 1968. Pp. viii, 174. \$6.00.)

THE six papers contained in this volume were originally given at a symposium sponsored by the Conference on British Studies at the University of Delaware and the Henry Francis du Pont Winterthur Museum in October 1966. Their aim is to re-examine the generalized conceptions of the period conveyed by such labels as "The Age of Reason" and to discuss what opportunities for self-realization eighteenth-century England (despite its title, Scotland and Wales are largely ignored) gave to the individual. For this purpose each essay deals with a particular

aspect of the age. J. H. Plumb writes on "Political Man," Jacob Viner on "Man's Economic Status," C. R. Cragg on "The Churchman," Rudolf Wittkower on "The Artist," Paul Henry Lang on "The Composer," Bertrand H. Bronson on "The Writer," and James L. Clifford concludes with a summary of the commentaries that followed each contribution. The essays, therefore, fall into two groups, the first dealing with the wider categories of political, economic, and religious activity, the second and narrower with the more personal world of the artist, composer, and writer, to whom self-realization is essential.

In so brief a review it is only possible to indicate the general approach of each writer. Plumb, in a lucid exposition, points out the many ways in which men could engage in meaningful political activities despite the narrowness of the franchise and that this and the oligarchical system of government were much less frustrating than is often supposed. Viner, after considering briefly the English dislike of central government and executive power, by concentrating on what he describes as "The State and Society versus the labouring poor" between 1688 and 1770, gives, it seemed to me, too limited a picture of the economic possibilities available to many Englishmen for material advancement. Cragg's contribution, apart from some attempt to fit the Methodists and evangelicals into his assessment, is more descriptive of the Anglicans' involvement in English political and social life than analytical of the opportunities churchmen enjoyed for religious self-realization. The last three papers have more underlying unity in so far as artist, composer, and writer all had to adjust to a changing society. Wittkower shows the artist as fighting for and, to some extent, with the founding of the Royal Academy, securing an improved social status. Lang stresses the limitations that English indifference to Italian opera placed on native composers. Bronson, in an interesting and perceptive paper, traces the way in which writers came to terms with the impersonal readers created by the printing press through the medium of the novel.

Though this collection is unlikely to bring a blinding flash of fresh illumination to anyone familiar with recent research in these fields, it should be useful to those readers who want to bring their interpretation of the period up to date, or to increase their understanding of some unfamiliar aspect. With most of its contents students of the period will basically agree.

Kendal, Westmorland

DOROTHY MARSHALL

THE CORRESPONDENCE OF JEREMY BENTHAM. Volume I, 1752-76; Volume II, 1777-80. Edited by *Timothy L. S. Sprigge*. [The Collected Works of Jeremy Bentham.] ([London:] University of London, Athlone Press; distrib. by Oxford University Press, New York. 1968. Pp. xli, 383; xiv, 542. \$26.90 the set.)

HERE is a major publishing event: the first two volumes of an eventual thirty-eight in the first collected edition of Bentham since 1843. It is a monumental job that demands the highest skill and courage of a battery of experts, for no single scholar, no matter how brilliantly learned and diligent, could possibly hope to master the many areas of knowledge that Bentham so effortlessly penetrated and so profusely scribbled about. Bowring, his executor, tried it, and it is his

execrable effort of 1843 that students have had to use. His edition is slipshod, uses faulty texts, has no discernible form or standards of scholarly editing, is overshadowed by Mrs. Grundy and so leaves out, for example, all of Bentham's religious and sexual writings.

This great, important new edition seeks to correct all these faults. It aims to be "comprehensive in scope as well as definitive in text." In the event this may prove to be impossible, for Bentham often left his texts in such confusion, it may well be beyond human sagacity to straighten them out. But whatever the editors can do, they will be sure to do, for the project is in the hands of a large corps of dedicated experts, headed by Professor J. H. Burns as general editor. The first two volumes of letters have been edited by Timothy L. S. Sprigge of the University of Sussex under the general supervision of the Bentham Committee, with financial help from the Rockefeller Foundation, the Pilgrim Trust, and the British Academy.

The current working plan calls roughly for ten divisions: correspondence, principles of legislation, penology and criminal law, civil law, constitutional law, political writings, judicial procedure, economics and society, philosophy and education, and religion and the church.

For the general venture there can be nothing but praise and gratitude. Thousands of formerly harassed nineteenth-century and British historians, political scientists, lawyers, and philosophers will now have ready access to one of the most prolific, most neglected (because buried, being either out of print or unpublished), yet most profound minds in the history of Western civilization.

But for these first two volumes of early letters, there must be some misgivings. They are very dry. One wishes that the series could have begun with a bang, but, rather, it begins with a pedantic whimper. These early letters cover the years 1752, when Bentham was four, to 1780, when he was thirty-two and in the midst of writing his magnum opus, *An Introduction to the Principles of Morals and Legislation*. It is no one's fault; the letters are simply not very interesting. There is much evidence that Bentham spoke half the night long about his ideas with enthusiastic friends and disciples like John Lind, George Wilson, and his younger brother Sam. But he did not write about them, and in the whole two volumes there are no more than half a dozen at most that touch upon them or are in any way significantly revealing. The Benthames were staunchly middle class, lawyers by training but property-owning *rentiers* by profession; most of the correspondence is made up of references to dozens of obscure people and events connected with their social habits and status that is of little or no general interest now. Poor Sprigge has worked very hard to unravel the long chains of unknown names, but often he can do no more than barely identify them as "clergyman" or "barrister." Not much light has been cast, and the sad fact is that it does not matter very much.

Connecticut College

MARY PETER MACK

THE CHATHAMITES: A STUDY IN THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN PERSONALITIES AND IDEAS IN THE SECOND HALF OF THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY. By *Peter Brown*. (New York: St. Martin's Press. 1967. Pp. xv, 516. \$15.00.)

ALTHOUGH this book falls short of its purpose, it is both interesting and useful. The principal contribution lies in the biographical analyses of five men who were associated, at least to a certain degree, with the Elder Pitt and the Earl of Shelburne. Of relatively minor stature when measured against their two eminent leaders, they nonetheless contributed something above and beyond the ordinary to the political and intellectual fabric of life during the first half of the reign of George III.

Richard Price, a leading dissenting divine, left his mark not only on religious thought, but on economics—he was a founder of life insurance—and politics, supporting greater religious toleration and the American and French Revolutions. Colonel Isaac Barré, whose identification with the underprivileged reflected his own utter dependence on Shelburne, championed the separate causes of Wilkes, America, and parliamentary reform. John Dunning, first Lord Ashburton, who, with Barré, represented Shelburne's parliamentary interests, gained eminence as a barrister with a special predilection for cases of constitutional importance and gave yeoman service in behalf of political reform and the curtailment of royal influence. (The peerage and pension of four thousand pounds per year granted him by the Rockingham Whigs in 1782 as a substitute for the woosack placed him in an at least equivocal position.) Wealthy and liberal Bishop Shipley of St. Asaph befriended Benjamin Franklin and his compatriots and spoke out in behalf of wider toleration for Dissenters, blatantly using his influence, both temporal and spiritual, to pursue his ends. Christianity was for Shipley "the most public spirited religion; the most beneficial to states and kingdoms, as well as individuals, which has ever yet appeared upon earth." The versatile Sir William Jones, Shipley's son-in-law and Oxford don, Orientalist, barrister, political reformer, and judge (thanks to Shelburne and Dunning) of the Supreme Court at Calcutta, won high acclaim in the literary and academic fields.

The group shared with Pitt and Shelburne the liberal point of view about several important matters: accommodation with America before the Revolution and friendship with the new republic afterward; parliamentary, fiscal, and administrative reform; constitutional liberty for all British subjects; and the strict limitation of royal patronage. These ideas, which were not monopolized by Chathamites, remained generally unrealized. The reasons are simple: Pitt and Shelburne despised "party," or, as they would have it—"faction." They and their few friends accordingly stood outside the mainstream of British political life. Inevitably, then, and Mr. Brown does not seem sufficiently to recognize the implication, the Chathamites had to depend upon the crown itself, the inner logic of Pitt's refrain, "Measures, not men." They foreshadowed not a new radicalism in British politics, but a new Tory party that would one day coalesce under the leadership of Chatham's younger son.

It is regrettable that Brown chose to omit Charles Pratt, Lord Camden, since without him the term "Chathamite" has but an attenuated meaning. Finally, the book contains defects in style that ought to be corrected before the promised biography of Chatham, one of the greatest stylists of them all, sees the light of day.

THE WHIG PARTY AND THE FRENCH REVOLUTION. By F. O'Gorman. (New York: St. Martin's Press. 1967. Pp. xv, 270. \$9.00.)

For the specialist in the reign of George III, Dr. O'Gorman provides a detailed and well-documented account, complete with four appendixes, a bibliography, and an index, of the decade from 1784, when William Pitt the Younger took over the government from the ill-fated coalition of Fox and North, until the disruption of the Whig opposition of the 1780's and the official association of its titular leader, the Earl of Portland, with the ministry in 1794. Many things besides the outbreak of war with revolutionary France early in 1793 brought about the Whig debacle. The more conservative Whigs were often only remotely interested in parliamentary reform, the abolition of the slave trade, and the removal of the disabilities of Nonconformists in England and Catholics in Ireland, causes dear to the hearts of Fox, Grey, and Sheridan. To differences on such matters was added, after 1789, a fundamentally dissimilar interpretation of the significance and direction of upheavals in France. In the country at large were to be found passionate protagonists both of the *ancien régime* and of the rights of man, but O'Gorman makes clear the gradualness of overt separation of Fox and Burke. To Burke's discontent with Whiggish indifference to his impeachment of Warren Hastings was added his distrust of developments across the Channel, and his progress from suspicion to horror may be traced in the *Reflections* of 1790 and the mounting hysteria of the *Appeal* of 1791. From this to his departure from the party and his support of the war as an ideological struggle against the forces of evil was but a short step.

Fox, on the other hand, though disclaiming all faith in universal suffrage and democracy, could not conceal his admiration for much that was achieved in France; his understanding of the principles of 1688 and of Whiggish sympathy for America in 1776 was basically contrary to that of Burke as well as to that of many of his countrymen. Fox regarded anarchy as temporary, despotism as lasting, and he feared that opposition to France, even during times of its worst excesses, might bring about a general repression of liberty that might be hard to reverse when the war was over.

Fox, moreover, when Burke had discarded any principle that might impede the war effort, maintained a belief in party as "by far the best system, if not the only one for supporting the cause of liberty."

The Whigs before the breakup had, in the 1780's, begun to develop institutional coherence and ideological unity in a concept of party far removed from that of the old aristocratic connections. When Portland decided to join Pitt in 1794, the Foxites continued in that direction and retained the services of the remarkable William Adams, earlier their Whip, still their controller of funds for political expenses and organizer of clubs and associations. They were in the wilderness a long while, but eventually theirs was to become the dominant political creed both in the extension of the rights of man doctrine and removal of discriminatory laws, and also in the development of the modern party system. To those interested in this aspect of democratic government, O'Gorman's book, though it makes few concessions to the nonspecialist, must be regarded as required reading.

Bryn Mawr College

CAROLINE ROBBINS

SCIENTIFIC SOLDIER: A LIFE OF GENERAL LE MARCHANT, 1766-1812. By R. H. Thoumine. (New York: Oxford University Press. 1968. Pp. viii, 212. \$6.10.)

THE French Revolution reshaped warfare almost as much as it altered government and society. Outside France, thoughtful soldiers tried to find effective responses to revolutionary military change. John Gaspard Le Marchant was one of those soldiers, and his career as a military reformer was played out in the relatively unyielding environment of British society and military life. Richard Glover's *Peninsular Preparation* directed attention to Le Marchant's importance, and now R. H. Thoumine has written a complete, though brief, biography based on Le Marchant's papers.

Born in France, but connected to Britain through Guernsey and his father's service in the British Army during the Seven Years' War, Le Marchant was moderately wealthy and had a few influential friends. His reformism was in part an aspect of the driving ambition of a man from the periphery determined to get to the top. After service with the Duke of York in the notorious campaign of 1793-1794, he found the support needed first to reform cavalry training and then to organize a school for cadets and staff officers. For a decade he was the acting director of what would become Sandhurst and the Staff College. Called to command a cavalry brigade under Wellington, he was killed at Salamanca in 1812 while leading a brilliant and decisive charge.

Unlike Peter Paret's study of Yorck von Wartenberg, a Prussian military reformer comparable in certain respects to Le Marchant in Britain, Thoumine's work keeps the man himself steadily in focus, sketching rather than exploring his milieu. Tidiness and brevity are thus achieved, but at a price that many historians, interested in more than one man and the origins of Sandhurst, will find too high. Opportunities are missed: Le Marchant climbed within the social system but it obstructed his plan to professionalize the officer corps; he sought to meet the challenge of a "new type of warfare," but David Dundas, who epitomized the old type, was an apparently sympathetic colleague. We would like to have these and similar problems recognized and analyzed in what would be a longer, more discursive book.

Yet it must be said that Thoumine has written his own kind of book very well. He deals with people and places deftly and economically; the personality of Le Marchant, a truly impressive man, comes through clearly; the brief accounts of the two campaigns, in Flanders and Spain, are especially good. In contrast to many military biographies, the book understands the technical minutiae of its subject's day-to-day life. Within its scope, *Scientific Soldier* is a sensitive, intelligent book that will inform and guide further study of the French Revolution in warfare.

University of Michigan

JOHN SHY

BRITISH LAND POLICY AT THE CAPE, 1795-1844: A STUDY OF ADMINISTRATIVE PROCEDURES IN THE EMPIRE. By Leslie Clement Duly. [Duke Historical Publications.] (Durham, N. C.: Duke University Press. 1968. Pp. xix, 226. \$8.00.)

BRITISH land policy has received some admiring attention from historians of southern Africa, particularly land reservation as a device for protecting indigenous peoples from the expropriating expansion of white settlers. It has not been clear before how late in the nineteenth century it became possible for a southern African government to enforce a policy of reservation. Mr. Duly shows how slowly British policy makers developed the means to define the internal frontiers on which individual title and protected communal ownership depended, how the inability to define and enforce a land policy was an index of a fundamental weakness of government, and how the nature of Cape society before the mineral discoveries and the final partition of southern Africa made effective government almost impossible. As a despairing Lord Glenelg wrote of the Trekkers in 1837, "Richer pastures, more numerous herds and a wider range of territory, opportunities of uncontrolled self-indulgence and freedom from the restraints of law and settled society, are it would appear in all countries irresistible temptations to the inhabitants of the Borderlands of civilisation." While there was land they could move into, Boers on the frontier were virtually ungovernable, and colonial administration was denied a major source of revenue. Duly suggests, however, that an effective land policy, particularly in the prompt issue of title, might have encouraged the Trekboer to settle down and identify himself with his government.

British governors inherited a complex mass of tenures from the Dutch, adding new tenures, quitrent and then freehold, without establishing agreed units of measurement and a qualified, properly controlled corps of surveyors. From 1806 to 1814, uncertainty about the future delayed the enunciation of new policy; later, persistent administrative weakness prevented the implementation of such policy as there was. No geodetic survey of the colony was undertaken before 1876, titles applied for were not issued, beacons were moved by land-owners, surveys had frequently to be done again at government expense, and arrears in rents accumulated, never to be collected.

Duly has handled a difficult subject with skill. He shows clearly the strength of anti-Boer feeling in London and the inability of government to deal with land alienation even within the settled area, let alone on the frontier, to implement an imperial Wakefieldian policy that would stimulate British settlement, or to protect indigenous peoples. Two criticisms can, however, be made: first, there should have been a discussion of the general problem of raising revenue. Much of the material suggests that officials in Cape Town, no doubt under nagging from London, were searching for a way to meet the demands of budgetary autonomy. It is not clear from this work how land revenue fluctuated both in amount and in proportion of total revenue, or how demands for reform were related to the size of the deficit. Secondly, Duly shows that policies, apparently successful in Australasia and America, were not tried in Cape Colony. This happened, he argues, because British statesmen underestimated the economic potential of the colony. Might it not also have been due to the poverty of the country when compared with the other settlement areas? The obstacles to successful farming were more serious than poor surveying and uncertain title. A more extended discussion of the factors affecting immigration would have been valuable.

BRITAIN AND THE PERSIAN GULF, 1795-1880. By J. B. Kelly. (New York: Oxford University Press. 1968. Pp. xiv, 911. \$33.60.)

RECENTLY there have appeared a number of books that touch on the Persian Gulf area in modern times, among them Bayly Winder on Saudi Arabia, Robert Landen on Oman, Firuz Kazemzadeh on Russia and Britain in Iran, Briton Busch on Britain in the Persian Gulf, 1894-1914, and G. S. Graham on Britain in the Indian Ocean, 1810-1850. Now comes Kelly's nearly a half-million words on British policy and actions in the Gulf region from the Napoleonic period, when both Muscat and Iran felt the Anglo-French competition, down to the "exclusive agreements" concluded by Britain with Bahrein and other states. Unlike Kelly's *Eastern Arabian Frontiers* (1964), this book has no particular ax to grind, although it ends with a tribute to "the exertions and sacrifices of the men who brought peace, justice, and the rule of law to the Gulf in the nineteenth century, and in so doing wrote one of the most honourable pages in the history of the British Empire." Kelly is critical of various aspects of British policy and of some British officials. He is probably severest with Lewis Pelly. His hero is clearly Samuel Hennell, the Resident in the Gulf whose initiation of the maritime truce among warring Gulf sheiks was a stroke of genius.

After an introduction to the geography, economy, and politics of the Gulf in the late eighteenth century, the book proceeds almost chronologically. Topics that receive extensive treatment are the fluctuating Wahhabi power as it impinged on the Gulf coast, piracy and naval warfare and the British efforts to curb them, the expansion of Mehemet Ali of Egypt to the Gulf, Chesney's explorations of the Euphrates route, the Persian attacks on Herat, the construction of the tracial system, the suppression of the slave trade, the Anglo-Persian war of 1856-1857, the separation of Masqat and Zanzibar, and Ottoman expansion in the Gulf area, starting with the conquest of El Hasa in 1871. Throughout run the themes of British policy: safeguarding India, protecting commerce, and trying to do this without too much involvement on land or interference in local affairs.

Kelly has worked extensively in the India Office and Foreign Office records and in other collections, all detailed in the careful notes and bibliography. He has not attempted to use the French or Ottoman archives where they would be appropriate; one Arab chronicle, Ibn Bishr, is mentioned in footnotes. It is a British-centered account, but generally a fair one, packed with information and destined to become a standard reference work. Unfortunately for such a massive tome, there is no detailed table of contents, the running heads do not indicate topics on the individual page, few chapters have summary introductions or conclusions, and the book itself has neither. The index, which is fairly full, will be the scholar's best guide. There are two useful maps.

George Washington University

RODERIC H. DAVISON

GREAT BRITAIN IN THE INDIAN OCEAN: A STUDY OF MARITIME ENTERPRISE, 1810-1850. By Gerald S. Graham. (New York: Oxford University Press. 1967. Pp. xii, 479. \$12.00.)

If this book, despite its title, seems at first glance to lack a unifying theme, the impression is illusory. Closer inspection reveals that the author's chief, though

by no means exclusive, concern is the varied measures taken by Britain during the first half of the nineteenth century to secure the seaward approaches of its expanding commercial empire in India. This is a challenging subject, and Professor Graham, an experienced hand in naval history, makes the most of it. Theoretically, with the demise of Napoleonic France and the containment of Dutch imperialism by treaty, the establishment of a *Pax Britannica* throughout the Indian Ocean was far from visionary after 1814, given England's industrial and maritime primacy. But in practice, as Graham demonstrates at length, the task of policing the eastern seas, with their islands and marginal waters, involved a magnitude of power and a wisdom in applying it that Britain attained only by degrees, after decades of painful effort.

In the author's view, much frustration and downright failure in the record are attributable to the home government's penny-pinching mania for drastic cut-backs in the armed forces. One might object that no ministry in those times could possibly withstand the demand for maximum economy made by a nation hungering for peace and prosperity and bored with imperialistic rhetoric. Be that as it may, the Royal Navy constantly functioned in the Indian Ocean under conditions that impaired its capacity to promote the national interest. Suppression of the slave trade, a subject thoroughly covered in these pages, posed delicate problems for the Foreign Office since the traffic still bore an international stamp. But inevitably major responsibility was allocated to the Admiralty which, with its minuscule squadron on the "Eastern Station," conducted a ceaseless struggle against Arab slavers that swarmed off the African coast from Portuguese Mozambique to Zanzibar and Cape Guardafui.

Graham likewise devotes appropriate attention to piracy in the Persian Gulf, laying bare its astounding ramifications, on the one hand, and the devious course of British antipiratical operations, on the other, until Mehemet Ali's Arabian venture provoked decisive action by Palmerston. Interservice rivalries that handicapped British policy in Burma do not escape the author's critical pen, notably Lord Amherst's river war of 1824: an ill-planned, mismanaged amphibious campaign that cost over fifteen thousand lives. Ceylon's role is assessed in connection with the Admiralty's search for a base better situated for India's defense than either Bombay or Cape Town. In the final analysis Raffles' seizure of Singapore provided a capital solution, for it opened a new door to the China market and effectively secured Indian sea lanes from naval threats against the British raj.

College of William and Mary

BRUCE T. McCULLY

FINANCE, TRADE, AND POLITICS IN BRITISH FOREIGN POLICY, 1815-1914. By D. C. M. Platt. (New York: Oxford University Press, 1968. Pp. xl, 454. \$13.45.)

D. C. M. PLATT has filled in a "curious gap" in British historiography, the lack of any concerted and continuous examination of the role of government in relation to foreign investment and overseas trade in the century of British pre-eminence in these matters. British investors built up a net balance of twenty billion dollars abroad by 1913, as much as the foreign investment of all other

nations combined; while in world trade the British share in the early years constituted a third and at the end, after the immense growth in the trade of other countries, was still fully a sixth. Yet the part that government played in relation to these matters has been given only episodic attention, perhaps because the role was rather minimal except on a few special occasions which, Platt shows, have too often been given slanted or mistaken interpretation.

For Great Britain, the nineteenth century was the century of *laissez faire* in foreign investment as in trade, in bold contrast to the older mercantilism that had generally prevailed. The government exercised virtually no direct influence on the investment propensities of its nationals. London was a relatively free money market, as Jenks and Feis have pointed out for the earlier and later periods respectively, and government was no more disposed to intervene to protect individual interests than it was to promote them. If private investors chose the risk of foreign lending at higher interest than domestic finance would yield, successive Foreign Secretaries saw no reason why government should rescue them. Even before the heyday of *laissez faire* this was the prudent rule, and it survived with little modification when other governments felt less restricted in such matters. Exceptions were made at times in special strategic areas, such as in a government guarantee for a loan to Turkey during the Crimean War, and in such cases, or in intergovernmental contract debts, government did exert pressure on defaulting governments.

In matters of trade, the British official view always recognized that commerce was the lifeblood of the nation and that government should promote its extension wherever treaties were needed to that end. But in this postmercantilist era the terms should be equally available to other nations, and without special favor. The fact that British goods and British traders were without near rivals through most of this period certainly made it much easier to pursue this line which *laissez faire* doctrines confirmed and hallowed and which survived substantially well into the era of intense competition and increasing intervention by the other governments, or, as Platt suggests, until the 1930's. Officials should collect and disseminate trade information as quickly and efficiently as possible, and this work was markedly improved, but little more. Exceptions were in special areas such as China where departures were reluctantly and sparingly made after 1880 in the face of rival practice.

Platt has done a first-rate job toward closing the "curious gap." His research has been thorough in British official records, in memoirs, and in secondary works. His judgments are balanced, thoroughly documented, and written with the clarity, precision, and distinctions that the subject requires. The organization leads to some repetition in the close analysis of policy in the special areas—Egypt, Turkey, Persia, Africa, China and the Far East, and Latin America, together about 60 per cent of the text—which follows historical reviews of policy concerning foreign investment and trade. But these areas need special examination, and the repetition is not excessive. There are six line maps and useful appendixes, one of which reviews the developing governmental machinery for overseas trade. A particular word of commendation is due also for the excellent select bibliography and the index.

'PROSPERITY' ROBINSON: THE LIFE OF VISCOUNT GODERICH, 1782-1859. By *Wilbur Devereux Jones*. (New York: St. Martin's Press. 1967. Pp. x, 324. \$10.00.)

THE author has set himself the task of rehabilitating the reputation of the man who for a few brief, disastrous months after Canning's death was Prime Minister of Great Britain. Many forgotten figures in history are not worth rehabilitating. Lord Goderich is, and W. D. Jones has succeeded admirably. He shows that, far from being the weak, ineffectual personality usually portrayed, Goderich was a sensitive, intelligent, and constructive statesman. He would probably never have been a successful Prime Minister, but no one could have succeeded in the circumstances in which he actually failed. Goderich's great error was not made in office; it was in ever accepting office at all. He lacked the egotism and the highly developed sense of self-preservation necessary in a great political leader. He was much too loyal, much too patriotic, and had much too great a sense of duty for the position at the top of the greasy pole in the last months of 1827. Had he been a clever politician, he would have done as others did and left King and country to suffer the fruits of personal strife and party chaos, thus saving his own reputation. Instead, he loyally assumed an impossible task, received loyalty from no one in return, and inevitably brought all the consequences of bitter political division on his own head. This is the story Jones tells. He tells it well and with careful scholarship, and it carries conviction.

Because Goderich failed as Prime Minister, his importance elsewhere has never been fully appreciated. His greatest contributions were made at the Board of Trade and the Exchequer. Jones contends that Goderich ranks second to none in launching and carrying on the innovations that freed British trade of outdated restrictions and reformed the country's financial structure. Once again, the author's contentions carry conviction.

Biography as history is always a difficult task. It is particularly difficult in the case of Goderich whose career spanned so many years, so many offices, and so many titles. Jones warns at the beginning that he attempted to strike only the high points. Doubtless this was necessary, but one wishes that a little more care had been taken with the transitions. There are also places, particularly in the earlier part of the book, where Goderich could have been set more firmly in his historical background.

University of California, Riverside

R. W. DAVIS

MICHAEL FARADAY, A BIOGRAPHY. By *L. Pearce Williams*. (New York: Basic Books. [1965.] Pp. xvi, 531. \$12.50.)

MICHAEL Faraday was more, Professor Williams tells us, than an "arch-empiricist" and "kindly experimentalist" who laid the foundations on which others built classical and modern field theory. There are other biographies of Faraday, but with a promise of a new and up-to-date interpretation we can expect a book that will place Faraday, as Williams says, "more accurately in the mainstream of the history of science." The book does not wholly succeed in its mission.

When in 1825, at the age of thirty-four, Faraday became director of the

Laboratory of the Royal Institution, he had achieved a reputation as a result of his discoveries in chemistry and physics. The author's account of the source and formulation of Faraday's early ideas is satisfactory. The speculations as to the indirect effect of Kantian philosophy, although difficult to believe, are interesting in suggesting one possibility of nonscientific influence on theory.

The discovery of electromagnetic induction was Faraday's most important contribution. We are told that Faraday had in the process of his discovery invented the dynamo (incorrect unless one takes the formulation of the scientific theory as tantamount to making a successful invention), and after Maxwell had put Faraday's theory into mathematical form, it served as a basis for the study of electrical power generation. Williams neglects to say how important Faraday's theories were to the nineteenth century, preferring to impress the reader with Faraday's importance to twentieth-century physics. The author's approach is unhistorical, that is, he skips the effect on Faraday's immediate successors in favor of much later and therefore less direct influence.

Too much space is spent, quote after quote, trying to show that Faraday really did have a theory about the nature of electricity. In this exercise Williams hopes to redeem Faraday from the stigma of being merely an experimentalist. Faraday's idea, however vague, about lines of force did influence many of his contemporaries, and the most important effect, as the author mentions, was on William Thomson and James Clerk Maxwell.

In a biography of a scientist some technical discussion is unavoidable. But the author's very complex discussion of the origins of field theory is an unnecessary burden for the reader. Here again, Williams is too anxious to show how Faraday set the stage for Einstein rather than telling the story of Faraday's revolutionary effect on nineteenth-century physics. Williams' attempt to "redeem" Faraday's reputation by trying to place him in the twentieth century leaves the reader with a confused and inadequate picture of Faraday.

Iowa State University

HAROLD I. SHARLIN

THE NEWMAN BROTHERS: AN ESSAY IN COMPARATIVE INTELLECTUAL BIOGRAPHY. By *William Robbins*. (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press. 1966. Pp. xii, 202. \$6.00.)

WILLIAM Robbins' *The Newman Brothers* is a successful venture in comparative intellectual biography, which promises to be of interest to scholars of philosophy, literature, religion, and intellectual history. The lives of the brothers, John and Francis, spanned the nineteenth century, and their careers were inextricably caught up with the complex intellectual currents of those years. Both were respected intellectuals and activists. Both were men of high moral and spiritual purpose. And yet, reacting to the tensions engendered by nineteenth-century liberalism, rationalism, secularism, skepticism, reform, and science, the intellectual development of the brothers followed divergent paths that led them into opposing camps.

The early part of the book deals with the religious development of the Newman brothers and their reaction to Whig liberalism culminating in the reform measures of Catholic emancipation, parliamentary reform, and the aboli-

tion of the Irish bishoprics. The point of departure for Robbins' analysis is the evangelicalism of the brothers. Their rejection of evangelicalism is told with discernment and insight. It takes John Henry along the road to the *via media* and the Oxford movement, and finally to the authority of Rome. It takes Frank along the path to rationalism and skepticism, and finally along the byways of relativism.

After his conversion in 1845, John Henry Newman sought to liberalize the Roman Catholic Church in England and to bring it into the mainstream of nineteenth-century intellectual developments. In attempting this, John got caught in the center between the "hydra-headed prejudice" of Protestants and the equally animated prejudices of authoritarian Catholics. His efforts, his victories and setbacks, are traced in his dealings and sometimes clashes with such personalities as Dr. Achilli, Cardinal Wiseman, Archbishop Cullen, W. G. Ward, Bishop Ullathorne, Cardinal Manning, the Reverend E. B. Pusey, Charles Kingsley, and William Gladstone and around such issues as the founding of the Catholic University in Ireland and the *Rambler*, the attempt to establish the Oxford Oratory and the controversy attending the proclamation of papal infallibility.

Returning from Turkey in 1833 with little faith in political reform, Frank encountered a society "cut to ribbons" by religious controversy. As doubts and questions crowded in on him, Frank became increasingly tolerant. Thereafter his logical mind drove him in the direction of rationalism, the rejection of the infallible Book, the dogma of the Trinity, and the grim doctrine of predestination. From this experience, Francis emerged as a social and political reformer, and thereafter his rationalism led him to attack evangelical anti-intellectualism as vigorously as Catholic sacerdotalism.

Robbins' book greatly illuminates the life and thinking processes of Francis Newman. His psychological probing of the minds of the Newman brothers is fair to John Henry and sympathetic and understanding in the case of Frank.

State University College, Cortland

GILBERT A. CAHILL

THE SENIOR: JOHN SAMUEL SWIRE, 1825-98. MANAGEMENT IN FAR EASTERN SHIPPING TRADES. By *Sheila Marriner* and *Francis E. Hyde*. ([Liverpool:] Liverpool University Press. 1967. Pp. xiv, 224. 42s.)

THE firm of Butterfield and Swire has been prominent in shipping, trade, and related circles in East Asia for a century. While this volume concerns the doughty Victorian behind the firm, it is neither a biography nor a history of a firm. It attempts to be more of the former, but seems to me more of the latter, and the firm most concerned is John Swire and Sons, London.

John Samuel Swire, the Senior, led his family business for over forty years before his death in 1898. Founded as a Liverpool import-export house by his father about 1816, the business at first dealt mainly with Europe and America. But after John Samuel Swire's visit to Australia for several years in the middle 1850's, things began to change under his leadership. Teas and silks came to replace American cotton among imports, in return for British cotton, woolen, and worsted goods shipped to China and Japan.

The partnership of Butterfield and Swire began in 1866 and lasted only two

years. But the name of the new firm survived, and control rested with John Swire and Sons. Other firms in which Swires dominated as sole or major owners were the China Navigation Company, founded in 1872; the quaintly named Coast Boats Ownery, which was merged with the former line as of 1883; and the Taikoo Sugar Refinery, founded in 1881. Swires were among the initial subscribers of Holt brothers' Ocean Steam Ship Company, whose Blue Funnel Line plied between Britain and East Asia.

The business of John Swire and Sons in Britain, and Butterfield and Swire in Asia, centered about the agencies for these firms, especially the shipping lines. The many related activities included trading on their own account and handling agencies for insurance companies and additional steamship lines. But these many activities were closely interconnected, although diverse and spread geographically over a tremendous area.

John Samuel Swire's letters and other company records are the major sources for this study. The many references to this correspondence document well the events chronicled, but Swire himself comes to life more clearly from a rereading of the first chapter, on him and his family, than from the narrative of later chapters.

Shipping conferences provide an important exception, for there John Samuel Swire emerges as a credible and impressive human figure. Perhaps the reason is that conferences pose issues, which this study covers both in the narratives of particular companies and again in two separate chapters on conferences. We see the problems and events and the commanding role of the Senior in shaping policy and events, finding solutions, some of which hold today for shipping in most parts of the world. Another subject that could have been treated in such a way, probably bringing out more of the man Swire himself, is the intense rivalry with that other famous house, Jardine, Matheson.

The problem that underlies shipping conferences is the familiar one of heavy fixed costs and low variable costs for ships that can easily shift from routes with little business to those with more. When there is a surplus of tonnage and shipowners are losing money, they lose less by operating at any income above variable costs than by laying up their ships. In such surplus periods, there is a strong tendency for ships to move around to new areas where somewhat higher income may be earned, even though no one is covering the capital cost of his fleet and shore installations, or perhaps even his overhead costs of offices and management.

John Samuel Swire found himself in this kind of situation repeatedly, and he took the lead for several Asian routes in forming, maintaining, and re-forming arrangements by which ship operators divided up the available business, income, or profits, while discouraging outsiders from taking available business. Such arrangements now bear the label shipping conferences, and in its obituary of Swire on December 6, 1898, the *Liverpool Journal of Commerce* called him "the Father of Shipping Conferences," even though the first China conference was formalized four years after the pioneering 1875 Calcutta conference, in which Swire was not involved. The restrictive practices that prevailed in nineteenth-century private enterprise have survived in shipping far beyond what national governments have been willing to tolerate in domestic businesses.

This study, based on an important company's original records, is a contribution to the understanding of an era, an aspect of European imperialism in Asia, and a still-troublesome shipping problem.

American University

WARREN S. HUNSBERGER

THE ABERDEEN COALITION, 1852-1855: A STUDY IN MID-NINETEENTH-CENTURY PARTY POLITICS. By J. B. Conacher. (New York: Cambridge University Press. 1968. Pp. xiv, 606. \$19.50.)

HISTORIANS are often classified as either narrative or analytical historians. Those who think themselves the latter sort are most likely to make this classification, and I am afraid not without a touch of censoriousness. They are apt to regard the narrative historian as a member of a different, perhaps even a lesser, breed who, as they might say, merely tells a story. In fact, however, it is not telling a story that makes the difference—philosophers now assure us that all historians tell stories—so much as the sort of question that is asked. Analytical historians are likely to ask questions that concern social structure and connections between society and politics. And while narrative historians are likely not to have read Weber or Dahrendorf, they are likely to ask questions that deal with purely political connections: the give and take of parliamentary debate and cabinet discussion, the personal motives and justifications at work in the pursuit of power, the details of legislation, and so on. Although the questions are different, neither sort of historian can answer them adequately without learning, literary skill, intelligence, and judgment.

Professor Conacher is a narrative historian. His story of the Aberdeen coalition of 1852-1855 falls into two main parts. The first, despite Disraeli's croaking that "England does not love coalitions," has to do with the triumph of the coalition's opening year, 1853. By and large, Aberdeen's gifted lieutenants pulled together. Although there were some disagreements, they were not party disagreements, and the ever-tactful Aberdeen kept them well in hand. The record of legislation was impressive, crowned by what Conacher describes as "one of the great budgets of the century," in which the Peelite Gladstone taught his Whig colleagues those sound principles of public finance that had always eluded them. The second part of Conacher's story, beginning in the autumn of 1853, was the antithesis of the first—an abject failure. The outbreak of war between Russia and Turkey in the latter months of 1853 started the tragic decline of the Aberdeen coalition. By March 1854 England had been drawn into the conflict. Then there was a lull, a kind of "phony war" (to use Conacher's phrase), followed by the reassurance of successful landings in the Crimea and some victorious battles—all of which was blotted out by the disastrous siege of Sebastopol and the final humiliation of Roebuck's motion in the House of Commons, which reduced the Aberdeen coalition to ruins.

In his brief conclusion Conacher touches on an "analytical" question: the connection between English society and the crop of military fiascos in the Crimea. He sees the root of the trouble in the aristocratic governing class, thus echoing contemporary middle-class opinion that preferred the conduct of the war entrusted to earnest businessmen rather than to dilettante aristocrats. One might

argue with this. As Conacher himself tells us, even the aristocracy was not short of critics of British military administration, among them Whigs like Russell and Grey, the latter having made his reputation as a military reformer as early as the 1830's. Perhaps one should conclude that military mismanagement was less the work of aristocracy than the consequence of a failure of leadership. What was needed was a strong driving personality to overcome the compromises and equivocations of coalition government. To no social class is it guaranteed that such a leader will appear at the right moment.

On the whole, however, one finds little to grumble about in this large book. Conacher has told his story with remarkable accuracy, clarity, and detail. He has ransacked the major manuscript collections, skillfully piecing together the mosaic of his narrative, and firmly guiding the reader through the maze of cabinet discussion, parliamentary debate, and diplomatic negotiation. His tone is invariably judicious: apart from a footnote on page 286, even the mediocrity of British generals fails to disturb his impartiality. It will be a long time before the student of British history will again be offered such a mine of information about the workings of government and the making of political decisions at a critical point in mid-Victorian history.

Johns Hopkins University

DAVID SPRING

THE EDWARDIAN TURN OF MIND. By *Samuel Hynes*. (Princeton, N. J.: Princeton University Press. 1968. Pp. xiv, 427. \$9.75.)

THERE has been no lack of studies of Edwardian England since Sir Robert Ensor's *England 1870-1914* and George Dangerfield's *Strange Death of Liberal England* appeared over thirty years ago. Yet Professor Hynes has found new things to say in his interesting book. His thesis is that the period was both old and new, Victorian and twentieth century, "like the English Channel, a narrow place made turbulent by the thrust and tumble of two powerful opposing tides." The old order, the established classes, what he perhaps unfairly calls "Tory England," was under challenge, and fought back in predictable fashion. There was a tightening of the lines, at least as far as public morals went (the political opposition falls outside the book's scope). The prosecution of dangerous books as obscene libels, the unofficial censorship used by printers, publishers, and circulating libraries (Joyce's *Dubliners* was held up for eight years), the continuing and fatuous censorship of plays are excellently described. "The Trouble with Women" really spills over from its own chapter to several others; unsuccessful attempts to reform marriage and divorce laws, the campaigns against "impurity" and birth control, the elements of antisex and antimale in the suffragette movement, which help to explain the fury of the men's opposition, are recounted in turn. Hynes frequently brings out the class bias of the reactionaries: dangerous books are more so if cheap; birth control will produce a degenerate population "of a dissolute and dangerous poor," jeopardizing national defense and "undermining that sense of continence and self-control that is essential to a sound and healthy state." The last words are St. Loe Strachey's, in a furious review of *Ann Veronica*. Hynes admires Wells, but the book's real hero is Arnold Bennett, whose good sense shines through again and again.

Of course there is much about Edwardian England that Hynes has omitted. He is unfair to the Liberals and to C. F. G. Masterman, whose pessimistic *Condition of England* he uses to typify the party. Missing is any notice of the pioneering welfare legislation, of the growth of public education, of achievements in architecture and town planning. *Howard's End*, not mentioned, is as significant as *Ann Veronica*. Socialism is discussed solely in terms of the Webb-Wells controversy among the Fabians; the Labour party is barely noticed.

Eventually England rejoined Europe; Hynes dates the change of mind, with Virginia Woolf, from the first post-Impressionist exhibition in London in November 1910, followed by the conquests of Russian ballet, plays, and novels. The closing years of lunacy in politics and deadlock in labor relations and the suffragette movement were thus also years of promise and liberation; perhaps a new balance might have been found without the war (whose social effects Hynes seems to exaggerate). The parallels and contrasts between these years and today, between Edwardian London and swinging London, though not pressed by Hynes, are suggestive and none too comfortable.

University College of North Wales, Bangor

C. L. MOWAT

THE CHAMBERLAINS. By D. H. Elletson. (New York: Hillary House. 1966. Pp. xvi, 318. \$5.50.)

THE political careers of the three Chamberlains, Joseph and his sons Austen and Neville, provide most of the subject matter for this work of homage. Each career is handled in a thoroughly conventional way—largely a shorter version of the standard sources—and little cognizance is taken of recent work in the field, so that we are presented with familiar and somewhat outdated views of, for instance, the role of the Maurice debate in the Coupon Election, of Ramsay MacDonald, and of the East Fulham by-election. Joseph Chamberlain is given the greatest share of attention, and Neville the least, which is probably appropriate even though Neville was the only Prime Minister of the lot. The tone is distinctly respectful, indeed at times sycophantic, and whatever few criticisms of the Chamberlains are raised seem to have been done so, generally, in order to be refuted. The book pulsates with unquestioning pride: a leitmotiv appears in the full accounts of the Birmingham civic occasions when members of the Chamberlain family were feted. The worn words of praise are trotted out, with responding cheers for "our Joey."

Despite the sentimentality and superficiality of Elletson's approach, however, an uninformed reader could find here a just adequate introduction to the story of the three Chamberlains. And his book does have an additional value, for it does not limit itself to the famous three; in addition, it gains in interest as it deals with the other members of the family, the "Clique" as they unabashedly called themselves, and their relations with the outside world and with one another. There was a complex cousinhood of Chamberlains, Kenricks, and Martineaus. Their agreements and disagreements, as revealed in the great Chamberlain archive at the University of Birmingham and other family papers, which Elletson has used, might have been much more extensively explored. Agreed, it is not fair to ask an author to write a different book, but Elletson himself

at times has moved in the direction of a fascinating family history, which would have been a far more important historical contribution than the present work, with its conventional political anecdote. There are a number of fine family photographs, often more tantalizing and interesting than the text, focused, as it were, in a different direction. Taken before the days when prominent men smiled for the photographer, the photographs of Joseph and Arthur Chamberlain give off an air of power and enigma. One would like to know much more about their relations, and particularly more about their disagreements—Arthur's passionate loyalty to free trade, for example, at the moment when his brother begins to favor tariffs. But within the family circle Elletson must present happy faces to the public, and every document is read with a simple determination to reflect credit even when its contents might lead more plausibly to a more ambiguous conclusion. And so he ends his account with Churchill's noticeably muted eulogy of Neville in the House of Commons, as though it were precisely on a level with the tributes lavished upon the family over the years in their city of Birmingham. Elletson's book is one further generous tribute. But though there are interesting tidbits of information here, it is too superficial and defensive about any slights against the Chamberlains to be a significant contribution to the material on three of the most important politicians of the late nineteenth and the twentieth century.

Stanford University

PETER STANSKY

THE COLONIAL AND IMPERIAL CONFERENCES, 1887-1911: A STUDY IN IMPERIAL ORGANIZATION. By *John Edward Kendle*. [Imperial Studies Series, Number 28.] (London: Longmans for the Royal Commonwealth Society. 1967. Pp. x, 264. 36s.)

THIS book by a young Canadian historian is an important addition to the very limited number of basic studies of the early history of what the publisher refers to, not very aptly, as "the problems of Anglo-Dominion relationship and the evolution of the present Commonwealth Conference." It carries the history of the evolution and organization of the Colonial and Imperial Conferences from the first Colonial Conference in 1887 to the first Imperial Conference, officially so designated, in 1911. This marked the end of the period of beginnings. From 1921 when the peacetime meetings were resumed they were of a different character. The history is told in ten short chapters centered on the Colonial Conferences of 1887, 1897, 1902, and 1907 and the Imperial Conference of 1911. The most valuable part of the study is the illumination, much of it new, on the background of each conference, the preparation for it within the Colonial Office, and the links between official thinking and the ideas and proposals made by unofficial but active and influential pressure groups, such as the Pollock Committee and the Round Table movement, to which the Colonial Office listened gravely but without conviction.

The study is entirely London-based, so far as the use of official archive material is concerned. It is based on Colonial Office records, the Committee of Imperial Defence papers, and cabinet records. These have been more thoroughly explored than by any previous writer on the subject, and effective use is made

of them. No use appears to have been made of Dominion archive material. This limits somewhat the value of the book, but it would be too much to expect the author to cover so vast a field, when there was so much fresh ground to be covered in the wealth of material available in the United Kingdom. Extensive use has been made of private papers, thirty-three collections of which are included in the bibliography. All except two—the Canadian papers of Sir Robert Borden and Sir Wilfred Laurier—are located in the United Kingdom. The bibliography is one of the most valuable features of the book, especially its assessments of private papers.

Within the limits he has chosen, the author has written a sound, scholarly, thoughtful, and definitive study. Not the least of its merits is the complete absence of loaded words and ideological distortion. No doubt because of the author's deliberate concentration on "Imperial organization," the book usually avoids much by way of comment on the wider significance of what was happening. An assessment of the Imperial Conference of 1911, made without a full consideration of its political and military significance, is wide of the mark. This was the decade in which the British Commonwealth of Nations took shape. It emerged from this conference complete in its essential attributes. The critical importance of the discussions on defense and foreign policy from 1909 to 1912 slips through the mesh of this study of organization. But, if the wider background is remembered—the transition from colonies to Commonwealth, colonies that were now nations, becoming fully conscious of their association in a unique "family of nations"—workers in the field of Commonwealth history will profit much from this excellent study of the organization of the Imperial Conference system.

Bethesda, Maryland

H. DUNCAN HALL

WINSTON S. CHURCHILL. *Companion Volume I. Part 1, 1874-1896; Part 2, 1896-1900.* By *Randolph S. Churchill*. (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company. 1967. Pp. xxi, 678; 680-1290. \$12.50 each.)

THE late Randolph Churchill learned many things from his father, even if he was not always quite as ready to trudge the hard road. In writing the biography of Sir Winston, Randolph not only followed in his father's footsteps with respect to style and method; he has also given every evidence that the labor of love involved indeed much hard labor. (If he was aided in his task by a corps of assistants, the same can be said of Sir Winston.) The elder Churchill did not always look with favor upon his male heir, but there is little doubt that he would have approved of this multivolume biography of himself, which must now be completed by other hands.

These two thick volumes contain much of the raw material that Randolph Churchill used in writing the first volume of the biography of his father. Although the "biographical" or "life" volumes (two of which have already been published) contain much in the way of "primary" material, Randolph Churchill offers these first two volumes of "documentation" in the nature of an "appendix" to Volume I of the "biography," with others to follow for the subsequent "biography." These "documentation" volumes will contain the "raw material,"

the letters, bills, extracts of speeches, articles, and newspaper and other material by, to, or about Winston Churchill.

Judging by these two volumes, the storehouse is bulging. Although the editing is skillful, the index very full, and much of the material absorbing and serving to enhance the "flavor" of the subject, the presentation often tends to fall between two stools. Future biographers will not be content to rely on Randolph Churchill's selections, but will turn to the archives which, we are promised, will be opened for scholars in due course. For others, the sheer bulk of these appendixes (added to the considerable amount of "primary" material quoted in the biographical volumes) tends to obscure rather than to delineate the subject. The author-editor has not made clear and a careful comparison of the "life" volume with the two "companion" volumes fails to reveal, any principle of selection used in deciding when a document should be quoted in one set of volumes as against another. Until the archives are opened, nevertheless, we must depend upon these and subsequent volumes. It is to be hoped that the work will be carried forward with dispatch and that students of the period will be able to answer some of the questions that were not answered by Winston Churchill in his own autobiographical works. Best of all, it is to be hoped that the archives will be opened to scholars.

University of Hawaii

SAMUEL J. HURWITZ

WINSTON S. CHURCHILL. Volume II, YOUNG STATESMAN, 1901-1914.

By *Randolph S. Churchill*. (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company. 1967. Pp. xxxii, 763. \$10.00.)

THIS volume of Churchill's biography is a study of political genius in its most brilliant and flexible phase. Like the first volume, it is especially notable for the thoroughness of its documentation. Churchill's papers must be the most complete of any British statesman's of this century. In addition, his son Randolph, before his death in June 1968, had a team of expert researchers combing numerous related archives, some of them closed to the ordinary historian. Since Sir Winston wrote and spoke so often, so self-assertively, and so well, he is never obscured by any documents and remains largely his own biographer. His presumption of superiority, of being destined for greatness, of prescience, is strongly reflected in this account of his entry into Parliament as an independent-minded Tory, aged twenty-six, in 1901; his crossing over to the Liberals in 1904; and his prominent role in the Liberal ministry of 1906 to 1914.

It is a story of unmitigated and eminently resourceful push to be at the center of events and decision making, even when the decision lay outside the province of his own department. Though only an Undersecretary, he virtually took over the Colonial Office in 1906, his chief Lord Elgin being easygoing and often absent, and Churchill is here credited with being the prime mover on the British side in the granting of responsible self-government to the Transvaal. His accomplishments as president of the Board of Trade from April 1908, in setting up labour exchanges and in protecting sweated labor, are well known. Often overlooked, but here stressed, are his larger, if not very durable, concern and commitment in the whole field of social reform, and his doing most of the spadework

for the scheme of unemployment insurance introduced by Lloyd George. At the Home Office in 1910, where his most important duties are reviewed with exemplary clarity, he faced the most serious industrial strikes to that date, displayed skill and forbearance as an arbitrator, and is once again shown to have been completely blameless of sending troops to fire on the South Wales miners at Tonypandy. Finally, as First Lord of the Admiralty from September 1911, he improved the pay and conditions of naval personnel; initiated improvements in the design, speed, and firepower of ships; fought successfully for an air department; and, at grave risk of splitting the cabinet irreparably, refused to budge in 1914 on the naval estimates. It was largely due to his efforts, this volume concludes, that, when war came, the fleet was ready.

The author is more generous with his own opinions than in the preceding volume, and some of his asides are intrusive and irrelevant. As for personalities, it is jarring to have Bonar Law dismissed as "a man of markedly inferior parts, and in large measure a pliant tool of Sir Max Aitken." Asquith's loyalty to colleagues and unquestioned ability as Prime Minister is recognized, but he is seen on occasion as embarrassing his friends in the Commons by having drunk too much; is denied the usual plaudit of being the most effective champion of free trade before the 1906 election—the laurel goes to Churchill; and is criticized for lacking Churchill's courage and openness under fire, an example being his feigning ignorance of the latter's orders to the Third Fleet to steam to Lamlash during the 1914 Ulster crisis.

A more impartial observer could suggest that, given the explosive antiparliamentary tendencies of the prewar years, Churchill might have exercised some of Asquith's restraint and reserve to his own and the country's advantage and that his proneness to choice invective and to gestures of public bravado, especially over the Lords' Veto and Ireland, effectively disguised from opponents his undoubted and frequent readiness to be conciliatory and magnanimous. Many Tories regarded him throughout this period as an unprincipled renegade. The remark that "no documentary evidence can be found to justify the extraordinary personal malevolence of which he was made the victim" appears therefore somewhat disingenuous. It is the kind of bias that is easy to understand, however, and it detracts very little from Randolph Churchill's outstanding achievement as biographer and historian.

Ohio State University

PHILIP P. POIRIER

DEATH OF AN ARMY. By *Anthony Farrar-Hockley*. (New York: William Morrow and Company. 1968. Pp. xi, 195. \$5.00.)

At the time this book was published Brigadier Farrar-Hockley was commanding the First Parachute Brigade. Thus, he writes from the viewpoint of a practitioner, and his strictures upon the conduct of battle bear the considerable weight of actual experience of infantry combat. (He was captured in Korea after fighting in World War II.) His work is a useful counter to those like Alan Clark's *The Donkeys* (1961), for while he has some harsh things to say about the commanders of the day, especially Sir John French, he also shows how unprepared in many ways they were for a war that went wrong early.

And it is this early period of October and November 1914 that is his subject. He tackles it from the infantry commander's view with the emphasis upon small-unit actions and their consequences. The story deals tellingly and usefully with the destruction of the original British Expeditionary Force and especially of the old regular British Army in the first battle of Ypres. This was still a limited war fought by companies holding hastily dug trenches, fighting mostly with rifles and often poorly supported by artillery either because it was not available, was out of touch owing to severed telephone lines and downed runners, or had exhausted its ammunition. Toward the end of the battle, British infantrymen were overwhelmed because a batch of irregular cartridges jammed their rifles and slowed their fire well below its normal remarkably effective rate. As an experienced combat infantryman he catches well the atmosphere and frustrations of the foggy, wet, and cold battlefield, an arena over which airplanes had only just occasionally begun to appear.

Farrar-Hackley has skillfully used his sources, talked to some survivors, and covered the ground, so often a prewar pilgrimage for those at the Staff College. The short bibliography, many maps, and occasional photographs round out a work that is to be recommended to students of modern British history.

Kansas State University

ROBIN HIGHAM

GEORGE BELL, BISHOP OF CHICHESTER. By *Ronald C. D. Jasper*. (New York: Oxford University Press. 1967. Pp. xi, 401. \$11.20.)

IN speaking out, almost alone in Parliament, against indiscriminate British bombing of Germany during World War II, Bishop Bell caught the moral imagination of posterity. The British, and Bell among them, believed passionately in the righteousness of their cause. His ability in these circumstances to exercise clear-eyed judgment about the means of war being employed and firmly to censure his own side seemed, when peace came, to show moral discernment and courage of a rarely high order. Jasper's official life of Bell shows that this action was only the most famous expression of Bell's attack on the sociopolitical ethics of Europe in his day.

Jasper is an experienced ecclesiastical historian and biographer; this book, well organized and informed, is Anglican hagiography at its best, a story with no miracles but lots of able achievement. Bell, however, was an Anglican miracle. Born in 1883 within sight of Chichester Cathedral, the son of a parson, Bell was brought up, educated, and promoted in conventional fashion. But he escaped complacent British insularity by his involvement in the early days of the ecumenical movement. It was through this that he enjoyed an intimate acquaintance with German affairs under Hitler, particularly the Nazi conflict with the Confessional Church. Earlier than most Englishmen, Bell recognized the sinister totalitarianism of Hitler. As a result of what Bell saw and the friendships he made, he became an apostle of opposition to many forms of totalitarianism or, in other words, the obliteration of all concerns but *raison d'état* and all feelings but the nationalistic. First he fought totalitarian subjection in Germany of church to state, then totalitarianism in Britain in the form of abandonment of civilized restraint in warfare; he also rebuked Churchill's government because of its

lack of concern for innocent Germans in British concentration camps and for the starving in continental Europe, and he bucked the strong tendency both during and shortly after the war to treat Germany as if its population were monolithically barbarian. Especially in wartime these views were unpopular, and they cost him the promotion to an archbishopric or senior bishopric that otherwise certainly would have been his.

Syracuse University

P. T. MARSH

TWO CAREERS. By Lord Citrine. (London: Hutchinson. 1967. Pp. 384. 50s.)

THE second volume of Walter Citrine's memoirs raises the question whether autobiography as a literary form has not been done in by biography, oral history, and even the "profile in depth" that has become a regular feature of some of the magazines and Sunday newspapers. Surely a personal history should be more than a chronicle of events in which one was a participant, even if these events are as important as World War II and the years that followed. Unfortunately, either because Citrine is not given to reflection and introspection, or because he is in the best tradition of British reticence, he is distinctly a minor character in his own autobiography. One can only wonder what such biographers as George Painter or Henri Troyat, or even Rex Reed of the *New York Times* celebrity bureau, would have done with the material. Instead, one turns with anticipation to a chapter headed "Money and Other Troubles" only to discover that the title directs us to controversies between the Treasury and the Ministry of Fuel and Power over rural electrification, and "My Lust for Power" turns out to be—you guessed it—another reference to electricity rather than an obeisance to Lord Acton.

Still, there is an engaging quality about this book, as there is about the first volume of Lord Citrine's autobiography, which dealt largely with his career as General Secretary of the Trades Union Congress. While one could wish that his style was less homely, less dependent upon everyday expressions, and, casting a tributary wreath on Orwell's grave, less given to "tradeunionspeak," there are a simplicity and modesty in Citrine that are appealing. In his accounts of Bevin, Beaverbrook, Roosevelt, Churchill, various Russians, and many others, one cannot doubt that he is telling it as honestly as he can, which, of course, is not necessarily the same thing as telling what actually happened. But it is likely that historians of World War II will have little to correct or change, although they may regret that they do not have more to learn.

They may also regret, as I do, that Citrine has not chosen to write more about himself. The final chapter, "Purely Personal," was written, he tells us, because some reviewers of the first volume, *Men and Work*, "thought that I had not disclosed enough about myself and my private life." In response to these criticisms the author makes a manful effort: he deals with his health, food preferences, habits of exercise, sleep routines, pets, marriage, his wife's near-fatal illness, travel, and so forth. But it is as if he were dealing with a check list of topics one is supposed to touch on in a personal history ("Hobbies?" he writes at an appropriate place, "Practically none except reading. My work has been my hobby . . ." and so forth). Perhaps this is all that needs to be said

of some lives, even if they cover eighty years, as does Citrine's. On the other hand, think of what Bertrand Russell has written about his life and times!

City University of New York

ARNOLD A. ROGOW

SOE IN FRANCE: AN ACCOUNT OF THE WORK OF THE BRITISH SPECIAL OPERATIONS EXECUTIVE IN FRANCE, 1940-1944. By M. R. D. Foot. [History of the Second World War.] (London: H. M. Stationery Office; distrib. by British Information Services, New York. 1966. Pp. xxvii, 550. \$8.10 postpaid.)

THE Scots have the reputation, but it is the English who are always looking for ways to save money. Or at least this is true when they are involved in war. So it was from 1939 to 1945, when British strategy centered on economy, both human and economic. The larger examples, led by Churchill's peripheral approach to the Continent, are well known, while the small ones are much whispered about.

The best of the latter was Special Operations Executive, an agency with diverse responsibilities that fit, in a general way, the popular impression of the British Secret Service. Foot's work is concerned with one aspect of SOE, its operations in France, where "what the British wanted above all to do was to re-establish an open society in which free men could govern themselves as they chose." If that was the policy, the method was sabotage and the raising of secret armies.

SOE was spectacularly successful. During the war it was widely believed that De Gaulle was a British puppet, and anti-Gaullists within France, both on the Left and on the Right, fed the rumor. No one, not even the most convinced Stalinist or Vichyite, any longer seriously believes that. De Gaulle retained his independence, even though "till 1944 the British had a virtual monopoly over all de Gaulle's means of communication with France." Aside from politics, which is incisively treated by Foot, SOE's record on sabotage and raising secret armies could hardly be improved upon. Foot demonstrates how the British, starting from nothing, were able to get the organizers and equipment into France for an efficient and significant resistance. By the end, the Maquis was, in Eisenhower's estimation, worth an independent army to the Allies.

Most of Foot's work is concerned with tactics, and as such it is a thriller that, to use the inevitable comparison, chills the reader as James Bond never could. It goes without saying, this being an official history, that the author is careful and judicious.

His major polemic is that the kind of work SOE did in France is by far the best way to hurt the enemy in areas frontline troops cannot reach. He inevitably compares the results achieved by SOE with those of RAF Bomber Command, itself an attempt to save money and lives and the only other method available to the British to hit the Germans on the Continent. Foot finds that the SOE both hurt the Germans in France more than the Bomber Command did and was enormously cheaper. Anyone can see, he concludes, "that bombers in those days could make bigger holes in the ground than agents could; but nobody

sensible believes that big holes in the ground are necessarily of military value." One big bomb cost more than the entire SOE explosives budget.

It is tempting to believe that agencies like SOE represent an economical short cut to victory, but the general situation prevailing in France during the second war is unlikely to be seen again. There was no SOE in Germany of any consequence. Foot recognizes this objection when he notes, "Wherever and whenever less than nineteen-twentieths of the mass of the population favoured the allies wholeheartedly, subversive activity became sticky, or highly dangerous, or downright impossible."

It remains to say that America's OSS was nowhere near as good as SOE and that this is the best-written and best-organized book I have read in a decade.

Johns Hopkins University

STEPHEN E. AMBROSE

THE PARLEMENT OF PARIS. By J. H. Shennan. (Ithaca, N. Y.: Cornell University Press. 1968. Pp. 359. \$8.75.)

No institution was more central to the growth of the monarchy of the *ancien régime* in France, and none more crucial in its debacle, than the Parlement of Paris. Yet there has been no general history of the great court even in French but only studies of particular periods of its history, or of specific episodes or magistrates. The need has now been met in this important and valuable book by a young English historian of the school of the late Mark Thomson. Shennan, a lecturer at the University of Lancaster, traces the history of the Parlement of Paris from its first dim emergence out of the diffuse institutions of the Capetian monarchy until its disappearance in the holocaust of the French Revolution.

The first part of the book is a detailed yet clear outline of the development of the Parlement as a judicial court, full of information and illumination. It is, however, the second part of the book, concerned with the political role of the Parlement, that will hold attention as a remarkable survey of French history from the High Middle Ages to the end of the early modern period as viewed from the perspective of the court's activity. It is a picture somewhat different from that seen by those who look primarily at the king, his ministers, or the nation. Although Shennan's analysis is too often one-sided in favor of constitutional and institutional history, his vision must be incorporated into any larger picture that itself aspires to comprehensiveness. Shennan's central assertion that the French monarchy was fundamentally judicial in character, that the king was above all else the great justiciar of the land, will not convince many readers who will admire so much else in the book. That the king was supreme judge is beyond dispute, but he was equally supreme commander and maker of policy. Nothing was more sacred to a Henry IV or a Louis XIV than his power of command. To argue, as Shennan does, that the rise of the bureaucratic state destroyed the reality of the king's judicial role and hence undercut the monarchy itself is to make too much of a good point. It amounts to seeing the French monarchy as the embodiment of an idea instead of as an inherently complex, multiple, and often inconsistent institution that is not reducible to a formula, as Shennan himself frequently demonstrates. Nonetheless, whether or not one accepts the theoretical underpinning that Shennan gives to his book, the solidity of its scholarship and

the brilliance of its argument are beyond question. This is one of the best books on the *ancien régime* to appear in recent years.

Rutgers University, New Brunswick, New Jersey

HERBERT H. ROWEN

L'OCTROI DE TOULOUSE À LA VEILLE DE LA RÉVOLUTION. By *Monique Gebhart* and *Claude Mercadier*. Preface by *Frédéric Mauro*. [Commission d'Histoire économique et sociale de la Révolution française. Mémoires et Documents, Number 21.] (Paris: Bibliothèque Nationale. 1967. Pp. 163.)

THIS little monograph is a careful and exact study of the octroi of Toulouse, its farmers, its administration, and the frauds, contraband, and lawsuits incidental to its existence in the eighteenth century. The octroi, like those of other French towns under the old regime, was a tariff on goods imported into and exported from the city. Its proceeds paid the costs of municipal government. Instead of collecting these taxes directly, the town leased them, along with the exploitation of its patrimonial properties and income, to private financiers. Each lease was awarded under competitive bidding for six years. The financiers promised to pay the city stipulated advances and monthly payments and assumed the risk of profit and loss on the difference between what they collected at the gates and what they paid in, under their contracts, to the municipality. On a small scale, then, the associations that successively leased the octroi of Toulouse resembled the Company of the Farmers General. After 1740 the members were nonresidents, chiefly Parisians. On some leases they lost heavily. For administering the octroi they employed a staff of fifty, which remained stable from lease to lease even when the farm changed hands.

Using demographic estimates and the data of the octroi, the authors have tried to calculate the fluctuations in per capita consumption of flour, wine, and other commodities within the city. Although the per capita consumption of flour remained constant after 1771, the evidence suggests a slight growth for other commodities during the last four decades before the Revolution. The accelerating movement of goods shows that commercial activity and opportunity were expanding. On the other hand, since the prices of the goods that were taxed advanced 92 per cent from 1733 to 1789, the lower-class consumers were at a disadvantage.

In effect, this book is an excellent introduction to social and economic realities that have been neglected and about which too little has been known. Anyone interested in urban government, small-scale finance, and the socioeconomic conditions of prerevolutionary Toulouse will find it useful, bearing in mind, as the authors themselves insist, that gaps in the figures make the conclusions on economic development at best provisional.

University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill

GEORGE V. TAYLOR

THE ENLIGHTENMENT IN FRANCE. By *Frederick B. Artz*. ([Kent, Ohio:] Kent State University Press. 1968. Pp. ix, 166. Cloth \$6.00, paper \$1.95.)

In this short work Professor Artz offers "an introduction to the principal writers of the Enlightenment in Eighteenth Century France." He devotes separate chap-

ters to Montesquieu, Voltaire, Diderot, Rousseau, and "Other French Reformers," and he includes chapters on "The Precursors of the Philosophes" and "The Nature of the Enlightenment in France." He concerns himself with the question of how "the whole climate of opinion was changed in France and the rest of Western Europe by . . . the Philosophes." An adequate and up-to-date bibliography is appended to the work.

To encompass the Enlightenment in France adequately within the space of 153 pages is a formidable or, rather, an impossible task of scholarship and, understandably, Artz fails in his effort. Less understandable are the omissions in his account of the Enlightenment and the shortcomings in his treatment of the Philosophes. He makes no reference to the ethical dilemma posed by the philosophy of the Enlightenment—moral relativism, moral nihilism—so exhaustively researched and persuasively argued by Lester G. Crocker. Peter Gay's bold and compelling interpretation of the Enlightenment as a dialectical interplay between Christianity and the "useful and beloved classical past," as the intellectual movement that substituted critical thinking for mythmaking, is barely mentioned. Carl Becker's sprightly but totally misleading animadversions on the philosophes, intercalated in the text as it were, only serve to confuse Artz's narrative. The "Precursors of the Philosophes" turn out to be "those authors whose ideas and arguments could be used in the Philosophes' propaganda." "The Nature of the Enlightenment in France" is never clearly described or defined although we learn that reason, faith, doubt, science, iconoclasm, humanitarianism, and irony entered into its make-up. Little attempt is made to relate the ideas of the philosophes to social and economic conditions: "the great growth of the middle classes" is offered as one of the causes for the changed climate of opinion.

Furthermore, the discussion of the principal philosophes frequently if unwittingly ends in contradiction or caricature with, for example, Rousseau being both the "voice [of] the [democratic] aspirations of the masses" and "more conservative" than Montesquieu himself. The Enlightenment is replete with ambiguity and contradictions, but it is not all confusion compounded. This book is inadequate as an introduction to that great intellectual movement not least because it fails to discuss its consistent themes and to illuminate its enduring, unambiguous contributions to modern thought.

University of California, Berkeley

GERALD J. CAVANAUGH

THE ROYAL PROVINCIAL INTENDANTS: A GOVERNING ELITE IN EIGHTEENTH-CENTURY FRANCE. By *Vivian R. Gruder*. (Ithaca, N. Y.: Cornell University Press. 1968. Pp. xiv, 293. \$10.00.)

THIS model monograph adds greatly to our knowledge of the training, intellectual formation, and social origins of an important group in eighteenth-century French society. It does not examine the intendants' political and social ideas, though the author promises a study on this subject. Nor does it deal with all of the eighteenth-century intendants. It is, rather, "an attempt to bridge the fields of administrative and social history" by a detailed discussion of the careers and family histories of ninety-four intendants who served during the periods 1710-1712, 1749-1751, and 1774-1776.

The author first describes the intendants' educational background, extensive experience, and service as *maîtres des requêtes*, which explain why they differed in outlook from other members of the nobility and why they so ably served the crown and the people. The second part of the book discusses officeholding, wealth, and nobility as the decisive factors in the selection of intendants. By skillful use of a comparative method, the author examines the social background of the intendants who served during the three periods studied and concludes that eighteenth-century "society was not closed and fixed; the high administration was not a self-perpetuating aristocratic preserve."

Professor Gruder's conclusions are provocative. She challenges the thesis of an "aristocratic reaction" during the eighteenth century and argues that historians must re-evaluate the causative relationship between the *ancien régime* and the Revolution. Why this study necessitates revision of the "aristocratic reaction" thesis is not at first entirely clear, because that thesis generally refers to the nobility of the robe and sword and excludes the administrative nobility. The conclusion, however, discusses recent writings that challenge the notion of an "aristocratic reaction" for all levels of the French nobility; it then becomes clear that this study of the intendants contributes to a growing body of revisionist literature by exploring an important but neglected aspect of the problem.

Though there is an abundance of detail in this book, frequent narrative summaries, fifteen tables, and four appendixes facilitate a clear and cogent statement of the thesis. Articles in provincial journals have been used well, and the bibliography is an excellent introduction to the administrative and social history of eighteenth-century France. Students of the *ancien régime* will benefit from comments on the unreliability of genealogical sources for the period and will note that Gruder revises some of Paul Ardascheff's observations about the social background of Louis XVI's intendants. Much of the author's information about the intendants' social backgrounds comes from manuscript sources in the *Cabinet des Titres* of the Bibliothèque Nationale.

Sound organization and careful use of sampling techniques and comparative method combine with fresh sources to make this book an important contribution to eighteenth-century studies.

Southern Illinois University, Carbondale

THADD E. HALL

THE FRENCH ENLIGHTENMENT AND THE JEWS. By *Arthur Hertzberg*. (New York: Columbia University Press; Philadelphia: Jewish Publication Society of America. 1968. Pp. viii, 420. \$12.50.)

THIS interesting and important study portrays the events and processes that led to the emancipation of the Jews of France in 1790-1791, which had so great an impact on Jewish and Gentile relations in Europe from then on. Hertzberg, using a wealth of manuscript and primary sources, shows that the movements for Jewish emancipation in the eighteenth century were far from being clear-cut consequences of Enlightenment philosophy, or of Jewish demands and hopes for equality and assimilation into Western culture. Through careful study of the three chief Jewish communities, the Sephardim of Bordeaux and Bayonne, the Avignonnais of the Papal State, and the Ashkenazim of Alsace and Metz, he shows

that there were many ambiguities and ambivalences. Each group had different aspirations and desires. The Eastern Jews constituted the greatest problem since they were the poorest, the least Westernized, and the most despised group. They finally, barely, became legally emancipated in 1791, on the promise or hope that this would reform and regenerate them into decent and useful members of society.

Unfortunately some valuable manuscript material that exists in Holland and France has not been used in this study, and that material more clearly illuminates Jewish developments in France from the sixteenth to the eighteenth century. Some recent studies, on De Pinto and on the Freemasons, which add some details to the picture, are also not utilized.

Hertzberg's examination of the non-Jewish discussions and debates on the Jewish problem during the eighteenth century is fascinating and controversial. The pamphlet literature, the answers submitted to the prize essay topic of 1785 in Metz on "Are There Means of Making the Jews Happy and More Useful in France?" the millenarian philo-Semitic arguments that also occurred in England in the seventeenth century, the Left-wing anti-Semitism of some of the Jacobins, the debates in the *Assemblée nationale*, are revealing of the varying opinions and tendencies of the time. Hertzberg's problems begin when he tries to put all this in a broader ideological context, running from the late sixteenth century through the Enlightenment. Chapter III on the earlier material is based on questionable interpretations of only a smattering of the available data, using mainly secondary sources. Much more ought to be done with the roles of Charron, Da Costa (who is not discussed), La Peyrère, Spinoza, Simon, Limborch, Orobio de Castro, Jurieu (also not discussed), Toland, Huet, and Bayle, as influences forcing a re-interpretation of the Jewish problem in Western thought. The discussion of the parts played by Montesquieu, Voltaire, Diderot, and Holbach in forming the pro-Jewish and anti-Semitic ideologies of modern times is intriguing and debatable. I believe that Hertzberg has pointed out some crucial factors regarding the genesis of modern secular anti-Semitism, but much more study is needed to determine how the great liberating movements, from the Renaissance and the Reformation to the Enlightenment and the socialist movement, generated a new form of anti-Semitism in which Jews, even emancipated ones, could still be aliens in the new, non-Christian world. Secularism and nationalism found the Jews a hostile element. The Jews, except in America and later in Israel, were unable to find a satisfactory *modus vivendi* as modern men and as Jews. The failure of both modern ideologies and Judaism to find a place for the unique status of the Jews within Western culture has bred tragedy after tragedy up to the "Holocaust." The ideological reasons for this history need a serious and thorough analysis. People may inveigh against Hertzberg's picture of Voltaire as the father of the new anti-Semitism, claiming that this portrayal is biased and lopsided, but Voltaire did provide the rationale for later nationalistic and socialistic anti-Semitism and did provide the ideology for excluding historical Judaism from a possible role in the "enlightened" West. I believe, as does Hertzberg, that it was not merely anti-Christianity that led to this, but something more basic. Judaism, with its roots in a continuing providential world and mission, could not be allowed in the new humanistic dreams stemming from Erasmus and Voltaire.

We have to ascertain why the West has felt so threatened by this small, sometimes pious group, struggling to exist and to fulfill its commitment to God. Hertzberg's book is a very important opening to discussions of fundamental themes in Jewish-Gentile relations in the modern West. One can only hope that much more scholarly work will now be done in this area to help resolve some of the basic riddles.

University of California, San Diego

RICHARD H. POPKIN

LA RÉFORME MUNICIPALE DU CONTRÔLEUR GÉNÉRAL LAVERDY ET SON APPLICATION (1764-1771). By *Maurice Bordes*. [Publications de la Faculté des Lettres et Sciences humaines de Toulouse, Series A, Number 5.] ([Toulouse:] Association des Publications de la Faculté des Lettres et Sciences humaines de Toulouse. [1968.] Pp. 351. 44 fr.)

THE work discussed here is a thesis that deals with one of the many missed opportunities of the last decades of the *ancien régime*, an abortive attempt to reform French municipal life. Evidently conceived by François de Laverdy, *Contrôleur général* from 1763 to 1768, this reform was intended at the same time to rationalize local government in those French communities that had some form of corporate life and to provide it in many communities that were unorganized. In this connection, the author takes pains to point out that communities having municipal bodies at their head were much more numerous in southern France than they were in the northern part. The proposed reform was radical, or, as the author puts it, was imbued with a "certain liberalism": the election of deputies was to involve not only the privileged orders and the bourgeoisie but also craftsmen, and the representatives of the artisans would sometimes have a majority in the municipal assemblies of deputies.

In his attempt to implement his scheme, Laverdy enjoyed some support from some parlements and much opposition from other quarters, especially in the South, where traditional municipal institutions were more firmly rooted. The most effective opposition came from great seigneurs like the Duc d'Uzès and the Prince de Conti, from the "bonne bourgeoisie" of the towns, and from the intendants. M. Bordes thinks that, this opposition notwithstanding, Laverdy might have been able to carry off the enterprise had the royal government shown more determination. As it was, Choiseul, who is described as Laverdy's protector, lost interest in the project; Saint-Florentin and Bertin, both influential at the administrative center, did not support Laverdy. Indeed, Bertin could hardly have been expected to support the person who succeeded him in the *Contrôle général*. Further, Laverdy seems to have been a man of limited competence.

Be this as it may, Laverdy was dismissed in 1768, and in 1771, under Terray, the government issued an edict suppressing the reform entirely. The abrogation of this reform and the municipal confusion that followed count, Bordes maintains, "among the causes of discontent of the bourgeoisie at the end of the *Ancien régime*." What he means by "bourgeoisie" at this point is not entirely clear.

American students of French eighteenth-century local administrative history will profit from the details presented in this book. They will also have cause to wonder about departures from what they have come to consider strengths in

French scholarly technique. That there is no index should come as no surprise, but that there is no methodological or bibliographical essay is another matter. Surely, the interested reader should be told why, in a book that seems to be based mainly on materials found in the *Archives Départementales* and *Archives Communales* (and it should be emphasized that Bordes visited many local depositories where he worked over Series B, C, and E in the AD and Series AA, BB, and D in the AC), he found it necessary for Dauphiné to use only papers in the *Bibliothèque municipale*. There is probably a good reason, and the explanation would be helpful.

American University

DAVID J. BRANDENBURG

THE GENTLE BONAPARTE: A BIOGRAPHY OF JOSEPH, NAPOLEON'S ELDER BROTHER. By *Owen Connolly*. (New York: Macmillan Company. 1968. Pp. xiv, 335. \$6.95.)

Two hundred years after his birth Joseph Bonaparte, Napoleon's elder brother, has at last received his first full-length biography in English. And a rich and engrossing story Professor Connolly has provided, correcting old distortions of Joseph's personality and supplying valuable details on his long and troubled career before, during, and after the revolutionary upheaval.

In the place of a good-natured but somewhat lazy, pleasure-loving, and amiably incompetent dilettante, we are presented with a man of unusually engaging personality, an urbane and sophisticated charmer, hard working, dedicated to his tasks and assignments, admired, respected, and, by many of his contemporaries, held in affectionate esteem. Not only a man endowed with the graces, he was also a man of ideas and high convictions. For Joseph, as Bernardin de Saint-Pierre held, far more than the brother who eclipsed him, was a true philosopher king. In him one saw the embodiment of the eighteenth-century Enlightenment. Its mythic assumptions and presuppositions were also his: the natural goodness of man, his perfectibility through enlightened education, and the perfectibility of society through the systematic application of reason and good will in the conduct of human affairs.

Though *Brumaire* doomed the republic he had served and wished at heart to continue to serve, his influence remained great upon the First Consul. Officially and even more unofficially, he worked closely with the government and not least as its key diplomat in the negotiations that brought religious and political peace. From 1806 to 1808 he was King of Naples, and the record of what he accomplished in the reformation of society and government was notable. But circumstances defeated his full intentions, as they did in the violent years from 1808 to 1814 when he reigned without ruling in Spain. He failed in Spain, but he failed nobly and not because he was "too good a man to be king," as Napoleon believed, or feigned to believe. More salutary neglect and less bludgeoning on the part of the Emperor might have decisively altered the Spanish story and not doomed Joseph's efforts from the very start.

The author has given his readers so much; his biography is so lucid, sympathetic, and balanced that it is almost churlish to regret that he has not given

them more; or, more precisely, given it differently. There is rather too much on "the times" and rather too little on "the life" in this straightforward life-and-times account, rather too many details on the military side of the story and too few on the remarkable experiment in enlightened despotism. Not all readers would agree with this opinion; most would, however, acknowledge their indebtedness to the author of this valuable study.

New York University

LEO GERSHOY

RASPAIL: SCIENTIST AND REFORMER. By *Dora B. Weiner*. With a chapter by *Simone Raspail*. (New York: Columbia University Press. 1968. Pp. xiv, 336. \$11.00.)

How "Raspail" refers to a boulevard, a liqueur, and a pharmacy is made clear by Dr. Weiner in this penetrating biography of one of France's forgotten men. His most widely known invention was the use of camphor in the ointments and oils that soothed the childish pains of an older generation ungratefully ignorant of their benefactor. A radical in science, he refused to qualify for a degree and remained a confirmed enemy of the establishment, whether in church, government, or in medicine. Educated for the clergy in traditionalist Carpentras, he came under the influence of a Jansenist priest whose individualism marked François Vincent Raspail (1794-1878) for life. Idealizing Napoleon, he went to Paris after the Bourbon Restoration, began under difficulties to study science, became associated with social reform and republican politics, and was involved in the July revolution. From 1830 he discovered the impossibility of simultaneously pursuing science and revolutionary purposes in nineteenth-century France. He was a complex and difficult genius whose distinguished beginnings in science had to compromise with his sense of the responsibility of society for public health and hygiene. He found himself against the establishments and them in turn against him, but he exerted a powerful influence among the working classes through his clinics, and it is not yet extinct. He pioneered in using microscopes in biology, in the study of cell structure, and in applying chemical methods in the life sciences. Camphor was his favorite remedy; humanitarian and democratic ideals were his religion. He entered public life so fully that he ran for President against Prince Louis Napoleon Bonaparte and, after opposing the Second Empire, was imprisoned, exiled, and finally became a father figure in the nascent Third Republic.

Weiner has spent years in research for this densely documented volume. She has found considerable unexplored material, particularly in numerous public and private archives. Copiously annotated, the book carries its erudition with grace and charm; the author's insight and candor fascinate the reader with a sense of what *la petite histoire* can contribute to general history. It is regrettable that a few French sources have not been adequately rendered and that there is indecision over transcribing titles of periodicals and books in French or English. Passages from French correspondence might be more pungent in the original, but the book is not designed for specialists in French history; rather, it is for those in other fields who may benefit by looking at a man who fought against routine and tradition for the good of the greatest number. This is the first scholarly discussion

of Raspail's career as a whole, the first work on him in English, and it fills a notable gap in our knowledge about nineteenth-century France.

Brown University

HARCOURT BROWN

RECUEIL DES TRAVAUX HISTORIQUES DE FERDINAND LOT. Volume I. With a foreword by *Ch. Samaran*, a notice and a biography by *Ch.-E. Perrin*, and a bibliography by *I. Vildé-Lot* and *M. Mahn-Lot*. [Centre de Recherches d'Histoire et de Philologie de la IV^e Section de l'École Pratique des Hautes Études. Series V, Hautes études médiévales et modernes, Number 4.] (Geneva: Librairie Droz. 1968. Pp. xviii, 785.)

UN HISTORIEN FRANÇAIS: FERDINAND LOT, 1866-1952. By *Ch.-Edmond Perrin*. [Travaux d'histoire éthico-politique, Number 15.] (Geneva: Librairie Droz. 1968. Pp. 122.)

FERDINAND Lot would have rejoiced in this volume. He loved to do scholarly work, and he had a modest but proper pride in his own accomplishments. Even more, he felt that the final proof of a scholar's work was his ability to inspire a new generation of historians. This collection of his historical essays satisfies both of his desires. It demonstrates his remarkable talents as a scholar; it would never have appeared without the devoted efforts of his former colleagues and students, especially those of the editor, Ch.-E. Perrin.

Perrin did not have an easy task. Obviously, not all of the 388 items in the bibliography so carefully prepared by Mmes. Vildé-Lot and Mahn-Lot could be published. Lot was as much at home in Celtic and medieval French literature as he was in history; all his work in the field of literature has had to be laid aside. He was, with good reason, a severe critic of the French system of higher education and wrote some substantial articles on the subject. These articles, however interesting they might be during the present crisis, have also been omitted. Even so, the *Recueil* will run to at least four volumes.

Perrin introduces us to his master with a moving and very personal biography. One is impressed, first of all, by the even tenor of Lot's life. Never very strong, never able to drive himself to do more than a normal day's work, Lot produced a prodigious number of publications simply by sticking to his job. His remarkable qualities were revealed in his first book on the last Carolingians (1891); they are equally apparent in the works of his old age on medieval armies (1946) or the population of Gallo-Roman towns (1945-53). Second, even if Lot had never written his articles criticizing French higher education, the slowness with which his merit was recognized is in itself a telling criticism of the system. Finally, these pages are an eloquent tribute to the affection and admiration that Lot could inspire in his students.

As for the articles in the present volume, they illustrate the unusual combination of qualities that made Lot a great historian. He enjoyed the highly technical work of textual criticism; as he said in one of his early reviews, every historian should know how to establish a text and how to discuss its authenticity and provenance; hence, the articles on Pseudo-Fredegarius, the False Decretals, Nennius and Gildas. But, along with this technical skill, Lot possessed a powerful imagination, an ability to see the large problems that interest all thinking men as well as

the small problems that interest only a handful of scholars; hence, his concern about the origins of the French nation, the nature of feudalism, and the gradual disappearance of Latin as a spoken language. We see here the knowledge and the insight that were to produce such notable works of synthesis as *La fin du monde antique*.

One last remark: Ferdinand Lot, born in 1866, belonged to a generation of historians that felt its first duty was to establish authentic editions of the sources and its final end to produce accurate political and institutional histories. Lot continued to believe in the value of institutional history; at the very end of his life he planned and partially completed a history of French institutions. (His student, Robert Fawtier, carried the study through the second volume, and the work progresses, in spite of Fawtier's untimely death.) But, with all his interest in institutions, Lot realized, long before it became a dogma of the new school of historians, the value of economic and social history. His interest in demographic problems was evident at least as early as 1921, and *La fin du monde antique* (1927) was based on socioeconomic data. While he was planning the history of French institutions he was writing his three volumes on the population of Gallo-Roman cities. In short, there are many entrances to that inner chamber of the temple of Clio reserved for the great historians. If Lot chose an entrance that most of our contemporaries would shun, he still arrived at his destination.

Princeton University

JOSEPH R. STRAYER

LA ESPAÑA DEL ANTIGUO RÉGIMEN: ESTUDIOS HISTÓRICOS. Edited by Miguel Artola. Part 3, CASTILLA LA VIEJA. By Ma. Pilar Calonge Matellanes et al. [Acta Salmanticensia, Filosofía y letras, Number 55.] ([Salamanca:] Universidad de Salamanca. 1967. Pp. 142, 8 maps.)

THIS is the second installment to date (its predecessor dealt with Salamanca [1966]) of a planned regional survey of eighteenth-century Spain intended to study local administrative subdivisions, population movements, social structure, and economic life. This volume on Old Castile covers about one-tenth of the whole country, for the ancient kingdom of this name included not only the existing provinces of Burgos, Soria, Segovia, and Avila, but also Santander, Logroño, and smaller areas taken away from it in the provincial reorganization of 1833. The text rests entirely, except for census data, upon published materials and includes numerous tables, graphs, and maps; the last, actually forty separate sheets depicting *partido* and other districts and the distribution of villages, towns, and aristocratic domains, are collected in a pocket at the back of the book. In chapters on the geography, population, seigneurial regime, and economy of Old Castile, the three collaborators (Ma. P. Calonge Matellanes, E. García Zarza, and Ma. E. Rodríguez Sánchez) bring out the area's principal features. In the course of the century the population virtually doubled to one million, with 74 per cent of it under forty years of age in 1797; such an age distribution, along with the high birth and mortality rates and low life expectancy, reflects a relatively primitive society—a conclusion confirmed by the fact that the peasantry made up 77 per cent of the inhabitants of this region, which was overwhelmingly agrarian and pastoral except for the textile towns of Segovia and Burgos. Especially extensive

treatment is given the local aristocracy: the principal families and their landholdings or areas of seigneurial jurisdiction are identified and their wide range of administrative, judicial, and tax controls fully described. Some 40 per cent of Old Castile is shown to have remained outside direct or full royal control until the Cortes of 1811 abolished the old feudal *señorios* and converted the nobles into an even more powerful latifundian class.

Obviously this informative work has its limitations. It will need to be supplemented by research in local and national archives before the full picture is available. The apparent reservation of urban centers such as Burgos or Segovia for separate treatment leaves many rural-urban questions unanswered. The treatment of clergy and peasantry is much less full or satisfactory than that accorded the nobles. Use of Miñano's *Diccionario Geográfico-Estadístico* of 1826-1828 is rightly made but, given his reputation for error, this introduces an element of uncertainty into the data. Nevertheless, this volume, and Professor Artola's project as a whole, merits praise and encouragement; only through such a regional survey can we hope to get a true picture of eighteenth-century Spain and understand what conditions were really like prior to the many social and economic changes of the last century and a half.

University of Virginia

C. J. BISHKO

LA GUERRA DE LOS AGRAVIADOS. By *Jaime Torras Elías*. Preface by *Carlos Seco Serrano*. [Universidad de Barcelona, Facultad de Filosofía y Letras, Sección de Historia.] (Barcelona: Publicaciones de la Cátedra de Historia General de España; distrib. by Editorial Teide, Barcelona. 1967. Pp. xxi, 216.)

FEDERALISMO Y REVOLUCIÓN: LAS IDEAS SOCIALES DE PI Y MARGALL. By *Antonio Jutglar Bernaus*. Preface by *Carlos Seco Serrano*. [Universidad de Barcelona, Facultad de Filosofía y Letras.] (Barcelona: Publicaciones de la Cátedra de Historia General de España; distrib. by Editorial Teide, Barcelona. 1966. Pp. xvii, 228.)

THESE two books belong to a series on modern Spanish history edited by Professor Carlos Seco Serrano of the University of Barcelona. Substantial appendixes give the texts of the central sources of the studies. Neither book adds notable luster to the Barcelona school of history founded by the late Jaime Vicens Vives.

Jaime Torras Elías' work is a careful, not very imaginative account of a royalist revolt in Catalonia in 1827. The *Agraviados* or malcontents demanded that Ferdinand VII undo the few reforms remaining from the Liberal regime of 1820-1823. They claimed the King was a prisoner of his ministers. Torras shows that their leaders were clergymen and officers of the royalist rebellion of 1822. The former wanted to revive the Inquisition; the latter to obtain active commissions in the royal army. Their following was in the countryside, where the peasants suffered from a long price decline. Torras holds that the *Agraviados* were the first true Carlists since, unlike earlier royalists, they were ready to question Ferdinand's legitimacy if he ignored their demands. Carlist historians, he says, have obscured the connection because it discredits the sincerity of the later Carlist defense of royal absolutism.

The King weakened the rebel cause and ended the revolt by going in person to Catalonia. They failed because they aroused little response elsewhere in Spain. Torras makes no attempt to explain why the rising was limited to Catalonia, which never became the center of Carlist strength. Vicens Vives has shown that banditry flourished in Catalonia at this time. Was there any connection?

Antonio Jutglar Bernaus' study of the thought of Francisco Pi y Margall is more ambitious but less satisfactory. Pi was the leading Spanish Federalist and a President of the First Republic in 1873. Jutglar proposes to analyze "the dialectic relation between [Pi's] thought and action," but little space is spent on Pi's political actions. The result is a confusing review of Pi's writings, which seeks to establish that he was influenced by Hegel and anticipated the ideas of Proudhon, whom he is usually said to have copied. Rather than a proletarian revolutionary, Jutglar argues, Pi was basically a bourgeois liberal who wanted to see workers and peasants turned into small property owners. His doctrinaire federalism was really a bourgeois, not a proletarian, policy. It could not attract the workers and was too radical for Catalan and Basque industrialists, and so Spain fell back into the grip of the agrarian interests.

Most of this is valid and not particularly original, except Jutglar's view of nineteenth-century Spanish history as revolving around a bourgeois-proletarian conflict that left politicians little alternative between the two sides. This picture, which may fit the history of the industrializing nations, hardly represents Spain of that time. Like Pi y Margall, Jutglar allows his doctrinaire rigidity to cloud his understanding.

University of California, Berkeley

RICHARD HERR

SUOMALAISEN SVEN LEIJONMARCKIN OSUUS VUODEN 1734 LAIN NAIMISKAAREN LAADINNASSA: KAAREN TÄRKEIMPIEN SÄÄNNÖSTÖJEN MUOKKAUTUMINEN, 1689-1694. By *Heikki Ylikangas*. [Historiallisia Tutkimuksia, Volume LXXI.] (Helsinki: Suomen Historiallinen Seura. 1967. Pp. 333.)

VANHAN SUOMEN SUOMALAISUUSLIIKE. Volume II. By *Jouko Teperi*. [Historiallisia Tutkimuksia, Volume LXIX, Number 2.] (Helsinki: Suomen Historiallinen Seura. 1967. Pp. 293.)

POHJOIS-POHJANMAAN KAUPPIAIDEN JA TALONPOIKIEN VÄLISET KAUPPA-JA LUOTTO-SUHTEET 1765-1809. By *Toini Aunola*. [Historiallisia Tutkimuksia, Volume LXXII.] (Helsinki: Suomen Historiallinen Seura. 1967. Pp. 459.)

THE Law of the Swedish Realm of 1734, a notable constitutional landmark, has long been the focus of scholarly attention. Heikki Ylikangas examines the role of the Finnish-born political figure and jurist, Sven Leijonmarck (1649-1728), in the work of the twelve-member commission charged with responsibility for preparing the marriage code. Leijonmarck had studied law at Turku and Uppsala Universities, served in the state archives, and from 1702 to 1721 was vice-president of the Turku Court of Appeals. Leijonmarck's participation in the commission during the years 1689-1694, as Ylikangas attests, was neither forceful nor decisive, yet his knowledge of the law, his devotion to the concept of natural law,

and his quiet and philosophical manner did influence the commission's deliberations. His major contribution, Ylikangas concludes, was an "individualism that stressed personal legal security and freedom."

The vicissitudes of the Fennoman movement in eastern Finland during the 1850's and 1860's form the subject matter of Jouko Teperi's study. (A volume published in 1965 dealt with its origins and early development.) The program of the eastern Fennomen, centered in Viipuri, Teperi finds in the views of such leaders as Johannes Althan, Carl I. Qvist, and Axel G. Corander, the editorial stances of such newspapers as *Otava* and *Aamurusko*, and the activities of the Viipuri Finnish Literature Society. The distinguishing feature of eastern Fennomanism was its "uncompromising, one-sided, and aggressive" advocacy of economic, social, and political reform, designed to awaken, enlighten, and uplift the rural masses. Asserted one of the leaders, "Without changes in our social structure, without the entry of new elements into our common life, all our efforts will be fruitless." A purely nationality and language approach was dismissed as inadequate.

Toini Aunola's contribution is a careful analysis of trade and credit relations between merchants and farmers in North Ostrobothnia during the years 1765-1809, based primarily on an exhaustive examination of the account books of leading commercial houses. Despite the jaundiced views of governmental officials, credit trading was common in northern Finland. An Oulu customs official reported that, "There are many things going on here, lending and borrowing, trade and bankruptcies." Only about one-quarter of the farmers generally were able to balance their accounts with merchants, even in periods of relative prosperity, and no more than one in twenty was able to remain continuously free of debt. As much as one-half of the gross wealth of leading merchants was represented by debts owed them by farmers; competition among lenders was spirited, and failures were common. Yet, as Aunola shows, the system had advantages: many farmers "saw their debts diminish" during the period's unceasing inflation; more affluent merchants profited from large-scale trading; the state's "ever-empty" treasury received tax payments; and the economy as a whole benefited from regular deliveries of export goods. Indeed, concludes the author, the region's social and economic progress could be traced back to "this entrepreneurial activity."

Heidelberg College

JOHN I. KOLEHMAINEN

DIE VERWALTUNG DES HAUPTAMTES BRANDENBURG-OST-
PREUSSEN VON 1713 BIS 1751. By *Hannelore Juhr*. (Berlin: [the Author.]
1967. Pp. 172.)

Dr. Juhr found in the course of preparing her study of an East Prussian district that the royal civil service there was less effective than she had expected. I found in the course of reading it that they were more effective than I should have expected. Her undertaking to show "a piece of East Prussian local administration in the age of high absolutism" leads to a concluding paragraph on the "stubborn, passive power of what existed" (pp. 33, 172). But the story between tells of the steady emasculation and destruction of older regional and district administration by royal cameral government, with its familiar apparatus of *Steuerräte*, *Landräte*, and

domain jurisdictions. She describes the appointment of "new men" from outside the district into old offices which were allowed to stand; these were commonly unqualified retired soldiers, and their appointment accompanied the evolution of their offices into powerless sinecures (p. 39: she quotes Hans Rosenberg on "the blending of civil and military administration"). She describes the juggling of jurisdictions to shift channels and location of administrative and fiscal power; she tells of the progressive exclusion of traditional *Hauptmleute* from the towns and from the domains where once they had ruled; she notes the practice of "forgetting" the old offices and officers in new administrative regulations. The process was not *Gleichschaltung* by fiat, to be sure; it avoided direct confrontation wherever possible, and there was plenty of corruption, intrigue, and private ambition among the civil servants. But it was a game at which the latter far outmatched "the power of the existing." The tactics and expedients royal officials applied appear as evidence of weakness when they are placed alongside the model of rational omnipotent bureaucracy, animated by a "stern sense of duty," that is the author's recurring point of comparison. But as documentation of the resources, the ingenuity, and the skills of the Prussian civil service of the early eighteenth century, they are evidence that the Prussian administrative and constitutional historians from Schmoller to Hintze were more nearly right than one might have thought they were.

Cornell University

MACK WALKER

THE GERMAN CONCEPTION OF HISTORY: THE NATIONAL TRADITION OF HISTORICAL THOUGHT FROM HERDER TO THE PRESENT. By *Georg G. Iggers*. (Middletown, Conn.: Wesleyan University Press. 1968. Pp. xii, 363. \$10.00.)

IGGERS here expands upon, supplies the connecting tissue between, quotes at length and almost verbatim from, but nowhere mentions two of his own earlier articles. The title of the second of these suggests the thesis of the book as well: "The Dissolution of German Historicism [*sic*]," in the *Festschrift* for Louis Gottschalk (*Ideas in History* [1965]). The thesis is that classical German historicism has not simply "dissolved" in the twentieth century but, rather, that it deserved to dissolve, having been logically untenable as well as politically damaging. The political part of the thesis is recognizably a version, perhaps more sophisticated, of the "From Luther (or Hegel, or Bismarck, or Nietzsche) to Hitler" approach to recent German history, which establishes a diabolical genealogy for the horrors of National Socialism. Here the progenitors are Wilhelm von Humboldt and Leopold von Ranke, though Hegel continues to serve as an auxiliary evil genius. One essential element of such a thesis is continuity. Iggers is concerned to maintain that the decisionism of Jünger and Heidegger is traceable not only to the generations of Troeltsch (whose efforts are patronized as "pathetic") and Dilthey (who wanted "to have his cake and eat it, too") but to the beginning of the nineteenth century. One passage in this argument is worth quoting at some length because it also epitomizes many of the strengths and weaknesses of the book: "From the vantage point of our time we look at the past, particularly before the outbreak of World War I, to find the roots of our cultural malaise. True, some

of the roots are there. But we may be easily tempted to a one-sided view of this period, seeing it from the perspective of the great upheavals and catastrophes of the past half century. The role of ethical relativism, irrationalism, and cultural pessimism in social thought, at the turn of the century, has been probably overdramatized in some of the recent literature. It is doubtful whether modern relativism in regard to ethical and political values arose primarily as a result of the methodological discussions of that period. The famous distinction between the methods applicable to the cultural sciences and those of the natural sciences did not suddenly originate with Dilthey and Windelband, but went back to a line of thought which had its origins in the revolt of the German Historical School against the tradition of natural law. Perhaps much more important than the disenchantment with religion and metaphysics among positivistic writers, in the course of the nineteenth century, was the insistence of German historically oriented writers to approach ideas and values not in terms of absolute norms of truth or good, but as expressions of a specific age, culture, or people." A second and complementary part of the political indictment is the legacy of nationalism and uncritical adulation of the state allegedly inherited from Humboldt and Ranke. Iggers' interpretations of these two are too much influenced by Kaehler and Von Laue, respectively, and Humboldt and Ranke are accordingly scolded for their political views, as indeed are almost all of the historians discussed.

Iggers' concern with "political values" as much as with "theoretical presuppositions" is justified in terms of the connection alleged between the two, between "the crisis of German liberal thought" and "the crisis of German historicism": "Historicism carried into a technological and scientific age a conception of society and a methodology [Ranke's] better suited to the study of certain aspects of the politics and the intellectual life of a predemocratic age." But historicism is faulted for an intrinsically abortive epistemology as well, for its insistence on "the uniqueness of all human activity." Iggers, who appears to favor a straightforward correspondence theory of truth, attacks this theoretical basis of historicism as being antiphilosophical, excluding "the possibility of any historical contribution to a scientific approach to the questions of the nature of man or of the overall direction of human history." Burckhardt, Max Weber, and the school of the *Annales* are praised for paying attention to types and structures in history, although Dilthey's attempts to meet the same need are dismissed as contradictory. The argument for "directional development" in history is based on the allegedly undeniable progressive tendencies to be found in the history of science, although it is just these tendencies that are denied in T. S. Kuhn's brilliant recent work, *The Structure of Scientific Revolutions*. Iggers himself admits in the end that "the nature of history may indeed, as the historicists have maintained, speak against linear development in history." Such concessions, however, do not diminish the vigor with which Iggers attacks the historicists for the "inner contradictions" of their "tradition" as well as for having "contributed to the atmosphere that facilitated the rise of an authoritarian regime."

As a thorough and reasonably clear exposition of the ideas of a number of important figures and as a conscientious work of scholarship based almost entirely on printed sources, this book may be useful to experienced scholars able to read it with discrimination who need information not readily available elsewhere, as, for

example, on the Ranke-Leo controversy. In the hands of students the volume may, despite some perceptive comments, do more harm than good, confirming prejudices rather than provoking thought. Both categories of reader are likely to be annoyed by the not infrequent solecisms, the unidiomatic translations, and the mistakes and anomalies in the endnotes, but all of these are less important than the intrusiveness of Iggers' hostility to his subject. Apart from the dubious and oversimplified political argument, historicism, though originating and most concentrated in Germany, is better analyzed in the context of universal historiographical problems than as a phenomenon characteristic of any one country.

University of Keele

W. M. SIMON

FRIEDRICH WILHELM II. KÖNIG VON PREUSSEN: EIN LEBENSBILD.

By W. M. Frhr. v. Bissing. (Berlin: Duncker & Humblot. 1967. Pp. 187. DM 26.60.)

Bissing's stated purpose is to draw a portrait of Friedrich Wilhelm II of Prussia (1786-1797) on the basis of the most recent research, rather than to re-examine all of the appropriate primary sources. The paucity of adequate biographical studies—Bissing regards Stanhope's *A Mystic on the Prussian Throne* (1912) as the best of an otherwise mediocre lot—makes this a legitimate and commendable purpose.

Bissing's portrait highlights Friedrich Wilhelm's mystical tendencies, his consequent involvement with the Rosicrucians, and his complicated relations with the fairer sex. Bissing regards the former as a pious reaction to Frederick the Great's deistic rationalism, while the latter, more schoolboyish than licentious, might be considered a reaction to Frederick's misogyny. The contrast between nephew and uncle is not absolute, however, for Bissing repeatedly asserts that neither mystics nor women ultimately determined Friedrich Wilhelm's policies, that the King jealously guarded royal prerogatives, and that he acted in keeping with his understanding of Prussian interests (an understanding not, however, based on a rationalistic *raison d'état*). Bissing readily admits the King's talents did not match his pretensions. Thus his reign only confirmed Prussia's isolation in international politics and did not accomplish the administrative reforms necessitated by the territories added through the Polish partitions. Still Bissing rejects Treitschke's view that only the ineffectiveness of the monarch prevented Prussia from seizing German leadership as it did after 1860.

Using a common biographical device, Bissing attempts to epitomize Friedrich Wilhelm as a true man of his times, *ein Mensch des Rokoko*, but this use of "Rococo" is an invocation of an artificial formula rather than of a meaningful historical concept. More disconcerting than the strained use of "Rococo," however, is Bissing's failure, despite his statement of purpose, to employ recent research. His bibliography and notes indicate minimal reference to secondary works published since 1945 and almost none to non-German works. Even so his conclusions are hardly controversial if only because of his reliance on such older authorities as Ranke, Hintze, and Koser, who have worn tolerably well. This volume consequently provides a brief, intelligible introduction to a monarch and a reign

usually obscured by the more vigorous character of the Frederician Age or the more dramatic currents of the revolutionary epoch.

Alma College

WILLIAM J. MCGILL

YEAR BOOK XII. [Publications of the Leo Baeck Institute.] (London: East and West Library for the Institute. 1967. Pp. xxvi, 323.)

STUDIES OF THE LEO BAECK INSTITUTE. Edited by *Max Kreutzberger*. (New York: Frederick Ungar Publishing Company. 1967. Pp. x, 318. \$6.50.)

THE twelfth annual yearbook of the Leo Baeck Institute continues the established pattern of these books by devoting twelve essays to one topic: Jewish intellectual life in Germany since the emancipation (1800). Monographs on two schools of higher education—the “Hochschule für die Wissenschaft des Judentums” by Richard Fuchs and the “Berlin Rabbinical Seminary” by Isi Jacob Eisner—describe their programs and curriculums during Nazi rule until their suppression in 1942 and 1938, respectively. Essays on Jews in politics and literature range from a re-examination of Friedrich Julius Stahl, the father of Prussian conservatism, by Robert A. Kann and an evaluation of the poet Michael Beer by Lothar Kahn to an examination of Franz Kafka’s Zionist attitudes by Hartmut Binder. As a whole, these articles effectively illustrate the German-Jewish ambiosis in its variegated nuances: attraction and repulsion, assimilation and rejection, love and hatred.

I found interesting and valuable data in Kurt Grünwald’s forty-nine-page essay “Europe’s Railways and Jewish Enterprise” and Rahel Liebschütz’ “The Wind of Change—Letters of Two Generations from the Biedermeier Period,” which contains family correspondence of and by Simon Belmont (1789–1859) who was the father of the American financier August Belmont (1813–1890). The story of the involvement of Jewish-owned banks, such as the various branches of the Rothschilds, Goldschmidts, or Bischoffsheims, who had offices in the major European cities, would be even more useful if some of the over-all quantitative and qualitative statistics on European railroad construction and financing between 1835 and 1875 had been provided.

The *Studies of the Leo Baeck Institute* consist of nine lectures originally presented at the Leo Baeck Institute in New York. Five of these studies treat specific problems, facts, and periods of German-Jewish history, the stated field of the institute, while the other papers reach beyond this area of research: they draw upon and elucidate facets of history and ideas that help toward an understanding of the contemporary Jewish situation (Gerson D. Cohen, “Messianic Postures of Ashkenazim and Sephardim”; Oscar Handlin, “Jews in the Culture of Middle Europe”; Jacob B. Agus, “Myth, Faith, and Reality in Jewish Life”; and Ellis Rivkin, “The Diaspora: Its Historical Significance”).

For many centuries Jewish life had been narrowly confined, with only rare contacts with the outside world. When the Age of the Emancipation began with Moses Mendelssohn, who died in 1786, it stimulated a climate of receptiveness for European, particularly German, cultural and intellectual influences; it ushered in the struggle for equal rights in public life and for a share in the economic growth of the nineteenth century. In less than 150 years, barely encompassing five

generations, this process unfolded itself to reach its apex between the two world wars.

During these same years, before the history of German-speaking Jewry reached its catastrophic end, cultural and intellectual achievements were produced, achievements that were to influence world events and the thought of mankind.

In the field of Judaica, modern Orthodoxy, the Reform and the conservative movements as viable forms of religious expressions received their first impetus among German Jews. The question of survival in the midst of continuing secularization and assimilation was already widely debated at the turn of the century. The science of Judaism ("die Wissenschaft des Judentums") and modern political Zionism were born in Germany, and much of their classic literature was produced there. The essays by Fritz Bamberger ("Leo Baeck: The Man and the Idea"), Erich Kahler ("The Jews and the Germans"), Hans J. Morgenthau ("The Tragedy of German-Jewish Liberalism"), Jacob Katz ("The German-Jewish Utopia of Social Emancipation"), and George L. Mosse ("The Influence of the Völkisch Idea on German Jewry") treat various aspects of this German-Jewish dialogue. These aspects at the same time encompassed wider concerns: "a wider perspective of recent developments has made us aware of the fact that those monstrosities [. . . what happened in Germany . . .] form part of an overall trend . . . , a trend toward progressive overcivilized dehumanization," as stated by Kahler, who contributes much toward an understanding of the problem of Jewish identity vis-à-vis the claims of the modern nation-state. That the clash occurred in Germany and took such tragic forms highlights a unique relationship, "an interpretation of dispositions and destinies, which, in both peoples, touched the nerve of existence."

Mosse's paper on the influence of the "völkisch" ideology concludes with three questions that well summarize and demarcate the historical perspective of these materials: "The end was tragic, but the problems which they tried to solve still haunt our times. For who among us has found a way to end alienation? Who has bridged the gap between materialism and human creativity? Who has succeeded in transforming modern nationalism into a belief where genuine culture is more important than outward and aggressive power?"

East Los Angeles College

FRANK ROSENTHAL

GERMANY IN THE AGE OF BISMARCK. By *W. M. Simon*. [Historical Problems: Studies and Documents, Number 2.] (New York: Barnes and Noble, 1968. Pp. x, 14-246. \$5.75.)

THIS book is part of a new series, published in England, which differs from similar publications inasmuch as the documentary section is preceded by an extensive introductory essay. Almost a monograph in itself, Professor Simon's preface provides a remarkably comprehensive survey of the Bismarck era, based on the most recent literature and full of perceptive insights and comments on the Chancellor and his time. In the limited space allotted to him, Simon has been able to explore in depth such complex issues as the Prussian constitutional conflict of the 1860's, the Kulturkampf, the rise of socialism (with some inter-

esting observations on the extent of the impact of Marxism on the Social Democratic party), and the final clash between Bismarck and William II. Simon is primarily interested in the Chancellor's domestic policies, but enough information is provided on Bismarck's diplomacy to round out the story.

The documents, which deal almost exclusively with domestic problems, are well selected, with, perhaps, one exception. Just because the emphasis is placed on internal developments one wishes that some more telling material had been provided on the increasingly poisonous atmosphere that pervaded the Germany of the 1870's and 1880's and to which Bismarck himself contributed much by willfully discrediting the motives of his opponents. Mention is made of this most serious of Bismarck's failings in several documents, but one or two of the Chancellor's more demagogic speeches or the views of such outspoken critics as Eugen Richter or August Bebel would have illustrated this point more strikingly. Statements of these latter critics might also have helped to correct the impression, which Simon conveys, no doubt unwittingly, on occasion, as if Bismarck had imposed his policies singlehandedly on the nation. What the author calls the "feudalization of the bourgeoisie," for example, was not simply the Chancellor's doing, as Simon seems to suggest, but was helped along by a highly responsive middle class.

These are of course rather minor flaws in a book that will be welcomed as a very useful text for graduate courses in German and European history. Most of the documents are excerpts of substantial length and lend themselves well to the training of students in the analysis and interpretation of the raw materials of history.

Ohio State University

ANDREAS DORPALEN

DER JÜDISCHE ABWEHRKAMPF GEGEN ANTISEMITISMUS UND NATIONALSOZIALISMUS IN DEN LETZTEN JAHREN DER WEIMARER REPUBLIK. By *Arnold Paucker*. [Hamburger Beiträge zur Zeitgeschichte, Number 4.] ([Hamburg:] Leibniz-Verlag. 1968. Pp. 311. DM 25.)

WHEN Hermann Göring testified in his own defense at Nuremberg, he referred to a propaganda war between the Nazis and the Jews during the Weimar years. The Jews, he indicated, had fought back fiercely. Arnold Paucker's book is the story of that "counterattack," its organization, content, and effect. His work is as complete a report as one might ask for: more than 130 pages of writing, followed by the texts of 69 rare documents, 50 pages of notes, 12 pages of bibliography, and name as well as subject indexes. While Paucker does not write analytically, his crisp account leaves no reader in doubt about the conclusions that must be drawn from it.

His first point is that the Jews of Germany were experienced counterpropagandists. From 1890, Jews and Germans had sat together in the *Verein zur Abwehr des Antisemitismus*. The periodical of that organization, the *Abwehr-Blätter*, was published for forty-two years. From 1893, the *Central-Verein deutscher Staatsbürger jüdischen Glaubens* was German Jewry's principal representative in its argument with the anti-Semites. Most of the documents reproduced by Paucker come from its files. In 1896, a legal defense bureau was formed; over the years it brought hundreds of cases to the courts.

Paucker deals extensively with the tone of the Jewish campaign. It was certainly a dignified argument, full of logic, appealing to the German intellect. The Jews, it was pointed out, were scapegoats. They were being persecuted in Germany even as Germany was persecuted by the world. They would have liked to be conservatives, like the English Jews, but were being forced into liberalism by the anti-Semites. They had left the territories lost to Poland (especially Posen) because of their love of Germany. Their casualty rate in World War I (12.5 per cent of the entire Jewish population) was exactly the same as the record of Munich, and the bodies of the Jewish fallen soldiers were resting with their German comrades on foreign soil.

All these appeals were in vain, and Paucker shows in some detail how the Jewish drive failed in the end. One poster, which featured a vile quote from *Mein Kampf*, was simply taken over by the Nazis. The courts became a forum for the anti-Semitic defendants. The intellectual line had to be buttressed with a lower order of propaganda which was shipped to the Social Democrats for distribution under the Social Democratic imprint.

This was the Jewish battle for more than four decades, to January 30, 1933. There was literally enough activity to fill a book. It was all carefully considered, fully developed, and well financed. Now that we know what happened in the wake of that defense, is this not an important piece of history?

University of Vermont

RAUL HILBERG

WILHELM STAPEL ALS POLITISCHER PUBLIZIST: EIN BEITRAG ZUR GESCHICHTE DES KONSERVATIVEN NATIONALISMUS ZWISCHEN DEN BEIDEN WELTKRIEGEN. By *Heinrich Kessler*. (Nuremberg: Lorenz Spindler Verlag. 1967. Pp. 326. DM 15.)

Once a doctoral dissertation at the University of Erlangen, this photostated work is a painstaking analysis of the political writings of Wilhelm Stapel, a Protestant lay theologian, philosopher, literary critic, young conservative militant, and anti-Semitic pamphleteer. Stapel was a good writer; Kessler is less so. Despite earnest efforts to the contrary, Stapel emerges from this study as a pompous, humorless, politically unreliable figure.

Born in 1882, the son of a Prussian watchmaker, Stapel earned a doctorate in art history at the University of Göttingen, and in 1903 he began to work as a journalist under the influence of Friedrich Naumann. He was then a Left-wing liberal but also an aggressive nationalist. Because he believed in "deeper ethics" and in an "aesthetic-national education," Stapel joined Avenarius' *Kunstwart* in 1911, and in his articles abominated Wilhelmian histrionics and bourgeois materialism. The patriotic experience of 1914 turned Stapel into a Right Winger and a supporter of Ludendorff's annexation program. He also adopted the "Volksgedanke" as the leitmotiv of his political program. At the end of the war he became editor in chief of the Hamburg *Deutsches Volkstum*, a monthly journal owned by the nationalist trade-union of German salesclerks (DHV). From then on, he devoted his life to that journal, and to the *Hanseatische Verlagsanstalt*, equally owned by the trade-union of salesclerks. At its height, the *Deutsches Volkstum* appeared in five thousand copies, but it was undoubtedly very influen-

tial in Protestant-educated circles. In many ways it was a counterpart to the Left-wing radical *Die Weltbühne*, and Stapel was a worthy opponent of Kurt Tucholsky. His vitriolic polemics with the *Weltbühne* writers constitute the best part of Stapel's *œuvre*; the rest consists mainly of a diatribe against parliamentarism and the Weimar Republic, with repeated reference to such notions as "Volkheit," "Volkstum," and "Volkspatriotismus" (in contrast to "Staatspatriotismus"). There is also a profound craving for a *Führer* who would put an end to Jewish competition in literature and secure, among other things, *Lebensraum* for the German peasants in Eastern Europe. That Hitler never managed to fit Stapel's image of that *Führer* resulted from Stapel's vast cultural snobbishness and his individualism. Still, he supported the pro-Nazi German Christian movement after 1933 and was highly indignant over attacks directed against him by SS theoreticians. In silent opposition after 1938, Stapel was at a loss to understand why he was again slighted after the fall of Hitler. He died in 1954 a forgotten man. Stapel was a characteristic, if talented, product of German national conservatism; he should not be treated as a great political thinker.

Columbia University

ISTVAN DEAK

DESIGN FOR TOTAL WAR: ARMS AND ECONOMICS IN THE THIRD REICH. By *Berenice A. Carroll*. [Studies in European History, Number 17.] (The Hague: Mouton. 1968. Pp. 311. 42 gls.)

This book is scarcely a study of arms and economics in the Third *Reich*. It is, rather, a review of policy and administration regarding economic mobilization primarily from the viewpoint of one of the contending parties, General Georg Thomas' *Wehrwirtschafts- und Rüstungsamt* of the *Oberkommando der Wehrmacht*, which makes it much narrower in scope and more superficial in treatment than the title would indicate. The story she tells is worth telling, however, and it is presented with commendable clarity, despite the complex and intricate nature of the subject.

The first chapter is a general discussion of the problem of "Total War," or, more properly, the beginning of such a discussion. It is characterized by effective synthesis and persuasive analysis. The author discusses the origins of the idea of total war and the extent to which it has been realized. She also introduces, but abandons, the question of the extent to which total war is either necessary or desirable. Taken as an essay in itself, the chapter is excellent, though incomplete. It is less effective as an introduction to her book, especially since she does not return to this theme in her conclusion.

Most of the book deals with the development of the military office that grew into Thomas' "empire." The emphasis is upon Thomas' ideas and plans and the problems he encountered in trying to translate them into reality. It therefore illuminates the economic policy of the *Reich* and of Hitler and Göring from one corner of the economic and military edifice. With the fall of Thomas, the pace of the narrative steps up vigorously, and the post-Thomas phase of the war is dealt with in one brief chapter, which seems rather short shrift for the greater part of the war years, in view of her title.

The central portion of the book is based on very solid and impressive research in primary source materials, as is true, to a lesser extent, with regard to the last chapter. The author has also shown a grasp of the secondary literature relative to her subject and has, in places, criticized the work of such other scholars as Franz Neumann, Alan Milward, and Burton Klein perceptively and persuasively. She is clearly at home in the jungle of the Third *Reich's* economic bureaucracy, although not everyone will accept all of her judgments or evaluations concerning programs, personalities, and alternatives.

A major criticism is that the book deals far more with economic administration than with economics and far more with both than with arms. It tends to skip along the surface of the problems of armament policy and performance and ignores crucial questions, both of principle and execution. Insufficient consideration is given to the question of what was the best solution to the *Reich's* economic administrative problems and to Hitler's reasons for the policy he adopted. No analysis of the basic economic and armament problems of the *Reich* is given in clear and concrete terms, as opposed to a general discussion of struggles over "pie splitting." Which were more important, aircraft, tanks, or submarines? Should priority go to radios or radar guidance and fire control systems? Should oil go to submarines or fighter aircraft? Is quality or quantity more important under World War II conditions? Some key personalities are ignored completely, while others are slighted. Speer's contribution in terms of simplification of armament manufacturing techniques and the attempt to gain maximum value from existing materials (as in the case of the *Sturmgewehr* program) is passed over in silence.

In general, military matters are slighted, and there is no connection indicated among strategy, tactics, and arms production. Carroll also assumes that superior production means automatic victory, a concept we have triumphantly disproved in Korea and, more recently, in Vietnam.

This book is valuable for what it is, as opposed to what it claims to be, and its shortcomings seem to stem from an attempt to broaden its appeal and to expand a sound dissertation for publication purposes. In essence, Carroll has given us a valuable account of one aspect of the administrative and economic struggle within Germany in the Third *Reich*.

University of Massachusetts

HAROLD J. GORDON, JR.

THE CONSPIRACY AGAINST HITLER IN THE TWILIGHT WAR. By
Harold C. Deutsch. (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press. 1968. Pp.
x, 394. \$8.95.)

In recent years the literature about the German resistance against Hitler has become very voluminous indeed, especially in Germany. It may safely be predicted that Professor Deutsch's volume will stand out in this increasingly massive array both because of the new information that it brings and because of the thoughtful and revealing way in which the new is confronted and integrated with the previously known. The focus is on the period from September 1939 to May 1940, the period when the conspiracy within Germany seemed about to strike several times and when, for the only time during the history of the Third *Reich*, there was a

serious and sustained contact between the opposition inside Germany and the government of Great Britain through Pius XII as intermediary.

The conspiratorial nature of the subject, the destruction of important relevant archives in Germany, and the apparent culling of the British Foreign Office documentation to protect the Vatican when an invasion of England seemed likely have all reduced the available evidence. It is, therefore, entirely appropriate that Deutsch should devote much more space and attention to the evaluation and discussion of conflicting oral testimony than one might ordinarily welcome in a monograph. This is one case where such analysis of the evidence is quite appropriate. In the process the issues and personalities become clearer, and, where there is still doubt, at least the boundaries of the unknown are defined.

Deutsch's presentation is especially revealing on three counts. First, we get a better picture than ever before of the development and fading of opposition to Hitler among the German military in the fall of 1939. The personalities of Generals Brauchitsch and Halder and their role in the situation are made understandable, though the almost unbelievable lack of backbone, courage, and decency in Brauchitsch is assumed rather than discussed. Second, the relationship of internal planning to foreign contacts by the opposition is clarified by the detailed account of the negotiations through the Vatican with the British government. In this the generally reasonable attitude of the latter comes through in spite of the author's rather skeptical evaluation of both Chamberlain and Halifax. This would have been even more obvious if attention had been paid to the justified skepticism of the British leaders: they had been told by the opposition in 1938 that if they only stood firm and insisted that they intended to do so, the opposition would overthrow the regime. When the British government followed precisely this course in 1939, Hitler went to war unhampered by any internal resistance; in all fairness Deutsch might have cited the expressions of joy over the invasion of Poland from the papers of General Wagner that figure importantly in subsequent events of a very different kind.

The third area of major new insights is the very convincing explanation of the relationship between resistance inside Germany and the warning first to the Scandinavian countries and later to Holland and Belgium about the forthcoming German invasion from both Colonel Hans Oster of the opposition and the Vatican. One can see clearly how no one could expect the Western Powers ever to credit anyone in Germany when those who claimed to speak for a decent people simultaneously participated in the preparation of unprovoked attacks on neutrals. Similarly, Pius XII, after vouching for the seriousness of the Germans for whom he contacted the British, could hardly be expected to allow such actions to be interpreted subsequently as a device to lull the forthcoming victims of Axis strategy.

All of these points combine to emphasize the fact grasped by some in Germany at the time and heavily emphasized by Deutsch that the winter of 1939-1940 was perhaps the most promising time for any change in Germany leading to a negotiated settlement of the war. It is worth noting that the first country in World War II to be informed that it must surrender unconditionally was Belgium.

Not all readers will be convinced by Deutsch's effort to rehabilitate German State Secretary Ernst von Weizsäcker, but even the skeptics, like myself, will be

impressed. Many other figures in the drama will be re-evaluated as a result of the information presented in this book. Two broad questions remain untouched. The assumption that only the generals could act is surely not quite accurate; no foreign tanks would have protected Hitler against an aroused populace as happened in Berlin in June 1953 and Budapest in October 1956. If there was no alternative to a military *coup*, this is a judgment, not a natural phenomenon. In the second place, is there not some deeper significance to the paradox that after the German generals indicated that they could not bear to have Field Marshal Blomberg as Minister of War because of the background of his wife, they were perfectly willing to accept Brauchitsch as commander in chief of the army in spite of the fact that the shady circumstances of his divorce and remarriage made it impossible for him to stand up to Hitler?

In his work Deutsch relied heavily on the diaries of Helmuth Groscurth, a key figure in the conspiracies against Hitler. The long-awaited edition of this source by Deutsch and Helmut Krausnick should make an excellent complement to this book; one can only hope that a German publisher might attain the indexing standards exhibited here. The two books will, together, be a fitting memorial to the bravery of the few and the shame of the many.

University of Michigan

GERHARD L. WEINBERG

DAS GESANDTSCHAFTSWESEN OSTMITTELEUROPAS IN DER FRÜHEN NEUZEIT: BEITRÄGE ZUR GESCHICHTE DER DIPLOMATIE IN DER ERSTEN HÄLFTE DES SECHZEHNTEN JAHRHUNDERTS NACH DEN AUFZEICHNUNGEN DES FREIHERRN SIGMUND VON HERBERSTEIN. By Bertold Picard. [Wiener Archiv für Geschichte des Slawentums und Osteuropas: Veröffentlichungen des Instituts für osteuropäische Geschichte und Südostforschung der Universität Wien, Number 6.] (Vienna: Hermann Böhlau Nachf. 1967. Pp. 192. DM 24.)

THE development of modern diplomacy in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries has, during the last few decades, received increasing attention in a considerable number of articles and in a few books in various languages. Most of them concentrated on one state and its diplomatic activities, as, for example, reports on diplomatic travels in the service of King George of Poděbrad, presented in a small volume introduced by Urbánek (*Ve službách Jiříka krále* [1940]); or in Willy Andreas' *Staatskunst und Diplomatie der Venezianer* (1943). Less limited in scope was Garrett Mattingly's little masterwork *Renaissance Diplomacy* (1955). Now the *Institut für osteuropäische Geschichte* of the University of Vienna has published a useful addition on the diplomacy of East Central Europe in the early sixteenth century.

Dr. Picard's book is concentrated on one famous figure: the Austrian Baron Sigmund of Herberstein. He was, as is well known, the most distinguished Austrian diplomat throughout the greater part of the rule of Ferdinand I. He lived long enough (1486-1566) to gain enormous experience, and his memoirs as well as his report on the Empire of Muscovy have become sources of first-class value.

Picard, however, does not limit himself to a study of Herberstein as the most famous individual diplomat of his region and time; he tries to use him essen-

tially as a prominent yet also typical representative of his profession, mainly by adding to Herberstein's own reports those of others and thereby building up a picture of the system of diplomatic work and the structure of embassies on a comparative basis. It is not an easy task, yet Picard has succeeded remarkably well, and the reader gains a rich, colorful, and, at the same time, convincing picture of this important field of sixteenth-century foreign policy, especially between the Habsburg ruler and the countries of the East, Poland and Muscovy, and most remarkably also between Ferdinand and the Ottoman Empire, with the issue of divided Hungary and Transylvania playing a role of considerable significance.

Herberstein's diplomatic activity, like that of several of his colleagues, was not limited to his personal travels and missions, even though it was just such travels and visits that, like those to Muscovy, made his contributions especially valuable for his King as well as for the historiography of later times. While Herberstein was not exactly unique, he was surely much better than most of the traveling ambassadors of his time; he established what became a model of this type of statesmanship. For this reason Picard did well in using this fascinating historical figure as the prototype of this rapidly developing profession. Picard's book is a most valuable contribution to a field that, it is to be hoped, will soon gain even more attention.

University of Calgary

FREDERICK G. HEYMANN

GEORG JOACHIM RHETIKUS, 1514-1574: EINE BIO-BIBLIOGRAPHIE. Volume I, HUMANIST UND WEGBEREITER DER MODERNEN NATURWISSENSCHAFTEN; Volume II, QUELLEN UND BIBLIOGRAPHIE. By Karl Heinz Burmeister. (Wiesbaden: Guido Pressler Verlag. 1967; 1968. Pp. xi, 206; ix, 100. DM 140 the set.)

FIVE years ago Karl Heinz Burmeister put scholars in his debt with a pioneering biographical essay on Sebastian Münster, the Hebraist and cosmographer (*Sebastian Münster: Versuch eines biographischen Gesamtbildes* [1963]). By means of meticulous archival and exegetical investigation, Burmeister was able to correct dozens of errors and misconceptions about Münster and to provide the foundation for a proper scholarly biography and interpretation.

He has now done it again for the mathematician, astronomer, and Copernican disciple, Joachim Rheticus, a man whose historical significance as the author of the *narratio prima* has long been recognized, but whose career and personality had never been recalled from the limbo of the epigoni. Born in 1514 to an interesting German-Italian heritage in the ancient region of Rhaetia (hence, Rheticus; his family name was Iserin), he studied philology in Zurich and then was apprenticed to the well-known physician Achilles Gasser. Mathematical studies at Wittenberg, intended to prepare him for advanced work in medicine, led instead to his appointment to a chair in mathematics. At Wittenberg Rheticus taught the introductory courses in arithmetic and geometry and lectured on physics and optics. He cultivated an active circle of scholars and poets. Mathematics and astronomy became his passion. He traveled to Nuremberg, Ingolstadt, and Tübingen for conferences and shoptalk. Having learned of Copernicus' work, and being convinced that no one else could give him an authoritative introduction to it, he

journeyed to Frauenburg and spent two and a half fruitful years with the master. The *narratio prima*, an open letter to his friend the Nuremberg mathematician and geographer Johann Schöner (1540), was the result of his successful attempt to comprehend Copernicus' system, of which he remained a convinced and loyal advocate. Back at his university he argued for Copernicus against the Wittenberg orthodoxy. The year 1542 saw him in Nuremberg to help supervise the printing of the *de revolutionibus*, though he left before its completion to take up a professorship in Leipzig. He traveled in Italy and Switzerland, undertook a prolific publication program of calendars, prognostications, and ephemerides, and lectured to a devoted and growing group of students.

In 1551 misfortune struck. Apprehended in a homosexual affair with the son of a local merchant, Rheticus fled from Leipzig to escape the consequences of conviction (death by burning, according to the prevailing law). He went to Prague and Vienna and then settled in Cracow for the remaining twenty years of his life, practicing medicine and conducting chemical experiments on the model of the man who, apart from Copernicus, had influenced him most deeply: Paracelsus. He also advanced the manuscript of what he hoped would be a fundamental mathematical work (completed and published by his pupil Valentin Otho in 1596). He died while on a visit to Hungary in 1574.

Burmeister intended not to write a fully rounded biography, but to establish the facts of the life of this important and, in many ways, typical Renaissance figure. Sixteenth-century specialists and historians of science will be grateful to him, for it is now possible to ascertain Rheticus' place in the development of mathematics and astronomy and his role in the spread of the Copernican idea. Burmeister is explicit on the details of Rheticus' career; he also provides a one-hundred-page companion volume containing an interesting discussion of source problems and excellent bibliographies of works by and about Rheticus, letters, dedications, remarks by contemporaries, and so on. If I have a criticism, it is that Burmeister tends to be apologetic and to explain too much where his subject's actions deviate from twentieth-century notions, especially Rheticus' alchemical and astrological interests and his homosexuality. This strikes me as provincial. I cannot judge whether the available material permits a more comprehensive reconstruction of Rheticus' mind than Burmeister attempts. If Rheticus did complete his great book on natural philosophy, it has been lost. The book might have revealed him as another Bruno, or it might not; we cannot say. What we can say is that Rheticus had a searching and perceptive intellect and that he lived his life in response to the requirements of his mind. Burmeister's study teaches us much about this interesting figure, and our knowledge of the man enriches our understanding of the period.

Indiana University

GERALD STRAUSS

JOSEPH II. By *Paul P. Bernard*. [Twayne's Rulers and Statesmen of the World Series, Number 5.] (New York: Twayne Publishers. 1968. Pp. 155. \$4.95.)

A FULL biography of the fascinating and complex Emperor Joseph II would, as Professor Bernard admits, take several volumes. The mass of correspondence and anecdotes makes it all too tempting, moreover, to dwell on incidentals without

analyzing the premises from which Joseph proceeded or the conditions under which he operated. The author has undertaken the not so simple task of writing a simple study of Joseph and these premises and conditions. Within his permitted framework he has succeeded in achieving compactness and retaining scholarliness. The work is based on standard and also recent publications rather than original sources. Probably the need to synthesize meant cutting down on colorful quotes. Bernard's literary portrait is not impressionistic (unfortunately the only actual portrait is on the quickly discarded flap); his narrative is reasoned and factual; his style, despite inconsistencies, is clear and pleasant.

In describing young Joseph's superficiality and arrogance, Bernard lets the reader share Maria Theresa's concerns for the future, both as mother and monarch. Despite a deep mutual affection, the relationship between the sympathetically viewed Empress and her impatient son was often strained, and this situation was exploited by the peculiar State Chancellor, Prince Kaunitz, whose cleverness sometimes courted miscalculation. As sole ruler after his mother's death, Joseph is seen not as an idealistic reformer but as a rather cold and autocratic efficiency expert. His utilitarianism kept him from being "liberal"; he did not emancipate or tolerate for its own sake; he was no real friend of higher education; he was not even truly anticlerical. Beset by paradoxes, the begrudging admirer of Frederick the Great utterly failed to create an efficient army, and, rational and pragmatic as he was, Joseph failed to perceive that what is rational is not always pragmatic. Yet one can surely admire his ethical concept of work, his selflessness, and his dedication to a bold program. But Austria was not ready for such a program, which Joseph compromised with "repeated and drearily unsuccessful ventures into military and foreign fields." The ultimate paradox, Bernard thinks, is that, had he really succeeded, Joseph might have created the conditions that would have made a French Revolution possible in Austria.

The book's value is enhanced by the fact that the recent "new and completely revised" edition of Saul Padover's *The Revolutionary Emperor: Joseph II of Austria* is anything but that; the opportunity to update thoroughly an interesting but faulty book—long the only study available in English—was passed over; the amended bibliography includes Padover's subsequent but marginal publications while ignoring a whole series of new works by specialists. Bernard's short biography thus will stand as the only balanced account available to those not wishing to go into more extensive German material.

University of Tennessee

ARTHUR G. HAAS

THE JEWS OF AUSTRIA: ESSAYS ON THEIR LIFE, HISTORY AND DESTRUCTION. Edited by *Josef Fraenkel*. (London: Vallentine, Mitchell. 1967. Pp. xv, 584. 63s.)

THE essays presented here deal with different aspects of Jewish history within the Habsburg monarchy and the First and Second Austrian Republics. The contributions to this volume vary greatly in quality and format, as might be expected. Some are recollections; others are formal historical analyses; still others consist of literary contributions.

Grunberger shows how the Jews, sensing liberation in the spring of 1848, flocked to participate in the public life of the Habsburg monarchy. Despite the failure of revolution one of the permanent legacies of 1848 was the Jewish liberal press as typified by the *Neue Freie Presse* and the *Wiener Tagblatt*. The traumatic experience of covering the Dreyfus trial for this newspaper led Theodor Herzl to Zionism in the 1890's. One of the most useful aspects of Mr. Grunberger's essay is that it demonstrates how closely liberalism in Austria-Hungary was tied to the emancipated Jewish community in Vienna. This excellent essay also points up something that had more tragic implications, namely, the isolation of this liberalism and its proponents from the nationalistic and irrational undercurrents that were agitating the Habsburg monarchy. In a sense this essay complements Peter Pulzer's study of the rise of political anti-Semitism in Germany and Austria.

I found Martin Freud's discussion of his father's role as a Jew to be one of the most interesting contributions in this volume. Freud points out, for example, that his father's work, although hated and banned by the Nazis, was secretly distributed among German libraries after 1933. These libraries were only too glad to get the volumes of Freud's collected works that had been pilfered from his publisher. Freud felt deeply that he was a secular Jew in the Jewish community. He considered himself a "fighting Jew," and certainly his ties with Jewish lodges reinforced his sense of belonging to a cohesive group. This was important for, as he himself once put it, he was also fighting as a minority against the considered opinion of the medical profession.

Robert Schwarz's excellent essay on anti-Semitism within Austrian social democracy greatly illuminates the problem of Leftist anti-Semitism in Austria. After the abortive revolt of February 1934 there was a re-evaluation of the leadership of the SPÖ. Many of the upper echelon leaders of the SPÖ had been of Jewish origin. The failure of the revolt discredited them, especially since many fled to Prague after its suppression. Many Austrian Socialists mouthed the current official anti-Semitic line during the years 1938 to 1945. Schwarz does not talk about Karl Renner in this context, but he would be an interesting object for analysis. Renner approved of the *Anschluss* after March 1938. One wonders whether this former and future Social Democrat also approved of Hitler's anti-Semitism which was, after all, largely a legacy of a native Austrian tradition. Despite the extermination or dispersion of the overwhelming number of Austrian Jews after 1938, traditional forms of so-called "respectable" anti-Semitism appeared in Austria after World War II. Such anti-Semitism is not lacking in the SPÖ, especially in rural areas, according to interviews conducted by Schwarz. There was, for example, a difference in SPÖ propaganda after 1945. Covert or even overt anti-Semitism was permitted in party organs in the countryside, while strong anti-Nazism was the official line of the press in Vienna. One can only judge, which Schwarz by the way does not, that the exile of much of the intellectual Jewish leadership of the SPÖ after February of 1934 created a second echelon of trade-union leaders in the SPÖ. The rise of these less educated and more pragmatically oriented trade-unionists paralleled a weakening of the social forces in the face of the Rightist and National Socialist threat. Was this not also the lesson of the revisionist triumph in the SPD?

SPRAWA PRZYŁĄCZENIA AUSTRII DO NIEMIEC PO I WOJNIE ŚWIA-
TOWEJ (1918-1922) [The Problem of the Incorporation of Austria into the
German *Reich* after World War I (1918-1922)]. By *Jerzy Kozęński*. [Stud-
ium Niemcoznawcze Instytutu Zachodniego, Number 13.] (Poznań: Instytut
Zachodni. 1967. Pp. 320. Zł. 60.)

NATURALLY enough, Polish historians are especially interested in German history, particularly of the recent period. Unfortunately much of their work is undistinguished, and this study is no exception. Kozęński confined his archival research to the *Deutsches Zentralarchiv* in Potsdam. He did not see the important collections of documents in Western Germany and Austria. Even though he provides some new information on the Austro-German negotiations in Berlin resulting in the secret protocol of March 2, 1919 (Appendix A), and on the work of the Austro-German commissions to implement that protocol, the subject requires much more extensive research in available archives.

About three-fourths of the book is devoted to the *Anschluss* question in the period from the armistice (November 1918) to the Treaty of St. Germain (September 1919), which imposed on Austria the obligation to maintain its independence. The three years subsequent to the Geneva Protocols of October 4, 1922, receive a perfunctory treatment only in the last two chapters.

Kozęński stresses the importance of other obstacles on the road to the realization of the *Anschluss* in 1919 besides the injunction by the Allied Powers. While in the woeful hour of defeat and disintegration the dejected Austrians saw salvation solely in union with Germany, such a union appeared far less important to the Germans and hence was overshadowed by other issues. In the cold and hungry winter of 1918-1919 some Germans even regarded union with ruined Austria as a liability. No German political parties took a clear stand on this question, and there was considerable reluctance to make economic sacrifices for Austria. The secret protocol of March 2 did not meet the main Austrian demands; nor did the Austro-German commissions make much progress. Consequently, a disposition appeared in Austria to abandon the *Anschluss* for some economic aid from the *Entente* and even to join a Danubian federation. The decision of the Paris Peace Conference to leave the Sudetenland, in which Germany was particularly interested, to Czechoslovakia made the *Anschluss* even less attractive to the Germans since without that industrial province Austria became even more of an economic liability. A summary of the argument is provided in English, and there is also a fifteen-page bibliography.

University of Georgia

ZYGMUNT J. GASIOROWSKI

IL REGNO DI NAPOLI NEI SECOLI XVI E XVII. Volume I, ECONOMIA E SOCIETÀ. By *Francesco Caracciolo*. [Università degli Studi di Messina, Facoltà di Magistero. Pubblicazioni dell'Istituto di Storia "Vittorio de Caprariis," Number 1.] (Rome: Libreria P. Tombolini & C. 1966. Pp. 410. L. 4,500.)

RECENT studies by Giuseppe Galasso, Rosario Villari, and Giuseppe Coniglio have already thoroughly undermined Benedetto Croce's old thesis about the

progressive character of the Spanish period in the history of Naples. Francesco Caracciolo now buries the thesis once and for all beneath a mass of statistics that he has derived from extensive research in Simancas as well as in several cities of the former kingdom and that he has analyzed according to the latest economic-historical methods of Fernand Braudel and Charles Verlinden.

The kingdom of Naples did, it is true, experience an economic "revolution" very similar to the one described by Earl Hamilton in Spain. Prices rose fourfold during the century. Wages rose, too, although the table on page seventy-five (one of many) shows that when calculated in terms of grain and oil instead of silver, they actually fell by a ratio of as much as 625 to 290. Population increased by 112 per cent (the author adds many new sources of information to those given in Beloch). The production of raw silk in Calabria and of grain, finished cloth, and iron in other provinces more than doubled, and the value of exports in these commodities far surpassed that of imported manufactured goods and luxuries well into the seventeenth century. Old credit techniques were refined. Genoese merchant-bankers made available considerable supplies of capital. And when the private banks fell prey to the general European crisis of the 1580's, their place was taken by the more conservative, but also more solid, pious institutions described by Carlo di Somma in *Il Banco dello Spirito Santo* (1960), which, by the way, is about the only relevant monograph not discussed in the very thorough bibliographical footnotes.

Yet in Naples this "revolution" had effects far more deleterious than it did elsewhere in Europe. It drove many of the nobles into insolvency, but it left those who remained on the land fully in control. It failed to engender either a capitalist manufacturing class or a capitalistic spirit: even the resident Genoese eventually joined the chase after feudal domains. And it pushed urban plebeians and rural laborers even further into poverty and desperation. The sole beneficiaries were the barons; and the barons, far from being "civilized" by contact with the viceregal court, became ever more ruthless in tyrannizing over their subjects. Hence the "long" sixteenth century was an era of transition, not from feudalism to capitalism, but from one form of feudalism to another form far more retrogressive than the first.

The fault, according to Caracciolo, lay not with the Genoese or the Neapolitans (in this he agrees with the philosopher Tommaso Campanella), but with the Spanish administration. The inordinate extent of its foreign military commitments and the ever-shrinking productivity of its American silver mines led it to do to Naples what it had already done to Castile: milk it of every available cent. By selling charters at exorbitant prices and then tearing them up as soon as a wealthy baron appeared with a bid, it ruined the communes, which might otherwise have provided it with strong support. By negotiating attractive loans (its debt quadrupled from 1600 to 1640) and then declaring bankruptcy, it prevented the investment of capital in productive enterprises. By alienating royal domains, tax revenues, offices, and law courts, it reduced public authority to little more than a façade. By 1679 the energetic efforts of the Viceroy Toledo to turn the disjointed kingdom into a state of law had been completely abandoned. The only element in society that could promise some way out of the chaos, the professional and forensic class of the capital, was still devoid of effective

power. How it gained power in the following century, and how it used the power to add a somewhat less dismal chapter to this sad story, is a subject the author leaves to Franco Venturi, Nicola Badaloni, Sergio Bertelli, and the other students of the Age of Enlightenment.

University of Chicago

ERIC COCHRANE

L'UNIFICAZIONE ITALIANA VISTA DAI DIPLOMATICI STATUNITENSIS. Volume III (1853-1861). Edited by *Howard R. Marraro*. [Istituto per la Storia del Risorgimento Italiano, Biblioteca Scientifica. Series 2, Fonti. Volume LVII.] (Rome: the Istituto. 1967. Pp. 506.)

THIS latest volume in Professor Marraro's series of dispatches from Turin covers the years from the emergence of Cavour to the formation of the kingdom of Italy and does so through the eyes of one man, John Moncure Daniel of Virginia, giving the reader an uninterrupted account of events. While designed primarily for students of Italian history, this and preceding volumes also contribute to the study of American political attitudes.

Daniel, a prominent editor, was known for his "slashing literary style" and his "superb journalistic insight." Certainly his reports are bold and make splendid reading; as to insight, he was almost always wrong. Daniel was sure Sardinia would stay out of the Crimean War; he then informed Washington that the outcome of the war had been a triumph for Austria and a disaster for Cavour. After Villafranca he saw Napoleon III as master of the situation and Cavour as a mere "politician" who was the puppet of French policy. He was certain Garibaldi's expedition would sweep all before it and end in an attack on Austria. Then, in one of his last dispatches, he wrote: "Cavour's policy was triumphed on all fronts."

On the issue of Cavour's relations with Garibaldi, Daniel's views are interesting as a reflection of American antirepublicanism. He described Garibaldi as a dangerous man who had become the tool of the Mazzinian "clique." Daniel was a defender of slavery, and he later fought for the Confederacy. While his response to European politics was often conditioned by his opinion on purely American problems, his distrust of the Mazzinians is not essentially different from that of his predecessors in the Turin post, Nathaniel Niles and William Kinney, who were both northerners. All three viewed liberty not as an outgrowth of revolutionary activity but as a result of a society's preparation for its enjoyment. All three praised the Piedmontese not so much for their constitutional freedoms as for their sense of discipline. In the midst of the "Young America" movement described by Merle Curti (*AHR*, XXXII [Oct. 1926], 34-55) and its flirtation with European revolutionaries, these United States representatives abroad felt that republicanism was an American phenomenon that was not likely to work in a European setting.

Scholars interested in Italian-American ties during the era of the *Risorgimento* owe a great debt to Marraro's many publications in this area and may anticipate another volume of Turin dispatches for the years 1861-1871. Meanwhile the field largely developed by Marraro is attracting others, such as Robert W. Bohl

("I documenti diplomatici statunitensi sulla questione veneta," *Rassegna storica del Risorgimento*, LIII [Oct.-Dec. 1966], 615-21).

University of Minnesota

JOHN THAYER

A STUDY IN BALKAN CIVILIZATION. By *Traian Stoianovich*. [Borzoj Studies in History.] (New York: Alfred A. Knopf. 1967. Pp. x, 215, vi. \$2.25.)

THIS interdisciplinary interpretation of Balkan civilization draws on the school of history developed in the Sixth Section of the *École Pratique des Hautes Études* under the leadership of Fernand Braudel. In geographic area it is concerned primarily with the peoples inhabiting the countries known today as Yugoslavia, Rumania, Bulgaria, and Greece.

The interpretation embraces such concepts as earth culture and biotechnics and social biology, as well as the more conventional categories of technology, society, economy, and personality and culture. Much of the treatment is directed to the thousand-year period that may for lack of a better term be characterized as traditional society, but the modern era also receives its due. Thus, a treatment of the traditional value orientations of shame-honor, guilt-benevolence, and violence-courage is followed in a later chapter by an analysis of the modern Balkan personality.

This is a large order for a book of only two-hundred pages, but in significant measure the objectives of Professor Stoianovich have been achieved. He has brought together information from a wide range of sources bearing on his various categories. He is at his best in treating the wealth of material relating to geography, resources, anthropology, and folklore. Such material in other treatments is often no more than an accumulation of miscellaneous information, but Stoianovich molds it into an integrated description of a regional personality. Drawing as he does on Braudel's interpretation of the Mediterranean world in the sixteenth century and on his own work on the Balkan economy in the early modern period, he presents a well-balanced picture of this region on the eve of the emancipation from Ottoman rule.

This interpretation has serious shortcomings, however, in its treatment of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. There was not, in any significant sense, much change in many aspects of Balkan civilization during the first thousand years when it was dominated by a village culture that was only gradually modified as a result of a developing commerce, and Stoianovich's method is well suited to this relatively static interaction. The neglect of the modern era is not deliberate, for each of the principal chapters is brought up to the 1960's. The problem seems rather to be that the author's method incorporates no principle of change, and it therefore offers no adequate interpretation of the momentous developments of the past century or two. What is the relationship between the historically evolved institutions that he describes and the problems faced by modern societies? This is a central question to which the author does not provide an adequate answer.

Princeton University

CYRIL E. BLACK

WĄTKI HISTORYCZNE W PODANIACH O POCZĄTKACH POLSKI [Historical Elements in the Legends about the Origins of Poland]. By *Kazimierz Ślaski*. [Poznańskie Towarzystwo Przyjaciół Nauk, Wydział Historii i Nauk Społecznych. Prace Komisji Historycznej, Volume XXIV, Number 1.] (Poznań: Praca Wydana z Zasiłku Polskiej Akademii Nauk. 1968. Pp. 98. Zł. 22.)

MOŻNOWŁADZTWO MAŁOPOLSKIE W XIV I W PIERWSZEJ POŁOWIE XV WIEKU: STUDIUM Z DZIEJÓW ROZWOJU WIELKIEJ WŁASNOŚCI ZIEMSKIEJ [Magnates of Little Poland in the 14th and 15th Centuries: A Study in the History of the Development of Large Landed Properties]. By *Stanisław Gawęda*. [Zeszyty Naukowe Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego, Number 141. Prace Historyczne, Number 18.] (Cracow: Nakładem Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego. 1966. Pp. 166. Zł. 26.)

In a careful and judicious study of historical elements in several major legends about the prehistory of Poland, Kazimierz Ślaski has provided a helpful introduction to one of the most controversial topics in recent Polish historiography: that of the origins of Poland. He begins with a brief survey of the problem and a discourse upon previous researches and the *état présent* of scholarship. Next he turns in more detail to the legendary cycles of Little Poland, Greater Poland, and Pomerania, all of which have been transmitted to us by medieval chroniclers. The most important in the first group are those concerning Krak (the traditional founder of Cracow) and Wanda, and Walgierz of Tyniec and Wiślaw of Wiślica. Ślaski argues that it is possible to see in them imperfect reflections of early Slavic conflict with both Bavarian and Frank as well as internal conflict among the tribes of the Wiślanie. From Greater Poland come data concerning the structure and political organization of Polish tribes before their appearance in West European documents of the tenth century. In the story of Popiel and Piast, particularly, important information suggests the early emergence of a comparatively well-developed state. The Pomeranian legend concerning Prince Wizymir, conqueror of the Danes, is also analyzed briefly since it suggests the early presence of Slavic settlements on the Baltic coast. In general, the author concludes, as have previous Polish scholars though in less convincing detail, that there is a high degree of historical reality reflected in these sources. They are, moreover, both in their content and in the way they were treated by later writers, an important source for an understanding of the sense of community enjoyed by the early Polish state. Ślaski has made good use of the pioneering work of Lehr-Splawinski, Tymieniecki, Łowmiański, and Labuda, and his bibliography is generally up to date.

The somewhat longer study by Gawęda deals with the origins of a phenomenon long familiar to students of early modern Polish history: the divisive particularism and political dominance of the magnates of Little Poland. He concludes, upon close examination of both archival and printed evidence, that this development begins with the reigns of the last two Piast rulers of Poland, Władysław Łokietek and Casimir the Great, who died in 1370. The individuals upon whom they relied for support (one might differ on the extent to which they were limited to Little Poland) increasingly identified their own interests

with those of the monarchy. In return they were endowed with both lands and political power, thus giving rise to a "new aristocracy" wholly dependent upon the royal will. Because Gawęda has limited his study to this very specific problem, he shows more clearly than most previous scholars one of the important factors underlying the growth of a strong centralized monarchy in this period. Two major developments during the following century substantially altered this picture: two failures of the ruling dynasty and the consolidation of oligarchic power and position. Because they had so increased their landholdings and become in many instances closely connected with the Church, they became largely independent of royal preferment. With the accession of Louis of Anjou and the later establishment of the Jagiellonians, the magnates were able to negotiate a circumscription of the extent and nature of royal power. Though briefly thwarted in the later fifteenth century, they soon came to represent a community of interests that demanded, and received, an excessive share of government. Gawęda does not alter the basic picture sketched by many scholars before him, but by his careful researches he has added tones and shadings that greatly enrich and deepen our understanding of this process. The brief English summary is helpful, but is marred by many errata and some nearly unintelligible constructions.

Purdue University

PAUL W. KNOLL

POLITICS AND STATECRAFT IN THE KINGDOM OF GREECE, 1833-1843. By *John Anthony Petropulos*. (Princeton, N. J.: Princeton University Press. 1968. Pp. xix, 646. \$17.50.)

THIS splendid volume is based on the author's doctoral dissertation. Professor Petropulos has skillfully combined unpublished sources in Greece, France, England, Austria, and Germany with a mass of published materials to produce not only a first-rate historical study, but one that breaks new ground in a very significant way.

The author, filling a gap that existed previously in Greek historiography, has carefully studied the so-called "Russian," "English," and "French" political parties that formed in Greece after the revolution of 1821 against the Ottoman Empire. In his book he treats them in two major parts: the first, a long introduction, is an analysis of the origins and development of the parties until the accession in 1833 of the first King of modern Greece, the Bavarian-born Otho; the second, which makes up most of the book, is an account of the parties from 1833 to 1843 when Otho was forced by popular revolt to give up absolutist rule and to grant Greece a constitution. Within this framework Petropulos describes both the history of the parties and also their critical importance in the development of the institutions of the Greek kingdom at the very moment when the country was emerging from centuries of Ottoman rule.

In one way this book is too modestly titled. The dates 1833-1843 fail to indicate that the author in his introductory coverage of the years before 1833 has also made some contributions to the historiography of modern Greece. Thus, for example, his analysis of the political situation of the Greeks under Turkish domination is a short but penetrating account of an era that has been too little consid-

ered in English-language sources. So too, the author's vignettes of pre-1833 Greek political figures will assist American students who do not know Greek.

The entire work is characterized by a thorough attention to bibliography and to extensive citations in the footnotes. Indeed, the footnotes are often so long that the continuity of the text is broken. The casual reader may find this annoying, but the specialist will surely be pleased with the extensive references for further research. In the same way the selected bibliography, which covers sixty-nine pages of the volume, is so well compiled and annotated that it can serve generally, quite apart from the topic of the book, as a fine introduction to the historiography of the early years of King Otho's reign.

All told, this book has great merit, is a credit to its author, and will assuredly remain the standard account for many years to come.

Tufts University

GEORGE J. MARCOPOULOS

Η ΚΡΗΤΙΚΗ ΕΠΑΝΑΣΤΑΣΙΣ 1866-1869. ΕΚΘΕΣΕΙΣ ΤΩΝ ΕΝ ΚΡΗΤΗ ΠΡΟΣΕΝΩΝ ΤΗΣ ΕΛΛΑΔΟΣ [The Cretan Insurrection 1866-1869. Reports of the Greek Envoys in Crete]. Edited by *Eleutherios Prevelakis* and *Vasiliki Plagianakos-Mpekariis*. Α' ΑΠΡΙΛΙΟΣ 1866-ΙΟΥΛΙΟΣ 1867 [Volume I, April 1866-July 1867]. Έκδίδεται επί τη εκατοστή έπετειά της επανάστασεως υπό του Κέντρου Έρεύνης της 'Ιστορίας του Νεωτέρου Έλληνισμού της Ακαδημίας Αθηνών. [Μνημεία της Έλληνικής 'Ιστορίας, Volume VI, Part I.] (Athens: the Akademia. 1967. Pp. 420.)

THE Cretan desire for incorporation into the recently established Greek state was a primary factor in the outbreak of the Cretan insurrection of 1866-1869. An initially peaceful movement for reform and redress of grievances, followed by a declaration of the union of Crete with Greece, suddenly turned into a violent upheaval and terminated Greco-Turkish relations in 1868. The one-hundredth anniversary of the 1866 insurrection occasioned the publication of this volume by the Research Center for the Study of Modern Greek History of the Academy of Athens under the editorship of its director, Mr. Eleutherios Prevelakis, and his collaborator, Mrs. Vasiliki Plagianakos-Mpekariis. The present work is Volume VI, Part One, in the series "Monuments of Greek History" and covers the first phase of the Cretan insurrection, 1866-1867; Volume VI, Part Two, covering the final phase of the revolution, is now in preparation.

The editors have brought together into an accessible unit Greek archival material relating to the Cretan rebellion. Most of the work consists of 178 reports written by the Greek envoys in Crete; Nicholas Sakopoulos, Ioannis Mparouksakis, and Georgios Kalokairinos were consular agents in Chanea, Herakleion, and Rethymnon, respectively. The first report was written on April 4, 1866, and the last report included is dated July 31, 1867. The volume includes a prologue outlining the scope and objectives of the editors, an introduction, and a calendar of the period 1866-1868, which is based on the Julian year. There are brief editorial footnotes or comments, and the reports are arranged chronologically.

Of the 178 reports, 97 were written by Sakopoulos whose post at Chanea was an important center for collecting information. Because of his legal training,

Sakopoulos made diplomatic observations concerning the prevailing revolutionary climate that are admirably systematic; all three consuls used caution in evaluating their sources of information.

The reports are based on diverse sources ranging from Cretan revolutionaries to conversations with local Turkish leaders, consular representatives of foreign powers, and foreign military and naval officers. The actual contents are of a miscellaneous nature and refer to many aspects of the Cretan revolution. One finds letters relating to the preparation for the revolution, military engagements, Turko-Egyptian strength, action of the Greek volunteers, and cooperation between some Cretans and the Turkish enemy. Also included are nonmilitary elements such as economic and political matters, the situation of the Greek clergy, Greek Cretan refugees, and Turkish Cretans. Ottoman military strength, with Egyptian support, was superior to the Cretan irregular forces in equipment, provisions, numbers, and tactics. Although Greece maintained a precarious neutrality, it could neither prevent the flow of Greek volunteers from Greek harbors nor suppress public excitement instigated by Cretan refugees in Athens. In brief, these reports constituted a valuable source of information for the Greek government, which was concerned with the effort to unite Crete with Greece; for the interested scholar and student they comprise an important chronicle of the 1866 Cretan insurrection.

Ohio University

WILLIAM P. KALDIS

MAREA RĂSCOALĂ A ȚĂRANILOR DIN 1907 [The Great Peasant Revolt in 1907]. By *Andrei Oșetea et al.* Edited by *A. Oșetea et al.* [Institutul de Studii Istorice și Social-Politice de pe Lîngă C. C. al P. C. R.; Institutul de Istorie "N. Iorga" al Academiei Republicii Socialiste România.] (Bucharest: Editura Academiei Republicii Socialiste România. 1967. Pp. 907. Lei 51.)

THE Rumanian peasant uprising of 1907 is an event of enormous importance for an understanding of Rumanian social history; it is also significant for anyone interested in the sources and dynamics of agrarian upheavals. The present work, the product of a "collective" of Rumanian historians, is a welcome and major addition to the literature. For obvious reasons, the 1907 uprising has always been an approved area of research under the Communist regime, and this book has profited greatly from spadework in the gathering and publication of archival materials, central and local, during the last two decades. It is pleasant to note, too, that it re-establishes intellectual contact with an earlier generation of Rumanian writers who had dealt with 1907: N. Iorga, C. Stere, C. Dobrogeanu-Gherea, Radu Rosetti, and others—some of the most stimulating political and historical students of their time. Although an aim of the book is to demonstrate a vigorous revolutionary tradition in the Rumanian past, it is centrally a very substantial and detailed account of this vast convulsion that spread over most of the country and was suppressed at the cost of thousands of lives.

The social and economic background will be relatively familiar to those who have studied earlier Rumanian works on the subject. The account of the uprising itself, however, is told in great detail, with extensive use of local records, and follows the course of the disturbances, district by district, as they advanced

southward from Botoșani in northern Moldavia and then erupted almost simultaneously throughout Muntenia. There are also chapters devoted to the repercussions in Transylvania and Bucovina, then parts of the Habsburg Empire; to the attitudes and role of the Rumanian working class and the intellectuals; to echoes abroad, especially in neighboring states; to foreign press coverage (one winces to see the *London Times* correspondent reporting that the marauding bands were composed "not of peasants but of turbulent characters from the towns, gipsies, foreigners, and escaped criminals"); and finally to 1907 as a theme in literature and art. This work is an important contribution.

Dartmouth College

HENRY L. ROBERTS

POLAND AND THE WESTERN POWERS, 1938-1939: A STUDY IN THE INTERDEPENDENCE OF EASTERN AND WESTERN EUROPE. By Anna M. Cienciala. [Studies in Political History.] (Toronto: University of Toronto Press. 1968. Pp. x, 310. \$9.00.)

WESTERN diplomatic historians only less than their Soviet counterparts have judged Poland's foreign policy in the Piłsudski-Beck era as fatally flawed. Józef Beck in particular has emerged as one guilty of gross misjudgment and dilettantism, one whose decisions place him high on the list of those responsible for the outbreak of World War II. Recently, Bohdan Budurowycz's study of Polish-Soviet relations in the 1930's has redressed this view by identifying the limitations imposed on Warsaw by the frigid state of its connections with Moscow, a situation by no means exclusively of Polish making. Now Anna Cienciala offers a companion work emphasizing the strictures placed on Poland's policy by decisions made in Paris and London.

Inevitably such an undertaking entails considerable retracing of familiar ground, but the author distinguishes her work by fresh perspective and use of unpublished materials in London's Sikorski Institute and the Polish Research Center, the Hoover Library, and the Polish embassy in Berlin. The resulting thesis maintains that the Poles had no alternatives to the policy Beck pursued in 1938-1939. While conceding that the one hopeful course for Poland was an alliance with pre-Munich Czechoslovakia, France, and Britain, Cienciala demonstrates that to such a diplomatic revolution the most formidable obstacle was Chamberlain's determined acquiescence in the partition of Czechoslovakia. Confronted thus, Beck, admittedly no friend of the Czechs, laid claim to Teschen, sympathized with Slovak separatism, hoped for a common frontier with Hungary in Ruthenia, and sought a German guarantee on Danzig as the only available means of minimizing Hitler's gains at Munich. As for the argument that the Polish opposition parties if in power would have taken the path toward alliance with Prague, this study makes clear that these elements, too, demanded Teschen, a price Beneš refused to pay until the bitter end. Questionable, however, is the author's assertion that Warsaw's veto of Red Army transit across Poland was made only after the breakdown of the 1939 Anglo-Russian negotiations and consequently had no bearing on their disruption. While the Chamberlain government was indeed inhibited in its approach to Moscow by other considerations, it was neither unaware of nor uninfluenced by adamant Polish opposition expressed

early in 1938 to the entry of Soviet troops for any purpose. Writing this review in August, 1968 as Czechoslovakia is once again subject to Great Power invasion, again with Polish participation, one could not fail to observe what is so well documented in this work: the foreign policy options of the smaller countries of Eastern Europe have always been severely limited, essentially reactive, and invariably agonizing.

Pennsylvania State University

KENT FORSTER

THE RUSSIAN CONQUEST OF BASHKIRIA 1552-1740: A CASE STUDY IN IMPERIALISM. By *Alton S. Donnelly*. [Yale Russian and East European Studies, Number 7.] (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press. 1968. Pp. x, 214. \$6.50.)

It is difficult to find historians of the Russian Empire who treat impartially the tsarist imperialism that created and sustained the Empire. It is even more difficult to find discussions of Russian imperialism prior to 1860 by which time the largest part of the Empire was established. Professor Donnelly's study is a welcome exception to these statements.

In this well-researched book the author describes the Russian advance into and annexation of an important area of western Siberia in the eighteenth century. Bashkiria, which comprised the area between the Volga River and the Ural Mountains and which was inhabited by a nomadic Muslim Turkic people, separated Russia from Central Asia and Siberia. Its conquest and integration into the Empire were a prerequisite for further Russian eastward expansion.

The author finds five major causes for Russian movement toward the south-east and into Bashkiria: the necessity for terminating harmful raids by the nomads, the desire to increase government income through tribute, Peter's interest in metallurgy, his intention to trade with the East, and official and unofficial migration of Russians into the area. The methods of Russian advance and "pacification" of the natives are well described. The officials who carried out this policy are shown to be similar in ideology and interests (bringing civilization, national pride, search for riches) to colonial officials of other European states.

The effect of the conquest on the Bashkirs, which annihilated perhaps one-third of the populace, should lay to rest the idea that tsarist imperialism was somehow more humane than that of other states. In fact, Donnelly's own evidence raises doubts about his initial contention that Russian policy in Bashkiria was exemplary for its noninterference in local internal affairs, with the exceptions of colonization and religious conversion. If the Russians killed one-third of the Bashkirs, seized their lands, and attacked their structure of belief, one wonders where else they could interfere.

The limitations of the work are inherent in the sources used, as the author readily admits in his preface. Although he has thoroughly mined the Russian sources at his disposal, he inevitably slights, and to some extent misunderstands, the Bashkir viewpoint. Relying on the observations of Russian officials, most of whom did not understand the importance of Islam to those peoples, Donnelly seems to feel that Bashkir resistance was largely a defense of their lands, not their beliefs. His choice of 1740 as the cutoff date is perhaps unfortunate. Sources

from Catherine II's period (Bashkir and Tatar presentations to the Legislative Commission) show that the natives considered the religious question and the excesses of Orthodox "missionaries" to be their major problems.

In sum, however, Donnelly has made a valuable contribution to the history of the Russian Empire, and it is hoped that the other Russian conquests made before 1860 will soon receive the scholarly attention that they warrant.

Michigan State University

ALAN W. FISHER

ORIGINS OF THE RUSSIAN INTELLIGENTSIA: THE EIGHTEENTH-CENTURY NOBILITY. By *Marc Raeff*. [Original Harbinger Book.] (New York: Harcourt, Brace and World. 1966. Pp. 248. \$2.45.)

MARC Raeff has always been fascinated with and inspired by transitions—the secret connection of seemingly opposed historical movements. He has done this brilliantly in his classic study of the bureaucratic legalism of Speransky and in his articles on early nineteenth-century Russian thought, and his flair manifests itself once again in the title of his new book.

Raeff finds the link between the nineteenth-century Russian intelligentsia and the post-Petrine nobility (formations generally seen as starkly opposed to each other) to be in the conception of service—the Petrine idea of state service, transformed in such transitional figures as Novikov and Radishchev into the aim of service to "the people" or "the common good." He traces many characteristic intelligentsia features to roots in the eighteenth-century nobility: the sense of a culture mission, faith in reason and science, extremist utopianism, rootlessness, and even the feeling of alienation from the state. This link and these features he discusses lucidly, with great erudition and articulateness.

I have, however, some quarrels with the book. First, I find the psychologizing interesting but a little thin, with an occasional dangerous yaw in the direction of glibness. Dostoevski's Porfiry Petrovich warns us that, as a causal explanation, psychology is double edged. Raeff uses Bolotov and other memoir sources (along with legal documents, petitions, and so forth) extensively, but I miss the intensive analysis. There is not a single long quotation. I miss the flavor, the texture, the prose, the sensuous presence of what he writes about. In general, the level of abstraction is rather high.

Secondly, I believe it a mistake to exclude so thoroughly the economic sphere, even though the books of J. Blum and M. Confino already exist. The recent studies of Arcadius Kahan would lead one to conclude that the Westernization of the Russian nobility, given its cost and the means at the disposal of the nobility, could not possibly have been so thoroughly completed by the end of the eighteenth century as Raeff makes it out to be. This does not invalidate his thesis as to the *direction* of change, and, of course, that is the essential point. It is, nevertheless, a weakness. So is (except in the brilliant chapter on home and school life and additional scattered occasional insights) the missing relationship to serfdom, without which the psychology of the nobility remains somehow incomplete.

Thirdly, although we all use the word, and I fear it is indispensable, I dislike

the ideological implications of "Westernization." Here, given current abuses, Ræff is a minor offender. Yet he speaks of Russians ignorant of "the frame" of European culture, the particulars of which they have so eagerly excerpted. He forgets that in Europe, too, by the end of the eighteenth century, the frame was bent much awry or broken altogether and that, by the last quarter of the nineteenth century, Nietzsche counted himself as almost the only remaining "good European."

In brief, this book is a beginning and not an end. In its power both to suggest and to provoke, to generalize and to comprehend, it is very good indeed.

University of Rochester

SIDNEY MONAS

DMITRII MILIUTIN AND THE REFORM ERA IN RUSSIA. By *Forrest A. Miller*. ([Nashville, Tenn.:] Vanderbilt University Press. 1968. Pp. ix, 246. \$7.50.)

Most of this study is devoted to a painstakingly detailed and, by and large, accurate description of the Russian military reforms introduced during the reign of Alexander II; the military district system of 1862; the reorganization of the military schools from 1863 to 1870; and the introduction of universal military service in 1874. As the author shows, Dmitrii Miliutin, who as Minister of War was the driving force behind the reforms, sought to reshape the army on the basis of several broadly conceived principles including a rational administration capped by the War Ministry, a combination of technical and combat training for officers and men, and the "all class" concept of service. The result, in Miliutin's eyes, would be a more efficient, professional fighting force, better trained and equipped, smaller and relatively less costly than the lumbering mammoth that went down to defeat in the Crimean War. From these pages Miliutin emerges as an embattled hero, "among the greatest statesmen of the Russian Empire," who almost singlehandedly fought the "planters' party" and overcame the hesitations and confusions of the irresolute Tsar. If we can believe the author, Miliutin won his political battles because he was right and his enemies were wrong. Miller may be correct, but much more will have to be done before he can prove it to everyone's satisfaction.

In contrast to his exhaustive treatment of the reforms themselves, he has written a traditional and by now inadequate description of the politics of the reform era. First of all, he ignores the relationships between military policy and other vital issues such as the abolition of serfdom, railroad construction, and the development of a metallurgical industry. Secondly, he glosses over important facets of Miliutin's political career such as his key role in the "forward policy" in Central Asia and his immense influence in the formation of foreign policy in general in the period from 1864 to 1877. Thirdly, he fails to draw the crucial distinction between personal clashes and policy differences in politics and thus is hard put to explain how Miliutin survived as War Minister for almost twenty years during which time he saw the major part of his program become the law of the Empire. Finally, Miller accepts Miliutin's own assumptions and characterizations with little if any critical analysis. The result is an unabashed apologia.

That the author did not have access to the large and important Miliutin Archive in the Manuscript Division of the Lenin Library (in which American scholars have been working since 1958) explains, in part, these omissions. Even more important, however, the author has not examined all the relevant published sources; nor has he exercised the necessary critical sense on those he has read. A full-length study of Dmitrii Miliutin still needs to be written.

University of Pennsylvania

ALFRED J. RIEBER

PATTERNS OF SOVIET THOUGHT: THE ORIGINS AND DEVELOPMENT OF DIALECTICAL AND HISTORICAL MATERIALISM. By *Richard T. De George*. (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press. 1966. Pp. xi, 293. \$6.95.)

THIS admirable volume describes the development of Marxist-Leninist thought, as understood in the Soviet Union, from its beginnings to the present. There are many works in English, some excellent, that cover more or less the same ground, including the studies by Carew-Hunt, Bocheński, Meyer, Wetter, and Marcuse, not to mention translations of Soviet works. Yet De George's effort claims special attention for several reasons.

The first, though not the most important, is that no existing work covers so vast a scope with such conciseness and yet thoroughness. De George presents his subject in three parts: the first deals with the writings of Marx and Engels; the second treats Lenin's works; and the third describes the Stalin and post-Stalin periods. All this is accomplished with remarkable economy and clarity, while preserving an appreciation of the complexities involved. Perhaps I can best illustrate my admiration by stating that I have never read a clearer distillation of Hegel in such a context or a more useful guide to Lenin's purely philosophical works, notably his *Materialism* and *Empirio-Criticism*.

More importantly, De George treats his subject with the professional competence of a trained philosopher and with the fairness and common sense of a scholar who has mastered himself as well as his discipline. On the one hand, at every turn throughout the book De George poses penetrating questions to reveal the weaknesses of Marxism-Leninism, the kind of questions that only philosophers are capable of asking. Yet he obviously accords his subject the respect due to a serious body of thought that, with all its faults, has provided a viable and developing world view espoused by millions.

Finally, De George's treatment is a welcome antidote to the fashionable claim in our day that there has ensued an "end of ideology" in the USSR and that Marxism-Leninism has become a dead language. De George agrees that philosophy is subordinate to ideology (he makes a useful distinction between the two) and that theory is subordinate to practice in the Soviet Union. "Yet," he warns, "Soviet practice is infused with theory and can be separated from it only at the risk of falsifying and essentially misunderstanding it. . . ." The author reminds us, "Tactics change, ends do not." To try to understand Soviet society or policy without a knowledge of the foundations of Soviet thought, he tells us, "is in many respects like trying to understand the Middle Ages without a knowl-

edge of Christianity." Neither the "correctness" of the ideology nor the dullness of the catechism is relevant to the importance of the creed, but rather its ability to engage the minds of men and to move them. De George is convinced that whatever most Soviet citizens may think of their government, they accept Marxism-Leninism, despite its problems, as a useful explanation of human existence.

University of Wisconsin

MICHAEL B. PETROVICH

RUSSIA'S PROTECTORATES IN CENTRAL ASIA: BUKHARA AND KHIVA, 1865-1924. By *Seymour Becker*. [Russian Research Center Studies, Number 54.] (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press. 1968. Pp. xiv, 416. \$12.50.)

UPON conquering Central Asia, Russia organized its newly acquired territories in two ways: most of the area was directly annexed to the Empire and governed by military governors, while certain portions were left in the hands of native rulers who were closely controlled by Russian political residents. Scholars, both Western and Russian, have paid much more attention to the conquest itself and to the annexed territories than the khanates of Khiva, Kokand, and Bukhara. The khanates, however, posed certain problems for Russian imperialism. The prolonged survival of the emirate of Bukhara was in itself a phenomenon deserving attention. Professor Seymour Becker has produced a solid, well-documented work on the protectorates of Bukhara and Khiva from their conquest to 1924.

The first third of the book, dealing with Russia's advance into Central Asia, the conquest of the khanates and of Transcaspia, Merv and smaller areas to the east, and with Anglo-Russian relations, is the least successful. The story is told from a few well-known sources. Military campaigns are enumerated, but never brought to life; diplomatic activity is discussed at some length, but the analysis offers nothing new.

The rest of the book is of much higher quality. Becker carefully traces the relations of the conqueror and the conquered, examines economic changes that occurred in the khanates as a result of their inclusion in the body of the Empire, and measures the impact of foreign domination upon the protectorates. Though his sources are predominantly Russian, the author paints an accurate picture of the reaction of a group of partly Westernized Bukharans, the Jadids, to Russian domination and their opposition to the corrupt and cruel traditional government of the emir.

The Revolution of 1917, leading to a brief period of independence, did not change the essential relationships of power in Central Asia. Wherever Russian rule had collapsed in 1918, it was reimposed a few months or, at most, a few years later. Becker sets before the reader in a concise manner the main facts of the Revolution, civil war, and reconquest. One can only wish that the material were not so highly compressed and that some attempt had been made to evoke the atmosphere of those turbulent years.

Yale University

FIRUZ KAZEMZADEH

ISTORIIA VELIKOI OKTIABR'SKOI SOTSIALISTICHESKOI REVOLIUTSII [History of the Great October Socialist Revolution]. Edited by P. I. Sobolev et al. [Akademiia Nauk SSSR, Institut Istorii.] (Moscow: Izdatel'stvo "Nauka." 1967. Pp. 670.)

HAD Lenin, like Churchill, lived long enough to write the history of his greatest triumphs, and had he been a mere cataloguer of events instead of the passionate fighter and writer that he was, one of his autobiographical volumes might have resembled this book of dull essays, recounting the progress of Bolshevism from the overthrow of the Tsar in March 1917 to the signing of the Treaty of Brest-Litovsk in March 1918. To have written such a tome, however, Lenin, in addition to sacrificing his pungent style, would, at some point before his death, have had to arrive at the decision that all of his past words, thoughts, and deeds had etched themselves into stone tablets as eternal verities and that he alone, in that epic year, had been the correct interpreter of the intuitively Marxian will of the workers and peasants of the Russian Empire as they struggled to overcome their class enemies. These included the war-loving *Entente* and German imperialists, their natural partners in crime, the landlords, the bosses, and the generals of Russia, and those who served the enemy camp directly or indirectly—namely, the “collaborating” socialists of the provisional government and such Bolshevik wolves in sheep’s clothing as Kamenev, Zinoviev, Rykov, and Trotsky.

In 1938, setting the tone for the “Dark Age” of Soviet historiography, there appeared the Stalin-dictated *History of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (Bolsheviks) Short Course*, which devoted two chapters to the subject matter of this volume. On the final page of the *Short Course* Stalin is quoted as saying, “I think the Bolsheviks remind us of the hero of Greek mythology, Antaeus.” Indeed, the *Short Course* was mythology and with its creation Stalin had become the Homer as well as the Zeus of Bolshevism. Alas, Achilles had his heel, and Stalin was merely mortal. Thus, after his death, his saga was revised, and this Khrushchevian or “early Renaissance” version of the Soviet *Iliad* comes closer but not close to historic truth.

Although Lenin was not, as herein portrayed, the only hero of 1917, this is still an improvement over the time when he was forced to share the Olympian heights with Stalin. Lenin’s former successor in the line of Marxian prophets, the “Coryphaeus of Mankind” and “Father of Peoples,” appears in this opus as a lowly spear bearer, being listed occasionally as an occupant of one or another party office, but having no ideas worthy of recording. Events are narrated largely to fit their presentation in Lenin’s *Collected Works*, and footnotes refer almost exclusively to Bolshevik writings, principally Lenin’s, but exclude as sources all other major participants in the march to glory. Non-Russian scholars were forbidden to the researchers, a pity, because the best work on the Revolution to date has been done by British and American scholars. As an excellent summary of Lenin’s line of the period, this book can be of definite use to students of the Revolution. Data drawn from archives and other inaccessible sources will also provide material for foreign scholars, as in Chapter x, which lengthily discusses the revolutionary movement throughout the territory of Russia.

The board of editors of this volume declare that this enlarged and reworked

edition grew out of a response to criticism of the 1962 edition and state that new materials, appearing in the interim, were used to clarify "many questions about the history of the October Revolution." My careful perusal of the 1962 edition did not bear out this claim. The 1967 revision has done nothing noteworthy to improve the earlier text.

City College of New York

STANLEY W. PAGE

Near East

SCIENCE AND CIVILIZATION IN ISLAM. By *Scyyed Hossein Nasr*. With a preface by *Giorgio de Santillana*. (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press. 1968. Pp. xiv, 21-384. \$8.95.)

APPARENTLY I was not the first to be disturbed by some of the things in Dr. Nasr's book; it carries, by way of preface, an apologia by Giorgio de Santillana: "No Neo-Thomist nostalgias here," comments De Santillana, and anyone who has come to Islam from the direction of the Greeks and Aristotle knows precisely the touch that has been scored. There may have been, however, other nostalgias at work.

Nasr has attempted to explain, by personal narrative and a generous and valuable selection of texts in translation, the sciences cultivated by the medieval Muslims in terms of the Islamic experience. There are some initial biographical sketches and a substantial treatment of the various educational institutions where these "Islamic sciences" were pursued and propagated. There follow individual chapters on "Cosmology and Geography," "Physics," "Mathematics," "Astronomy," "Medicine," "Ethnography," "Alchemy," "Philosophy and Theology," and, finally, the "Gnostic Tradition."

Substantially there is little ground for criticism, save, perhaps, that the matter is set out somewhat impressionistically in places and so neither as fully described nor as cogently argued as one might wish. *Transeat*. Nasr has, however, a view of Islam that colors everything that he has written here—what De Santillana perhaps mistook for "orthodox piety"—and one to which I must take absolute exception. In the author's own words, "In the Islamic world, the highest form of knowledge has never been any single science, or *scientia*, which remains at the discursive level, but the 'wisdom of the saints' or *sapientia*, which ultimately means gnosis." I cannot subscribe to such a proposition, a not uncommon one among those who emphasize the Iranian, Shiite, and Sufi elements in Islam. These last are rich indeed, but appear in somewhat different perspective when viewed from Baghdad or Cairo, rather than from Tehran.

Nasr has brought the Hellenic and Iranian traditions in Islam into confrontation and judged for the latter, which is excellent. But there is as well an Arab Islam, traditionally conservative, literalist in its understanding, almost rabbinical in its methodology, and with grave misgivings about both the rationalist arrogance of Hellenism and the Gnostic fantasies of the Iranians. It is this Arab tradition, I submit, that is at the heart of what is understood as orthodox

Islam, and to omit any discussion of its viewpoint and its sciences—jurisprudence, Hadith, philology, and so forth—in a work on Islamic science or Islamic civilization is fundamentally misleading.

New York University

F. E. PETERS

OTTOMAN REFORM IN SYRIA AND PALESTINE, 1840-1861: THE IMPACT OF THE TANZIMAT ON POLITICS AND SOCIETY. By *Moshe Ma'oz*. (New York: Oxford University Press. 1968. Pp. xi, 266. \$8.80.)

THE attempt to eliminate discrimination against minorities by government decree requires the resolve and the capability to resort to force if moral suasion should fail to achieve the desired result. Firm control over the region in question is requisite to the application of force. Otherwise, the edicts of the administration constitute mere irritants to the majority, and sporadic, inconsistent enforcement efforts lead to outbursts of reactionary violence directed against both government and minority group.

That was the experience of the United States government in the South during the 1950's. While the parallels are only teasingly suggestive, that was also the experience of the Ottoman government in Syria and Palestine a century earlier. In this admirably researched volume by the young Israeli Orientalist, Moshe Ma'oz, it becomes clear that progress toward the liberal goal of the Istanbul reformers, Muslim-Christian-Jewish equality, was halting; the power potential of the Empire in Syria was neither consistently nor capably applied; swelling Muslim resentment flared into three serious massacres; European intervention added both to the pressure and to the reaction; and ultimately an acute alienation developed between Arab and Turk that constituted one of the building blocks of Arab nationalism later in the century.

In this first case study of the regional application of *Tanzimat* reforms, Ma'oz, who studied under Albert Hourani at Oxford University, stresses the significance of the Egyptian occupation of Syria and Palestine in considering the fate of the reforms. The area did not fully experience the gradualism of Sultan Mahmud II as he recentralized authority and carefully promoted the new concept of Ottoman citizenship with its egalitarian component. Instead, the nine-year domination of Ibrahim Pasha, with its heavy, broadly distributed taxation, sweeping conscription, and favoritism toward Christians and Jews, produced Muslim longing for the Ottoman return. To curry local favor while their power was weak, the Ottomans then undid the crucial accomplishments of the Cairo regime: they distributed weapons once again to the unruly elements the Egyptians had disarmed, and they augmented the power of the councils of local notables to check the authority of the Ottoman governor. It is more critical that the returning Ottomans apparently failed to appreciate that Syrian Muslims, having suffered the demeaning erosion of their superior position during the Egyptian occupation, would react all the more emotionally to the Ottoman effort to achieve the same end. Weaker Ottoman authority, coupled with collaboration or at least collusion with the reactionaries on the part of some ineffectual Ottoman governors, precipitated massacres of Christians in Aleppo, Nablus, and Damascus, further

discrediting in the eyes of haughty Europeans the sincere, if maladroit, Ottoman effort to attain a more Westernized form of government and society.

Ma'oz has foraged widely in Ottoman archives, European consular records, and contemporary Arab, Hebrew, and European books and periodicals to amass the multiple examples from which his judicious conclusions are drawn. He has produced, however, a rather cold analysis of situations that were intensely human. The text is spare, and the reader longs for flesh-and-blood personalities. What is more serious, the total exclusion of events on Mount Lebanon from the discussion renders an aura of unreality. However complex and diversionary to the theme of his study the Druze-Maronite clashes may have been, the factors involved there did condition the Syrian picture. Such a reservation, however, does not essentially detract from the solid contribution Ma'oz has made to a fuller evaluation of the important *Tanzimat* movement in Middle Eastern history.

University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill

HERBERT L. BODMAN, JR.

DIE ADEN-GRENZE IN DER SÜDARABIENFRAGE (1900-1967). DIE ADENER GRENZKOMMISSION (1901-1907), by *Jens Plass*; ÜBERBLICK ÜBER DIE ENGLISCH-JEMENITISCHEN BEZIEHUNGEN UNTER DEM GESICHTSPUNKT DES SÜD-JEMENANSPRUCHS (1900-1967), by *Ulrich Gehrke*. [Schriften des Deutschen Orient-Instituts, Materialien und Dokumente.] (Opladen: C. W. Leske Verlag. 1967. Pp. x, 345. DM 28.)

Among the factors that have contaminated the climate of international relations in the Arab world in recent years are the numerous border disputes that vex inter-Arab relations. The origins of these conflicts are varied. Some predate the modern era; others were born of the diplomatic maneuverings that accompanied the rise and decline of European imperialism in the Arab Middle East; still others reflect nationalist yearnings. That the current turmoil concerning the political configuration of southern Arabia is the product of a volatile mixture of traditional and recent disagreements is illustrated by this collaboration by two German specialists in international affairs, Jens Plass and Ulrich Gehrke.

Their book consists of two essays. The first, by Plass, is a detailed, technical chronicle of the Aden Boundary Commission's attempt, between 1901 and 1907, to delimit the frontier separating the British-controlled territory surrounding Aden from the lands of the imamate of Yemen, then an autonomous principality within the Ottoman Empire. The second essay, by Gehrke, explains the fate of the commission's recommendations by summarizing the course of Anglo-Yemeni relations from 1901 to the spring of 1967 with particular reference to the evolution of the Yemeni claim to Aden and its hinterland ("Occupied South Yemen" as the region eventually was labeled by the rulers in San'a'). The original negotiations were complicated, involving not only several levels of Britain's imperial administration and the Ottoman government, but also the strong-willed Yemenis, who once had exercised a loose hegemony over southern Arabia, as well as countless minor sultans and sheiks scattered throughout the disputed territories.

As long as Britain governed Aden, its frontier remained more an extensive zone of disturbance than a sharp line of demarcation; protracted border skirmishing alternated with abortive attempts—notably in 1919, 1934, and 1951—to settle the frontier issue. As Gehrke explains, moreover, the dealings that anticipated Britain's withdrawal from Aden were influenced strongly by Yemeni irredentism. Also, this irredentism may well determine the future of Aden's successor state, the Peoples' Republic of South Yemen, which was formed in November 1967.

The book is well researched although it is based entirely upon Western-language sources including material from official British archives and does not utilize any Ottoman or Yemeni documents not available in translation. The useful appendix includes relevant treaty texts, a large bibliography, and three informative maps. Historians of the Middle East and students of international affairs will welcome this volume. If it is rather pedestrian in plan and execution, it has the virtues of workmanlike solidity and judicious impartiality, which are lacking in the argumentative propaganda that too often marks studies of Middle Eastern and Arabian territorial feuds.

Virginia Polytechnic Institute

ROBERT GERAN LANDEN

SOUTH ARABIA: ARENA OF CONFLICT. By *Tom Little*. (New York: Frederick A. Praeger, 1968. Pp. xi, 196. \$5.00.)

BRITAIN seized Aden in 1839. The area involved was less than 80 square miles; the 500 inhabitants of the totally decayed port lived in squalid poverty. A century and a quarter later it had become a thriving city of some 200,000 inhabitants, and the port was used by about 6,000 ships of 30,000,000 net tonnage. In 1967, when Britain withdrew, the city found itself in a desperate economic position as a result of the struggle for independence, the blocking of the Suez Canal by the Israeli-Arab war, and by the strife between the political parties in the city and the adjoining territory with which it was now to form the state of South Arabia. Mr. Little tells this story in a workmanlike, clear, and remarkably unprejudiced manner. The main portion deals with the political history of the last twenty years and terminates with the birth of the new state on November 30, 1967. During this period the author's work as a collector and distributor of news about the Arab world gave him the opportunity to meet the principal personalities concerned and to observe the day-to-day course of events.

Aden was acquired as a staging post on the way to India, and the gradual formation of a protectorate of 112,000 square miles to the northeast of the colony had no aim beyond protection from marauding tribesmen and interference from other powers. While the colony prospered under British rule, the area beyond its frontiers, with its congeries of needy principalities and sheikdoms, was left virtually undisturbed in its traditional medieval anarchy. It was only after the First World War that improved means of communication and the transformation that they wrought in political conditions and thinking led the British government to set about modernizing the protectorates, developing such scanty resources as they possessed, and ultimately making them and Aden into one political unit. As part of an empire Aden had become a multiracial city in which a privileged

position was held by Indians and Somalis from other British dominions, as well as by the Arab Adenis, while Arabs from nearby Yemen were regarded with suspicion as being citizens of a state that claimed Aden as unredeemed territory. British reluctance to withdraw as rapidly and completely from the Middle East as from India and elsewhere created a conflict with Arab nationalism that rendered a happy solution impossible. Hence the inglorious ending to a hitherto successful enterprise. Little is the first to tell the whole story. His book is dependable in its facts, readable, and likely to remain a useful reference work for a long time.

Banbury, England

NEVILL BARBOUR

THE ARAB-ISRAELI DILEMMA. By *Fred J. Khouri*. ([Syracuse, N. Y.:] Syracuse University Press. 1968. Pp. xi, 436. \$10.00.)

Few issues have provoked more writers to study the background and the cumulative factors that rendered those issues more difficult to solve than the Arab-Israeli conflict. It is no exaggeration to say that almost all the literature recently published has either dealt with the subject from an Arab or Zionist point of view, most favoring the latter rather than the former position. The need for a study that gives a balanced and a fairly objective view is urgent, for no lasting settlement of the issue would ever be possible before the public in this country and abroad would be ready to reappraise the issue in a detached attitude. To the best of my knowledge this is the first attempt made by an author to present to the American public a fair and detached assessment of the causes and conflicting interests and attitudes of the parties directly or indirectly concerned in the conflict.

As a Christian member of an originally Arabic-speaking family, the author is naturally sympathetic with the Arab viewpoint, but he is also critical of Arab policies, methods, and attitudes. He shows remarkable detachment in presenting the Zionist viewpoint, and he is both sympathetic and critical, as he was with the Arabs, of Israel's expansionist policy, its resort to violence, and its utter disregard of Arab grievances and injured pride. Might it not be better, he suggests, if Israel were to advance moderate demands, now that they have achieved military victory? As an American citizen, the author shows his concern for American national interest and the American image abroad, which have been adversely affected by the way the Arab-Israeli conflict has been handled by the American policy maker and also his concern for the international implications of the problem.

Although the book deals with the conflict from its very origins—the beginning of the Zionist movement and the Balfour Declaration—the author devotes the greater part of it to the issues that have arisen from the establishment of Israel in 1948 and ends with a detailed discussion of the war of June 1967 and its aftermath. In the latter part of the book, the author offers his own proposals for a settlement of the problem, which, in brief, seems to center around the establishment of an Arab federal union in which Israel, as a province and not as a state, would be one of the components. He realizes that it would be impossible to carry out this proposal now, but he suggests that by a slow process of compromises the federal union might prove to be eventually the practical approach to bring about the conflicting demands of the parties concerned.

Finally the author analyzes the foreign policies of the Great Powers—Russia and America, in particular—toward the conflict and criticizes the Powers for their inaction and sale of arms to both parties, which, in his view, has encouraged both the Arab states and Israel to take extreme positions and eventually to resort to force in an attempt to achieve a short-term settlement. But force, he rightly suggests, has aggravated rather than settled the issue. There are minor points to which I might take exception, but the work as a whole is a thorough piece of research for which the author is to be congratulated.

Johns Hopkins University

MAJID KHADDURI

EDUCATIONAL PROBLEMS IN TURKEY, 1920-1940. By *İlhan Başgöz* and *Howard E. Wilson*. [Research Center for the Language Sciences, Indiana University. Indiana University Publications, Uralic and Altaic Series, Volume LXXXVI.] (Bloomington: Indiana University. 1968. Pp. 268. \$7.00.)

THE two decades 1920-1940 were the formative years of the new Turkey in every field of endeavor, including education, and this is a well-documented history of the development of Turkish educational institutions. The first two chapters concern the educational system of the Ottoman Empire, the madrasah (Islamic mosque schools), and a century of reform in both the military and civilian schools.

Chapter III discusses education during the War of National Liberation (1919-1922) and the new Ministry of Education, which was to set the secularist education policies of Kemalist Turkey. Chapter IV, dealing with the social foundations of modern Turkish education, refers to the important 1923 Izmir Economic Congress, which gave direction to the Kemalist reform program, including its educational aspects. In addition to Baltacıoğlu's "society schools," which emphasized nontraditional and practical subjects, the authors discuss the effects of the 1924 John Dewey report and other subsequent recommendations on Turkish education. The Latinization of the alphabet is also discussed here.

Chapter V is concerned with the management of education, finances, school programs, textbooks, and similar subjects. The final chapter, entitled "The Emergence of an Educational Vitality," deals with problems of training educators as well as trends in vocational, technical, and agricultural education. President Atatürk, the authors stress, believed that education should be used as an instrument for progress and that "national culture" had three pillars: language, history, and the fine arts. The differing views of Sadrettin Celal, who favored "modern education," and Ziya Gökalp, who advocated "national education," were resolved by a compromise in which education was to be both modern and nationalistic.

The nationalistic, yet pragmatic and "scientific," nature of Turkey's present-day educational system is largely a product of developments during the two decades of Atatürk's leadership. While secularism in education replaced Islamic traditions, the Turkic heritage was not neglected.

American University

KERIM K. KEY

Africa

ISLAM AND IMPERIALISM IN SENEGAL: SINE-SALOUM, 1847-1914. By *Martin A. Klein*. (Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press for the Hoover Institution on War, Revolution and Peace. 1968. Pp. xvi, 285. \$7.95.)

A CRUCIAL aspect of the recent growth of historical interest concerning Africa has been the appearance of studies in depth, dealing with specific problems and indigenous institutions. These are the "building blocks" upon which generalized works of broad appeal and impact are grounded, and against which they are tested. But a complicating factor, which in the past has so often restricted the study of Africa, is the demand that an author be at once attuned to the society he studies and to its source materials, yet also have mastery of the Western scholarly apparatus.

Fortunately, Professor Klein fulfills both requirements, and this study of two of the Serer states in Senegal is a sound contribution to the documented literature of African history. The selection of Sine and Saloum by themselves, and in relation first to the neighboring Wolof (Muslim) state and then to the French and the *cercle* of Nioro, "was dictated by the nature of the archives and by my [the author's] central concern with the structure of power." The resulting focus is the political entity; the culture is diverse—five ethnic groups, four languages, and three older states, all finally ruled by France in two units that merged in 1904. The account is substantially the record of political resistance alternatively to Islam and to Europeans, but ultimately of the area's adjustment and accommodation to both pressures. The peanut exports and Roman Catholic missions were the initial contacts with France; geographical proximity provided the opening wedge for Islam. In the end, as France employed the traditional Sine-Saloum administrative structure, but introduced Muslim concepts and functionaries into it (a policy frequently followed elsewhere in the Empire), Gallic bureaucratic ideas and borrowed Islamic concepts became an integral part of modern Sine-Saloum.

The author knows the limitations and the possibilities of oral sources. The strength of those people whom he interviewed was their acquaintance with property and status matters, not with analysis or social history. Thus he quite properly uses certain of their factual evidence, critically judged, and interweaves it with other documentation in order to extend his narrative. The archival resources for Senegal, which are better than those available for most areas of Africa, are well searched, particularly those in Dakar and in Paris. At the same time, Britain and the Gambia are not overlooked. Having by chance been able to check at random several citations in the original archives, I should note that the references were succinct, sufficient, and accurate.

In analysis and interpretation of material, Klein commendably avoids the "oversimplifications," as he calls them, of such generalized terms used by many writers to describe African institutions and colonial policies as, for example, "assimilation." Instead, the particular situation is reviewed and described in an effective, specific style.

The footnote comments are ample and helpful, but this procedure has driven

the documentation to an inconvenient separate back section and necessitated use of both numbered and lettered superscripts in the text. There are four good maps, several clear diagrams and chronological lists of the relevant persons, a thorough glossary, and a competent index.

Temple University

DONALD L. WIEDNER

THE CITY OF IBADAN. Edited by P. C. Lloyd *et al.* (New York: Cambridge University Press in association with the Institute of African Studies, University of Ibadan. 1967. Pp. viii, 280. \$8.50.)

IBADAN, the capital of the Western Region of Nigeria, is today a city of a million people, the largest inland African metropolis. In appearance it still merits a description of 1958: "A vast, untidy, amorphous aggregation of rusty tin-roofed shacks." It is indeed more a giant village than a city, with half of its adult male population practicing farming outside the city limits as their main occupation. In origin it was not an essentially colonial foundation, like Kaduna or Abidjan, nor an old African capital raised by alien rulers to an importance it would hardly have achieved on its own, like Accra. There have been people living at Ibadan since the Stone Age. At the beginning of the nineteenth century it was a small Egba market town. Destroyed early in the Yoruba civil wars, it became a war camp for refugees fleeing south from the Fulani and was refounded about 1829 as a mainly Oyo settlement. During the remainder of the nineteenth century it exercised widespread influence in Yorubaland, which has led some historians to speak of an "Ibadan Empire." Following the signing of an enforced agreement in 1893 the town and its environs became part of British Nigeria.

The City of Ibadan consists of fifteen papers, preceded by an introduction, which were presented to a seminar organized early in 1964 by the Institute of African Studies, at the University of Ibadan. The contributions are of varied quality, and some appear to state the obvious at unnecessary length. Historians of West Africa will, however, find "Ibadan, Its Early Beginnings," by Bolanle Awe, of great interest, along with "Government and Politics in Ibadan," by George Jenkins, which, despite its modern-sounding title, is in fact a study of the developing interrelationship between the British and the indigenous authorities between 1893 and 1963. Historical material also appears in the sections on the "Stranger Communities"—Ijebu, western Ibo, and Hausa—and a good account is given in Chapter XII, "Religion in Ibadan," of the effects of decades of competition between Islam, Christianity, and traditional animism.

The elevation of Ibadan from village to metropolis has placed a heavy burden on those responsible for its future. Physical growth has outpaced planning. Compared to other population centers in the Western Region, Ibadan, as the regional capital, receives preferential financial treatment from government, but remains nevertheless seriously short of funds for development. Taxation cannot provide sufficient money to implement the policies of the planners so long as the average citizen's income remains so low. There is, in addition, a built-in conflict between the new elite of professionals, technicians, administrators, and businessmen and the traditional heads of the community. The two groups do not always agree on what is best for Ibadan or on the direction in which

development should be pushed. The city provides, however, an outstanding African example of the modern world phenomenon of very rapid urbanization on a grand scale. Studies of the type that this volume pioneers may be expected to proliferate, and they will have general, not merely African, significance.

Columbia University

GRAHAM IRWIN

AFRICAN ZION: THE ATTEMPT TO ESTABLISH A JEWISH COLONY IN THE EAST AFRICA PROTECTORATE, 1903-1905. By *Robert G. Weisbord*. (Philadelphia: Jewish Publication Society of America. 1968. Pp. viii, 347. \$6.00.)

THIS book is concerned with the East Africa episode in the history of the Zionist movement. In 1903 the British government made a tentative offer of land centering in the Uasin Gishu Plateau of the East Africa Protectorate to Theodor Herzl and the Zionist organization for the establishment of "a Jewish colony of settlement." The importance of the subject, apart from Zionism, lies in the involvement of the British government and its colonial policies affecting British officials, the white settlers, land grants, the Indians, and the natives. The author's main contribution is the treatment of his subject in its broad imperialist context. The research involved visits to England, Israel, and East Africa, and both published and unpublished sources were used with fine critical acumen. A thorough and readable elucidation of the subject resulted.

The idea of the grant originated with Joseph Chamberlain, then Colonial Secretary, and it was he who induced serious consideration by British officialdom. On the whole, however, there was little enthusiasm for the scheme in British government circles, especially when opposition was encountered. The white settlers in East Africa, led by Lord Delamere who had obtained a hundred thousand acres on lease, expressed their violent opposition in a campaign of vilification of Jews in general and of the would-be Jewish settlers in particular. Eliot, commissioner of the protectorate, went along with the plan at first, but turned against it as opposition developed. The Indians were unfriendly, and the natives were not consulted.

The Zionists, too, were far from enthusiastic; Palestine was the goal of Herzl and his colleagues. When negotiations with the Sultan yielded no results, and especially when pogroms in Eastern Europe made some haven necessary, Herzl made his plea for a British territory. Cyprus was unavailable, and El 'Arîsh in Sinai (on the periphery of Palestine) was vetoed by the Egyptian government and discouraged by Cromer. In the course of these negotiations, Chamberlain made his offer. Herzl responded for humanitarian and diplomatic reasons. An astute diplomat, he saw the value of gaining British recognition of Jewish national strivings and of the Zionist movement as the spokesman for the Jewish people. He presented the offer to the Zionist Congress as a possible *Nachtschl.* A majority of the Congress deferred to his wishes to send a commission of inquiry, but there was consternation in Zionist ranks, especially among the East Europeans immediately affected; Zionism without Zion had no appeal, despite their desperate straits. In the end, the commission of inquiry found the region

unsuitable, and the British government as well as the great majority of the Zionists was relieved to be done with the scheme.

What motivated Chamberlain to make the offer and Lansdowne and others to support it? In an imperialist venture, some students eagerly look for capitalists on the prowl stalking profits. The author does not ignore this possibility, but he wisely considers other motives. The Uganda railroad was, no doubt, a factor; it was built by the British government with the strong backing of Chamberlain, and settlers were needed to justify it on economic grounds. But this was not the only consideration. Chamberlain and others sympathized with the Jewish victims of tsarism and wished to help find a haven for them. The Aliens Commission, moreover, had made its report, and the government favored restriction of immigration, which would obviously affect Jews from Eastern Europe. It was distasteful to Chamberlain and his colleagues to be associated with anti-Semites even by indirection. A Jewish settlement in East Africa held the promise of deflecting both unwanted Jewish immigrants and presumptions of anti-Semitism.

City College of New York

OSCAR I. JANOWSKY

THE SOUTHERN SUDAN: BACKGROUND TO CONFLICT. By *Mohamed Omer Beshir*. (New York: Frederick A. Praeger. 1968. Pp. xiii, 192. \$7.50.)

THIS small book is a welcome addition to the growing literature about the problem of the Southern Sudan. Approximately one-third of the volume consists of appendixes with critical documents pertaining to the evolution of the crisis in the Southern Sudan and whose appearance in the public domain students and scholars alike have long awaited. The remainder of the book concerns the development of Southern differences with the Northern Sudan and the failure of the Northern and the Southern Sudanese to resolve these differences.

As the academic secretary at the University of Khartoum and the secretary of the Round Table Conference between Northern and Southern Sudanese in 1965, the author is well qualified to write about the incredibly complex problem of the Southern Sudan, but the brevity of his analysis occasionally leads to inaccurate generalizations. For instance, his conclusion that the expulsion of Northern traders from the South in the 1930's retarded Southern economic development is grossly exaggerated. The overwhelming majority of the traders were *jallaba*, petty merchants, with virtually no capital and little entrepreneurial or commercial knowledge. Their expulsion was no economic loss to the South and certainly a social gain. Similarly, the transfer of Northern officials from the South did not affect the efficiency of the administration as is implied. More important, the motives for the decisive policy statement in 1930 by the Civil Secretary of the Sudan government, Sir Harold MacMichael, are not discussed, and the author's failure to understand that the principles of indirect rule are the roots of Southern policy results in conspiratorial assumptions that have no foundation in fact. Finally, the surprising statement that the "ultimate objective" of Southern policy was "the separation of the South from the North" is just not true, and the evidence cited on the same page to prove that assertion demonstrates

precisely the opposite—that the British had no “ultimate objective” for the Southern Sudan. Indeed, the British did not have any clearer idea of the future for the South in 1945 than the Northern Sudanese have today. Although there are some very honest admissions about the failure of the Sudan government to seek a solution to the current civil war in the Southern Sudan, to the author the principal villains who are responsible for Southern Sudanese hostility and suspicion of the Northern Sudan are the British and the Christian missionaries. Unfortunately, this defensive pleading has become rather out of date. The British left in 1956, and the missionaries were expelled in 1962. The legacy of their rule and teaching, of course, remains, but this legacy exists only because of the total failure of the Northern Sudanese to come to grips, either intellectually or politically, with the problem of the South. One can only hope that, despite the defects of condensation, this book will begin the search for understanding in Khartoum as well as Kampala.

University of California, Santa Barbara

ROBERT O. COLLINS

SMUTS: THE FIELDS OF FORCE, 1919-1950. By *W. K. Hancock*. (New York: Cambridge University Press. 1968. Pp. xiii, 589. \$12.50.)

THIS biographer and his subject are well met. Those who read the first volume of his life of Smuts (*Smuts: The Sanguine Years, 1870-1919*) will not be disappointed in this second and concluding volume. Indeed, this life of Smuts may be considered a vital factor in the revival of rather lengthy biographies. One has only to think of Randolph Churchill's biography of his father—now so tragically interrupted—and Alan Bullock's biography of Bevin to believe himself back at the turn of the century. In this revival Hancock has played a conspicuous role.

Smuts is not an easy subject. In the first place he lived in two worlds. As we know him, he played his part on the world stage where he appeared generally as an exponent of what may be called liberal principles. But at home much had to be hidden. His standing as a political leader in South Africa had to take on local coloration. The problem always was to be as liberal as possible without losing the following necessary to support one in office or to make one effective in opposition. The reader will learn much of this art and perhaps more of the little-understood politics of South Africa. In the second place Smuts was a philosopher and scientist. These qualities add to the scope and complexity of the man, but the politician is more to be enjoyed. In fact the philosophical side of Smuts's life will leave many readers a bit at sea. Even so, the portrait that emerges is intriguing and fully reveals one of the exceptional men of the last generation.

There are very few scholars who could have done a satisfactory life of Smuts. It required an exceptional knowledge of the wide world with some intimate acquaintance with the smaller and discreet African scene. Hancock brought to the task very fine professional habits along with a unique knowledge of the two worlds. His knowledge of the sources is scarcely equaled, while his prose is both muscular and pleasant. He understands Smuts in his several manifestations, and his treatment is deft and certain. In short, the second volume is one picked up with anticipation and put down with gratitude. It is dangerous in these

days to say that any scholarly work is definitive, but it is unlikely that anyone will undertake to follow in these footsteps during this generation.

University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill

JAMES L. GODFREY

Asia and the East

HISTORY IN COMMUNIST CHINA. Edited by *Albert Feuerwerker*. (Cambridge, Mass.: M.I.T. Press, Massachusetts Institute of Technology. 1968. Pp. xiv, 382. \$12.50.)

HISTORY, in re-creating a past, reveals the underlying presentism of the historian. To the extent that Marxist temporality is a concerted substitute for the collapse of traditional time, Chinese Communist historiography necessarily emphasizes presentism as the starting point for its new temporal scheme. As Chairman Mao said: "The China of today has developed from the China in history; as we are believers in the Marxist approach to history, we must not cut off our whole historical past."

What can we make of it?

A conference on Chinese Communist historiography was held at Ditchley Manor, Oxfordshire, in September 1964; the papers from it were subsequently published in the *China Quarterly*. The conference chairman has now collected them, along with a few others, in book form. The roster of contributors is impressive. Besides Feuerwerker it includes Boorman, Ch'en, Cheng, Farquhar, Fitzgerald, Harrison, Hulswé, Israel, Levenson, Meisner, Munro, and Wilhelm. Their articles touched on different aspects of the problem. A Soviet critique of Chinese Communist historiography by Vyatkin and Tikhvinsky and a Chinese Communist prescription for Asian history by Liu Ta-nien are also included. All in all, it is an informative, coherent collection.

The problem of Chinese Communist historiography can be approached from several standpoints, each revealing a different aspect of the phenomenon:

From the standpoint of Western academic scholarship, the trends of historiography in Communist China can be studied specifically, in terms of what is happening, as well as judged by the Western criterion of "objectivity." Such a procedure is followed by most of the articles in the volume, and they are informative. There is, however, a difference between judgment in terms of an extraneous criterion and understanding the significance of a historical phenomenon.

At the level of Marxist consciousness, the problem can be understood in terms of two sets of dichotomies. The more obvious one, as attested in the Vyatkin-Tikhvinsky and Liu controversy, is that of Europocentrism versus Sinocentrism. But this controversy transcends the limit of mere chauvinism or political ideology. Underlying such a controversy, as pointed out by Feuerwerker, is the tension of the Chinese Marxist perspective itself, that is, *chieh-chi kuan-tien* (the class viewpoint) versus *li-shi chu-i* (historicism, although I prefer the term historicity). The tension is generated by the attempt to structure a Sinocentric perspective within an inherited Europocentric *Weltanschauung*.

If approached from the standpoint of modern Chinese intellectual history,

the problem can be analyzed in terms of the now-familiar Levensonian theme of value and history. It is a tension of Marxist universality versus Chinese uniqueness, in a posttraditional situation.

In addition, it can be viewed from the Weberian position of *Verstehen*, as Meisner has done in his article. Thus, the tension is understood as the emergent meaning of a Maoist voluntarist consciousness within an immanent dialectical process.

But, it is also possible to clarify the significance of Chinese Communist historiography from the standpoint of the post-Husserlian preoccupation with temporality. The Marxist symbolic order is for its inhabitants an intersubjectively lived temporality. Within that progressing reality the Chinese Communist perspective, never static, is oriented retrospectively to the past and prospectively to the future. There is an intimate link between historical reconstruction and voluntarist praxis. Yet the different modalities of recollection and anticipation must be expressed within existing Marxist vocabulary—a language that denies the priority of time over reason. This is a problem in the intentional structure of the Chinese Revolution (for the concept of intentionality, see Alfred Schutz). Chinese Communist historiography is neither Confucian “mirror” nor Rankean “reality.” It has meaning within the continuing reality of the Chinese Communist world. Herein lies the new task for historical sympathy.

San Francisco State College

DONALD M. LOWE

POLITICAL DEVELOPMENT IN MODERN JAPAN. By *Ardath W. Burks et al.* Edited by *Robert E. Ward*. [Studies in the Modernization of Japan, prepared under the auspices of the Association for Asian Studies.] (Princeton, N. J.: Princeton University Press. 1968. Pp. xii, 637. \$12.50.)

THIS volume, an important contribution to the literature on modern Japanese history, is provided with a theoretical framework by Robert E. Ward, who opens it with a definition of the traits he considers the essential characteristics of politically developed societies and who closes it with a cautious statement of the conclusions suggested for political modernization by the Japanese experience. In between are thirteen other chapters: a perceptive essay on the role of the emperor throughout Japanese history, which opens up a number of questions for further investigation (J. W. Hall); a study of the Genro, which, with B. S. Silberman's recent article, now gives us a fairly comprehensive picture of that institution (R. F. Hackett); a thorough examination of the intellectual odyssey of Fukuzawa Yukichi set in the context of Japanese nationalism (A. M. Craig); an excellent discussion of foreign relations during the Meiji period and of their intricate connection with internal development (M. B. Jansen); an interesting statement on the role of the army as both a modernizing agent and a preserver of traditional values (N. Ike); a highly informative dissection of the process by which the village was integrated into the new national structure (K. Steiner); a review of prewar election statistics (R. A. Scalapino); a penetrating exposition of the special characteristics of Japanese interest groups and their ambivalent impact on modernization (T. Ishida); a statistical analysis of the development of specialization and differentiation in prefectural government

structure by means of a new technique that could prove quite valuable for studies of other countries (B. S. Silberman); a cogent, sharply focused treatise on the growth of legal limitations on governmental power, which supplies an enlightening summary of Tokugawa legal concepts and of the changes occurring in Meiji and postwar Japan (D. F. Henderson); a fascinating description of the *ringi* system of decision making that illuminates the reasons for diffusion of responsibility and the overriding influence of subordinates on policy formation (K. Tsuji); a careful evaluation of the degree to which the occupation was able to influence Japan's development and of the factors that account for what success there was (R. E. Ward); an argument for the critical role of deliberate choice as opposed to a determinist approach to Japanese history (A. W. Burks).

There is a rich diversity among these essays, but there are also certain common themes. There is, for instance, the tendency to push the appearance of various elements of modernization well back into Japan's past, thus making the Meiji changes the culmination of a long preparation rather than a short-term miracle holding out hope for an instant modernization formula. There is also an inclination to see in certain of Japan's traditional values and institutions, commonly regarded hitherto as unfortunate residues, a positive, perhaps an indispensable, contribution to the modernization process. At some point, however, these values and institutions became dysfunctional. Exactly when, how, and why this happened becomes then an important field for future research.

City College of New York

ARTHUR E. TIEDEMANN

THE DUTCH IMPACT ON JAPAN (1640-1853). By *Grant Kohn Goodman*. [Monographies du T'oung Pao, Volume V.] (Leiden: E. J. Brill. 1967. Pp. viii, 242. 36 gls.)

THIS work is a Ph.D. thesis, and it shows evident signs of being sent to the press in too much of a hurry and without adequate revision. The author claims in his preface that his book "will, I believe, provide an entirely new approach to the subject of the Dutch impact on Japan. For here the story will be unfolded as a facet of internal history, and its development will be followed through the various threads of concurrent Japanese social changes. . . . By so doing it should be demonstrable that Japan was far better prepared than [is] generally believed to meet the challenge of the Western powers after the appearance of Perry and to shape itself along the more modern lines which took form in the Meiji Imperial Restoration of 1868." In point of fact, his "entirely new approach" and his conclusions have already been adumbrated by several previous writers, including the late Sir George Sansom's classic *The Western World and Japan* (1950) and Donald Keene's *The Japanese Discovery of Europe. Honda Toshiaki and Other Discoverers, 1720-1798* (1952).

The chief merit of this book is that Dr. Goodman has used a wide range of modern Japanese historical writing on the *Rangakusha*, or students of Dutch (Western) learning, and he deals with many individuals who will be unfamiliar to all save specialists in this field. If his first few chapters are little more than a rehash of the works of older authorities, from Engelbert Kaempfer to James Murdoch, he makes a distinctive contribution in some of his later chapters, par-

ticularly Chapters XIII ("Western Learning in Various Domains") and XIV ("Western Learning in Certain Private Schools"). As often happens with writers of Ph.D. theses, the author tends to overestimate the importance of his subject at times and to let his enthusiasm run away with him. For instance, he draws far too sharp a contrast between the "scientific" nature of European medicine in the seventeenth century and contemporary Japanese medical practice. Inevitably, the germ theory of disease and the cellular structure of the body were unknown to European and to Oriental medical systems alike, but the former, with their heavy reliance on violent purgings and bleedings, were often more damaging to the hapless patient. Goodman does not make it clear that many of the works that he discusses, such as those of Honda Toshiaki, were not published during the lifetimes of their authors and so exercised a very restricted influence (in some instances, perhaps, none at all). The inclusion of Sino-Japanese characters with all proper names is a welcome feature of the book, but the lack of an index is inexcusable, and the map of Nagasaki at the end is reproduced, without the slightest acknowledgment, from Paske-Smith's *Western Barbarians in Japan and Formosa* (1930). I feel that Keene's *Japanese Discovery of Europe* provides a more balanced and a more readable analysis of the influence exercised by the *Rangakusha* in Tokugawa Japan, but Goodman's work, used with due care, will be very useful for those who want more detailed coverage.

Indiana University

C. R. BOXER

DEATH IN LIFE: SURVIVORS OF HIROSHIMA. By Robert Jay Lifton.
(New York: Random House. 1967. Pp. viii, 594. \$10.00.)

ROBERT Jay Lifton received his medical degree from New York Medical College. As research associate in psychiatry at the Center for East Asian Studies at Harvard (1956-1961), he became interested in the relationship between individual psychology and historical change in China and Japan. He has spent about seven years in the Far East, and specialists first came to know him through his *Thought Reform and the Psychology of Totalism: A Study of "Brainwashing" in China*.

During field work in Japan (1960-1962), during which Lifton carried out a study of psychological patterns in Japanese youth, he became intensely absorbed in an investigation of the effects of the atomic bombardment of Hiroshima. He is the first person, American or Japanese, to undertake a study in depth of those who survived the holocaust.

What follows is a cool, scientific narrative that capitalizes on extensive interviews with some seventy-five survivors. Lifton's emphasis is on shared psychological and historical themes. Although the patterns take form within the social psychology of Japanese culture, they are distinctly universal in nature. The significance of the truly original data lies in the book's treatment of psychological tendencies common to all mankind; of those within a particular (Japanese) culture; and of those stimulated by contemporary historical forces.

Certainly no novel could open on a more dramatic or chilling note. The reader shares the awful anticipation in the city of Hiroshima, which had hitherto been spared from bombing. In their own words survivors then describe the

"immersion in death," a feeling that continues as the aftereffects of atomic bombardment become apparent.

Survivors' individual and social struggles and problems are covered in great detail: death imagery, guilt feelings over having survived, invisible contamination, and the "corpses of history" (the ruination of significant symbols that enhance a continuity with the historical past). The details of the interviews are often sensational, but Lifton avoids sensationalism by concentrating on that for which he is trained: medical and psychiatric research.

So extraordinary were the disaster and its effects, however, that the author must constantly coin appropriate terms. Doubtless these terms will remain in the professional literature for a long time.

Scholars will find the book's treatment of long-range effects of the atomic bomb on intellectuals particularly interesting. The "creative response"—in literature, poetry, painting, films, music—demonstrates that the experience continues to elude and yet fascinate those who seek to come to terms with it. As Lifton states, "Hiroshima struck me as the only place in Japan where people were still, vividly and articulately, aware of World War II—but in a manner so special as to transcend the war itself."

So great are the political undertones, especially in Japan, of the continued presence of atomic weapons in the world, that the author explicitly recognizes the delicate position of the researcher who engages in study of the effects of Hiroshima. Obviously, Lifton's consistent impression is that there is much to be learned in the experience.

Since publication of this remarkable book, the author has conducted another Far Eastern research trip devoted to work in Japan and to an evaluation of current trends in mainland China.

Rutgers University, New Brunswick, New Jersey

ARDATH W. BURKS

KOREA: THE POLITICS OF THE VORTEX. By *Gregory Henderson*.

[Written under the auspices of the Center for International Affairs, Harvard University.] (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press. 1968. Pp. xvi, 479. \$11.95.)

THE American presence along Asia's eastern littoral is as old and turgescent as the nation itself. Yet only in recent decades have American scholars in significant numbers gone beyond issues of national war and diplomacy to study Asian cultures. With Korea, however, this trend has lagged; the Korean War has for the American specialist largely perpetuated his traditional interests.

Professor Henderson's superb effort signifies, one hopes, a lasting shift in direction. A former diplomat who served seven years in Korea, he has written a book forceful enough to generate this shift. His is a study about Korea resolutely Korean in emphasis and coolly dispassionate in mood. Neither Chinese culturalism, Japanese imperialism, nor American globalism is his prime concern; rather, he probes with interpretive vigor and precision the deeper, intrinsic dimensions to Korea's own political culture.

Henderson contends that the crucial forces shaping this culture are indigenous, not external, and that Korea's political pattern during the past millennium

has shown a substantive continuity tenaciously resistant to foreign influences, Eastern or Western. As he sees it, Korean society has long had a remarkable degree of geographic, ethnic, linguistic, religious, even ideological homogeneity. The result is a "mass society" where institutions and interest groupings such as guild, church, class, or caste have been extremely weak; thus throne and village, rulers and ruled, interact directly. Society is cast like a powerful vortex, a "vertiginous updraft" that "sucks all components from each other before they cohere on lower levels . . . to propel them in atomized form toward the power apex." In this centripetal milieu politics is the irrepressible ubiquity where factions, personalities, and opportunism hold sway, and the absence of real differences allows no basis for reasoned compromise. To clarify this thesis, the author analyzes Korean sociopolitical developments from Silla to contemporary times, though his emphasis falls heavily on the modern period, especially the postliberation years.

This provocative study should excite scholars of many disciplines. Perhaps the very monistic nature of Korean society has eased, not impeded, thrusts toward modernization there. Possibly Communism, not the more democratic "cohesion through decentralization" Henderson embraces, is, as the Pyongyang regime may yet prove, the most effective political system for a mass society like that of Korea. Wherever future studies may lead, Henderson has likely provided an indispensable point of departure.

Sources used are extensive and reflect familiarity with pertinent Korean, Japanese, and Western works. The style is clean and pungent, suggesting a certain *joie d'écrire*. But why is there no bibliography? This omission is particularly regrettable in a book of such seminal significance.

Niagara University

ALBERT E. BAGGS

THE EMERGENCE OF INDIAN NATIONALISM: COMPETITION AND COLLABORATION IN THE LATER NINETEENTH CENTURY. By Anil Seal. [Political Change in Modern South Asia.] (New York: Cambridge University Press. 1968. Pp. xvi, 416. \$11.50.)

A most useful and significant contribution, this work signals the arrival of a new generation in the writing of Indian history. It is useful for its wealth of factual and statistical detail, its comprehensiveness of coverage, its utilization of hitherto untapped resources, its freshness of approach, and its deft and imaginative interweaving of research by other scholars. It is significant both for its methodology and its detachment.

Recently scholars in several countries have been experimenting with new methods. Yet, it is young scholars in England, long the center for scholarship in Indian history, who once again have seized the baton of leadership. Hitherto, new approaches, which focus upon processes of change among peoples ruled rather than upon policies of rulers, have tended to be modest. By new techniques, the cutting edges of social-scientific questions have been "counter-sunk" backward in time, away from flat, contemporary surfaces. But such efforts have been discreet and cautious, narrow in scope, and confined in span. Dr. Seal has attempted the vastly more ambitious, complicated, and difficult task of do-

ing for much of British India—for the three presidencies—what many have tried for much smaller areas, such as districts and localities. He is attempting, moreover, to do this for much longer reaches of time. (As one of several projected volumes, this book covers the period from 1870 to 1888.)

In describing and accounting for changes in attitudes and actions of elite groups over most of British India, Seal looks at the social roots of each embryonic and newly emerging political organization. At the very time when those processes of social integration and political unification, which had begun a century before, were culminating in organized political activity on an all-India scale, divisive forces were also beginning to emerge. These, if left unchecked, would ruin that very union—whether “imperial” or “national”—which had been constructed. The author does not limit his concern to politicians, civil servants, and governors, with their interminable wrangling over policy. Rather, he gives attention to social structure and movement, to those forces that push the pistons of political change. He examines the social divisions, castes, communities, language groups, and newly mounting pressures inside the presidencies of Madras, Bombay, and Bengal: in short, those forces that prompted organizing the Indian National Congress and later prompted Muslim leaders to break away. Most of all, he analyzes those “Indians” who composed the only coherent force capable of propelling profound political changes, those “who had been educated in the new schools and universities.”

An undertaking as ambitious and worthy as this is so impressive that one hesitates to mention failings, if they must be labeled such. The immensity of factual grasp required and the conceptual difficulties involved are enough to scare away the fainthearted. For all his brilliance, his virtuosity, and his even greater promise as a scholar, Seal is but mortal. He has tried to do too much. His work on Madras, for example, misses some important sources and is short of completeness, especially when dealing with the Madras Hindu Association, forerunner of the Madras Native Association. Also, like many of us, he too is a prisoner to current expressions, some catch phrases and catchall concepts of fashion. For example, in his apparently unconscious and vague use of “colonial,” “colonial rule,” and so forth, as applied to the Indian Empire, he fails to exercise critical precision and imagination; for, by implication, this huge political system, so old in its own imperial tradition, so semiautonomous and so expansionist (with its own “colonizing”) in its past logic, is confused with the fashionable doctrine of “colonialism” arising in the late nineteenth century and with the epithet of that same name in the twentieth. Indeed, Seal himself fully recognizes and understands this underlying character in the Indian Empire; he sees the very processes of “Indianization,” whether garbed in imperial or national idiom, as being those conditions within which British rulers found themselves bound. Seal’s is not the first study to point out those essential conditions of power, those limitations imposed upon the raj by its own dependence upon forces within the subcontinent that were beyond its control. But, in my opinion, his contribution is one of the most thorough and exciting to have appeared on this subject.

University of Wisconsin

ROBERT E. FRYKENBERG

THE FOUNDATIONS OF INDIAN FEDERALISM. By *K. R. Bombwall*. (New York: Asia Publishing House; distrib. by Taplinger Publishing Company, New York. 1967. Pp. xiii, 348. \$6.50.)

CONSTITUTIONAL HISTORY OF INDIA, 1600-1950. By *M. V. Pylee*. (New York: Asia Publishing House; distrib. by Taplinger Publishing Company, New York. 1967. Pp. vi, 175. \$2.25.)

THIS volume by K. R. Bombwall has many attributes that commend it to the informed reader. It is highly literate and very well written. It is also quite well documented and rests, on the whole, upon solid and informed research. Where the author's pet theses do not cause him to read too much into the evidence, the arguments are sound and balanced. It is rarely tedious. The topic itself is important, especially in the current scene in which center and state relations have assumed a greater importance than they had a decade ago. Unfortunately the volume was put into print before the 1967 general elections had cast their shadow over such relationships. The background is, however, amply illuminated.

The introduction, needlessly prolix, treats variant definitions of the term federalism. It would have been more fruitful if the author had given us the definition he preferred to work with in a few succinct passages. The next two chapters supply a version of the historical background in which the author finds that there were strong trends toward decentralization in the government of India with respect to the provinces much sooner than almost any of us would have suspected. This of course suits his thesis with regard to the germs of federalism that he finds implicit in various early stages of the constitutional evolution of British India long before the word federalism was in fact put into use. He then turns to an interesting and in many ways valuable discussion of the system of dyarchy introduced by the Government of India Act of 1919, wherein he sees the foundations of Indian federalism emphasized. The next two chapters, covering the period from 1924 through 1935, are, in my opinion, the best sections of the book: scholarly, solid, and well balanced. In these sections he does a searching analysis of the role of the Muslim demand and of the princely states in pressing for a federal solution in league with the more conservative segments of British opinion. He also has a penetrating chapter of evaluation and appraisal of federalism in independent India. Capping what has gone before, this chapter helps to put into perspective the situation facing the republic after the 1967 elections changed the nexus of relationships between the center and the several states. It seems apparent to many thoughtful observers that the next decade will witness new constraints and fresh forms of interaction and that these sets of interaction will test the meaning of federalism in its Indian edition. This volume, which is in a number of ways free from cant, will facilitate re-evaluation of that federalism.

Much less needs to be said of the brief reader by M. V. Pylee. Its type will be familiar to those who haunt the sidewalk bookstalls of College Square. It is an all too short summary of rather formalistic constitutional history, which should assist those preparing for examinations in the subject.

Being so very brief, it tends to skip over topics and issues that might in fact have considerably illuminated the crux of important matters. Moreover, it looks

at the formal and rather legal side of things, at the codes and arrangements as set down by enactments, and not at the way institutions actually worked in real life. Beyond that, it contains more than a minimal share of simple errors, some of which good editing could have removed.

It is interesting that Pylee comes to a quite different conclusion regarding the results of the dyarchy experiment than does Bombwall. Pylee states flatly that it was a failure, whereas Bombwall sees in it important and most promising developments for federalism in India. Similarly, Pylee and Bombwall disagree sharply in their assessment of the Nehru Committee Report (All Parties Committee). Pylee speaks of the report as conceived in a spirit of "idealism and accommodation," while Bombwall charges that a narrow Hindu chauvinism marked some of its leading features and drove the Muslims away from any possibility of accommodation.

In general, the Pylee volume cannot be recommended because of its brevity and its many errors of fact.

Syracuse University

ROBERT I. CRANE

ELITE CONFLICT IN A PLURAL SOCIETY: TWENTIETH-CENTURY BENGAL. By J. H. Broomfield. (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. 1968. Pp. xv, 349. \$8.50.)

THIS sophisticated study illuminates the turbulent politics of the province of Bengal in the twentieth century. Among its many contributions are its revealing insights into the social bases of political action and the interaction of elites, Hindu, Muslim, and British. Its focus is on the unsuccessful struggle of the Hindu *bhadralok*, drawn mainly from the upper castes of Bengali Hindu society, to maintain their social and political dominance after the reunification of Bengal in 1912. Within a rather conventional chronological framework, it skillfully traces the fluctuating fortunes of key groups and individuals, within the Hindu *bhadralok* and outside.

During the first decade after 1912 the Hindu *bhadralok*, divided between moderates and extremists, were generally successful in preserving their special position and interests. They were the leading group in the Bengal Legislative Council between 1913 and 1920, although their leadership was divided over the question of participation in the council. In the early 1920's, however, their privileged position became increasingly difficult to maintain. New social forces were at work, both in Bengal and in India as a whole, which tended to undermine the social bases of their political power. They became increasingly alienated from the English rulers, from low-caste Hindus, from Muslims, and to some extent from the nationalist struggle, which, under Gandhi, assumed new directions and developed a mass base. "The *bhadralok* elite were afraid of the social consequences of a disturbance of the established political order," and they "had no taste for popular politics."

Most of the Bengali Hindu *bhadralok* were cool to Mahatma Gandhi and to his whole approach. Gandhi "offended the *bhadralok* politicians, Extremist as well as Moderate, and they turned against him; but in doing so they lost the support of their own lower-class who saw in this yet another example of 'bābu'

betrayal." They knew how to operate effectively at the sophisticated level of Bengali politics, but their position was eventually undermined at the new level of mass politics.

By the mid-1920's their privileged position was at an end, and, thereafter, during the two "tragic decades" before independence and partition in 1947, the leading role in Bengali politics was played by the Muslims, who were able to work more effectively with the British, and even with low-caste Hindus.

The book contains fascinating pen portraits of leading figures among the Hindu *bhadralok*, notably Surendranath Banerjea and Chitta Ranjan Das, and the Muslims, notably Fazlul Huq and Abdur Rahim, and of three British governors of Bengal, Lords Carmichael, Ronaldshay, and Lytton. It has all the earmarks of sound scholarship and solid research over a seven-year period, featuring a careful examination of documentary sources in India, Pakistan, and England, and interviews with some fifty "old politicians and administrators." It is a clear and coherent narrative, told in a sprightly style. It deserves a place in the highly select list of really distinguished studies of Indian politics in the twentieth century.

University of Pennsylvania

NORMAN D. PALMER

ISLAM AND PAKISTAN. By *Freeland Abbott*. (Ithaca, N. Y.: Cornell University Press. 1968. Pp. xvi, 242. \$6.75.)

FREELAND Abbott has set himself a difficult task: an analysis of the inner tensions generated in Islam by social change as exemplified by the history of Pakistan. This commits him to a wide-ranging survey and many generalizations as well as to detailed examination of particular movements, but he has succeeded in writing a book that is both readable and useful. His emphasis throughout is on the responses Islam as a religious system has made to changing conditions and the problems inherent in this process. He begins with the question "Is change possible in Islam?" and, having given an affirmative answer qualified by historical experience and theological argument, he moves on to an examination of the history of Islam in the Indian subcontinent.

Relations between Hindus and Muslims during the centuries of rule by Islamic peoples have often been described under such simplistic and anachronistic rubrics as "toleration" and "freedom of worship," much to the confusion of historical understanding, and Abbott occasionally falls into the trap through seeking clarity by analogies to Western history. It is not very enlightening, for example, to compare Christian treatment of the Jews in medieval Europe to Muslim treatment of the Hindus; the sides of the equation are different both in kind and quantity. He rescues himself from this danger, however, by his insistence on the enormous variety within the conglomeration of attitudes and beliefs we label "Hindu" or "Muslim." The categories are imposed on the society from without, and in themselves they say remarkably little about either religious or social realities. The heart of the matter becomes apparent in the eighteenth century when three factors generate new stresses within the Islamic community in India: the decline of the power of Muslim rulers, the intrusion of the West, and, perhaps most important, the resurgence of Hinduism as a social and po-

litical force. Out of this crisis come such leaders as Shah Wali Ullah, Sayyid Ahmad Shahid, and Sayyid Ahmad Khan, who propounded intellectual responses that were institutionalized in the colleges at Deoband and Aligarh.

The twentieth-century responses, obviously most germane to this study, are treated in more detail by Abbott, and his last chapter, "Muslim Modernism in Pakistan," is the best in the book. One of the paradoxes of the Pakistan movement is that, while deeply grounded in an appeal to Islam, its leaders were, with very few exceptions, men who possessed neither a religious temperament nor theological learning. The most orthodox element of Indian Islam opposed the drive for Pakistan partly for this reason and partly because of their own understanding of the mission of Islam to win all of India, not just an area where modernizing Muslims could create a rival state to India. In his final pages, Abbott's discussion of the search for reconciliation between the opposing concepts of Islamic community and modern statehood serves as a guide to some of the tensions, creative as well as destructive, that make Pakistan a laboratory for the study of the social role of religion in the modern world.

Columbia University

AINSLIE T. EMBREE

A HISTORY OF MODERN MALAYA. By K. G. Tregonning. [History of Modern South-East Asia Series.] (New York: David McKay Company. 1967. Pp. 339. \$5.95.)

FROM his long and profound experience in Malaya, Kenneth Tregonning has drawn an excellent portrait of modern Malay history. After three survey chapters of the premodern period that contain "much to record" but "little that can be claimed to be pertinent today," Tregonning launches into discussions of the British entry into Penang, Singapore, and the peninsula as a whole; the social and economic changes attendant upon the presence of the British; the massive inflow of Chinese immigrants; the impact of World War II on the peninsula; subsequent moves for independence; and the creation of Malaysia by addition of the Borneo territories.

This is a lively history; it has the personal voice of the engaging and engaged professor in the lecture hall. Tregonning makes strong positive statements. Penang, he says, "was founded purely for commercial purposes"; "it was never a British naval base." Singapore, a port without coal ("as useless as a ship without a bottom"), would never have survived as a great port in the steamship age had it not been blessed by a geological fault that created an abrupt drop of the land into the deep sea; this is now "New Harbour." On Swettenham ("a greater builder than an architect") he levels the charge that, in giving Malaya "a collection of initials" rather than a real federation, he was responsible "for the failure to create the framework of a nation." Some of his observations can be challenged, but he keeps the reader reading, and he does focus on essential features of Malaya's historical development and does not bury the reader in masses of irrelevant detail.

University of Hawaii

WALTER F. VELLA

MALAYSIA: PROSPECT AND RETROSPECT. THE IMPACT AND AFTERMATH OF COLONIAL RULE. By *Richard Allen*. (New York: Oxford University Press. 1968. Pp. xiv, 330. \$7.75.)

THIS most recent in a succession of histories of Malaya that have appeared in the last few years has an advantage over its predecessors. Since it was written at a later date than they were, it includes a few pages on developments in Malaya to the middle of 1967. In the preface the author states that he is writing for the interested public and for American and British students who may use the volume as a textbook. The history of Malaya prior to the Japanese invasion is based on the reading of some but by no means all of the authoritative writers on the subject. The author spent a year in Southeast Asia on research grants, and his history of recent events is based in part on his interviews with prominent Malaysians and Indonesians. The account deals almost entirely with political history, and references to economic developments are only occasional and incomplete. The chapters on the history of Malaya prior to the Japanese invasion are sketchy and at times incorrect, but events since 1945 are described more fully and accurately.

The author's strong views on Sukarno's confrontation and its aftermath are expressed in such vague and general terms that a correct appraisal of them is impossible. One may question, for instance, whether the cost of the military assistance that Britain gave Malaysia more than offset all the profits it derived from its trade and its investments in tin and rubber. Since absolutely no figures are given to substantiate this statement, however, it remains an unproven generality. The author also states that the dismay caused in Malaysia and Singapore by the announcement that the British forces would be withdrawn and the bases dismantled was "largely allayed" by the assurance that it would honor its obligations by flying out a fully prepared force stationed in Britain. It has been pointed out that Britain had no airfields in the Middle East and beyond and that the Japanese invasion had shown the uselessness of soldiers fresh from England who had never been acclimatized to the tropics.

Wolfville, Nova Scotia

LENNOX A. MILLS

Americas

THE COMPARATIVE APPROACH TO AMERICAN HISTORY. Edited by *C. Vann Woodward*. (New York: Basic Books. 1968. Pp. xiv, 370. \$6.50.)

In this interesting, wide-ranging, and generally admirable volume, twenty-two scholars representative of the most respected authorities in the American historical profession re-examine selected aspects of American history, employing what must be very loosely characterized as a "comparative approach." Under the editorship of C. Vann Woodward, who supplies the introductory and concluding essays, the individual authors deal with such standard topics as the American Revolution, the frontier, slavery, political parties, the Great Depression, and the cold war, as well as with such phenomena as mobility, urbanization, industrialization, socialism, and imperialism. The essays were prepared originally for a

series of Voice of America broadcasts, and the comparative approach was chosen to suggest to foreign audiences what in the American experience might be relevant to their own histories.

Despite their brevity, the essays are almost uniformly of good quality, combining intelligent summary with sensitive perception. Some, notably those by Peter Gay, John Higham, David M. Potter, Eric McKittrick, and Arno J. Mayer, advance provocative interpretations that may well stimulate new lines of investigation. The volume as a whole should find favor as supplementary reading in American history courses, and it can be recommended to professional specialists as well.

For those who turn to the book hoping to discover a "breakthrough" in the application of the methodology of comparative history, the reactions will be mixed. Several authors obviously paid little heed to the injunction that they were to emphasize comparisons. For most of the others, there was a pronounced tendency to use the comparative approach to identify what was distinctive, or even unique, in the American past. Indeed, it is striking how high a proportion of the authors arrives at the conclusion that the American version of a particular phenomenon was unique. Having arrived at that familiar juncture, several proceed to propose hypotheses to explain the observed uniqueness, applying with varying degrees of rigor the canons of the comparative method. Incidentally, it is noteworthy that the preponderance of the authors are benign in their evaluations of the American experience; none reflect the severely critical attitudes that are in vogue with the representatives of the New Left.

Comparative history in the sense in which Marc Bloch conceived of it is scarcely represented in this volume. But by adopting with varying degrees of conviction and expertness a comparative frame of reference, the authors have succeeded in viewing American history from fresh perspectives, have in consequence presented us with new insights, and in some instances have advanced hypotheses that others may be inspired to test through formal comparative analysis.

Rutgers University, New Brunswick, New Jersey

RICHARD P. McCORMICK

HISTORICAL WRITING IN AMERICAN CULTURE. Volume I. By *Bert James Loewenberg*. [Instituto Panamericano de Geografía e Historia, Publication Number 301. Comisión de Historia, Number 114. Historiografías, Number 8.] (México, D. F.: [the Instituto.] 1968. Pp. 345.)

THIS book is the seventh in a series of historiographical studies sponsored by the Commission on History of the Pan American Institute of Geography and History. Previous volumes dealt with the historiography of Latin American countries—Haiti, the British West Indies, Ecuador, Brazil (two volumes), Paraguay, and Cuba.

Th. scope and substance of Loewenberg's detailed narrative are conditioned by his broad interpretation of "historiography." Defining it as "the cumulative appraisal and reappraisal of historical knowledge," he includes among the appraisers those who usually are regarded as actors in the historical drama rather than its authors. "Spanish monks during the period of American beginning

are as often historians as priests," he writes in a representative passage. "Explorers, like English ministers, fulfill multiple roles, among them the role of historian." Loewenberg's sweeping definition of historical writing and his attempt to place its practitioners in historical perspective combine to make this book an interpretive essay on early American history as well as a historiographical survey. The first of a projected two-volume work, it provides an informative summary of what contemporaries wrote about the history of their times from the fifteenth to the mid-nineteenth century and the author's own observations on such subjects as the nature of New England Puritanism, the meaning of the American Revolution for subsequent United States and Western history, and the development of American nationalism.

Dating "the historiography of America" from Christopher Columbus, Loewenberg examines the work of such prominent authors as Bartolomé de las Casas, John Rastell, Richard Eden, and Richard Hakluyt and the literary records of the exploits of explorers like Hernando Cortés, Ferdinand Magellan, Samuel de Champlain, and John Cabot, men whose "prodigious feats . . . belong as much to historiography as to history." His two chapters on "History and Historians in the British Dominions Beyond the Seas, 1607-1763," include a description of original narratives of colonization, promotional literature, and the work of autobiographers and chroniclers, Pilgrim, Puritan, and Anglican.

The book as a whole is not cemented by any central theme, but rather consists of three distinct parts: the colonial era; the American Revolution; notable historians, Sparks, Bancroft, Hildreth, Prescott, Motley, and Parkman, of the first half of the nineteenth century. Of these, only the section on the American Revolution is unified by a major thesis, and it is, largely for that reason, the most interesting and important of the book. To Loewenberg, "the Revolution is central to American historical writing as it is central to American development." It "shattered the complacency of Western Europe," underscored that uniqueness of the American experiment which "is the source of American ideals," and promoted the struggle for democratic freedoms, a fight that "constitutes in a large and very important sense the history of the United States." Although Loewenberg joins the company of other distinguished historians in arguing that the main issue of the revolutionary, Confederation, and early national periods was "democracy," this thesis, as historical scholarship of the past decade has made abundantly clear, is subject to so many exceptions, qualifications, and reservations as to be virtually meaningless.

Unfortunately, the volume has no index.

Lafayette College

JACOB E. COOKE

CHEYENNE MEMORIES. By *John Stands In Timber* and *Margot Liberty*.

With the assistance of *Robert M. Utley*. [Yale Western Americana Series, Number 17.] (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press. 1967. Pp. xv, 330. \$7.95.)

Cheyenne Memories opens delightful vistas on history from the Indian viewpoint. Structured imaginatively to blend Cheyenne tribal lore and history, it yields fascinating content on Indian law, miracles, tribal societies, cultural conflict,

martial exploits, and Cheyenne icons (Sacred Arrows and Sacred Medicine Hat). Cheyenne tribal history is told in a simple, straightforward manner with a delicate frankness; no anthropological or clinical analyses intrude. Its scope is from legendary times into the reservation years.

The substance of *Cheyenne Memories* is derived from oral tradition and history furnished by Cheyenne tribal historian John Stands In Timber. It was taken on a tape recorder by Margot Liberty, who states that in editing the tapes the "aim . . . was to keep as closely as possible to John's own speech." In approach the editor said "the stories have been kept simple, and some small and lovely 'errors' characteristic of the old man have been retained."

Cheyenne Memories may contain material never told before concerning the Battle of the Little Bighorn and could "provide a major new clue to the controversial sequence of events by which General Custer and his command met disaster." Also, the Stands In Timber narrative supplies non-Indian readers "with a rare insight into the history and culture of his people. With one foot in the Indian world and the other in the white world, he understands and can communicate with both."

The Cheyenne historian's performance demonstrates primitive response and compensation for lack of a written language. Only one endowed with a keen, retentive mind and a high sense of responsibility could have qualified as keeper of the tribal traditions, lore, experiences, and events.

Besides the evident value of the content of this work, it is timely. Oral history is receiving wider acceptance. Recently a national oral history organization was formed, and regional, local, and special oral history enterprises including the Doris Duke Indian History Project have been established. In this context, *Cheyenne Memories* is a model. It demonstrates the dimensions of subject exploitation and points the way to making creative use of the material.

University of Oklahoma

ARRELL M. GIBSON

INDIAN LIFE ON THE UPPER MISSOURI. By John C. Ewers. [The Civilization of the American Indian Series, Volume LXXXIX.] (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press. 1968. Pp. xviii, 222. \$7.95.)

JOHN C. Ewers, senior ethnologist with the Smithsonian Institution, has written and edited several excellent books dealing with the upper Missouri tribes. The present volume is a useful compilation of fifteen of his articles concerning Indian life in that region, especially the consequences of Indian-white contacts; most interesting for historians is his meticulous analysis of the extent and direction of Indian trade in the area prior to the contact period. Ewers concludes that Indian opposition to white traders was largely focused on keeping out the competition. In another article he asserts that the Indians' attitudes to traders conditioned their response to the Lewis and Clark Expedition. American cultural historians will appreciate the author's discussion of how the Plains Indians came to symbolize all North American Indians and his abundantly illustrated exploration of white influences on Plains Indian painting. Some of the pieces are standard ethnological fare: the bear cult, the sun dance, the Blackfoot war lodge. Gun

buffs will undoubtedly enjoy the accounts of the Northwest trade gun and Sitting Bull's surrender of his Winchester.

Lay readers as well as professional historians and ethnologists will applaud Ewers' talent for anecdote and local color. Yet some of the themes he suggests, as, for example, in "Mothers of the Mixed-Bloods," might well have been explored more systematically and in greater depth, which is to say that some of these brief articles may yet become good books.

Ohio State University

MARY YOUNG

THE ROCKIES. By *David Lavender*. [Regions of America Book.] (New York: Harper and Row. 1968. Pp. 404. \$8.95.)

DAVID Lavender has written more than a dozen books about the American West during the past twenty-five years, some of which are regarded as in the best tradition of historical writing. Characterized by sound scholarship and exciting prose, *The Rockies* is one of his finest.

Although the Colorado-born author has traveled extensively over the region by horseback and jeep and has a good feeling for the physical geography, *The Rockies* is more a story of men than of mountains. The narrative begins with Coronado's forays into the region and continues through the government explorers, fur trappers, Indian wars, the "Pikes Peak or Bust" era, mining, the cattle fever, the age of railroads, irrigated agriculture, and "the new stampede" of recreation enthusiasts. Lavender has done a particularly good job of tying together the separated episodes included in the book. Written with verve and attention to interesting detail, *The Rockies* conveys a vivid impression of the natural and historical landscape of one of America's most fascinating regions.

While the work is not intended to be an original contribution to history, the author has, however, made good use of materials in the Henry E. Huntington and University of California at Santa Barbara Libraries in California and also in many libraries in Colorado, Montana, and Wyoming. Lavender has also included some of the colorful regional folklore. He unaccountably failed to use Morris Garnsey's *America's New Frontier: The Mountain West* (1950), surely one of the most illuminating interpretations of the Rocky Mountain West.

As with most popular or semipopular works, *The Rockies* probably over-emphasizes events that have color and dramatic value—the "blood and thunder" of the frontier, the get-rich-quick schemes, the symbols of depravity. Several important developments of the twentieth century are not discussed—the growth of the beet sugar industry, the activities of the Colorado Fuel & Iron Company and Electric Bond and Share, utilization of the waters that run off the Rockies, the uranium boom, the "mile-high" production of rockets and missiles, and the significant cultural achievements.

Utah State University

LEONARD J. ARRINGTON

A HISTORY OF NEGRO EDUCATION IN THE SOUTH: FROM 1619 TO THE PRESENT. By *Henry Allen Bullock*. (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press. 1967. Pp. xi, 339. \$7.95.)

DESPITE the fact that Professor Bullock's study has been awarded a Bancroft Prize for 1968, it is not the final word on the history of Negro education in the South. The work is more in the nature of reflections and observations on Negro education and life since Reconstruction, and it was written by a brave and independent man with deep beliefs in American society and in its liberal values.

Much of the historical story Bullock tells is already well known. From the slave society of the Old South to the ghettoized society of today, America practiced educational genocide on its black population. His work would have been enhanced if he had not ignored recent research on Reconstruction, or Louis Harlan's important study, *Separate and Unequal* (1958), which deals with the systematized and largely successful effort to prevent the Negro from obtaining his educational rights in the early years of the twentieth century. Furthermore, Bullock spends only a few pages on Negro education before the Civil War, and even there he begins with the misleading statement that "in the beginning there was no thought of *educating the Negroes* [*italics mine*]." But as we already know from African and Latin American historians, although the word might not have reached these shores, the African was educated when he arrived in America. As Gilberto Freyre has long ago shown about Brazilian culture and society, it was the African who had much to teach the Portuguese.

What is new about Bullock's study is his attempt to explain the destruction of segregated education through what he terms "historical accident" or "sneak attack." Despite attempts to keep blacks in their places, the system was accidentally undermined. This invisible hand, so to speak, gave the Negro educational opportunities that were never intended for him and, therefore, provided a leadership class. For example, the plantation, which became the slave-owners' symbol of class and power, needed a small army of trained slaves to service the edifice, and from this a skilled class of black leaders emerged. Later, the segregated educational system, established to provide industrial training, began to produce teachers and professionals to service the black community. This element would later become the vanguard of the civil rights movement. But even if we grant Bullock's point that there was leakage in the system, we must say that for the vast majority of blacks the system worked, and is still working, against them. For every Ralph Bunche there have been hundreds of "Bigger Thomases." The whites, as Bullock shows elsewhere, knew perfectly well what kind of education they were devising for the blacks, whether in slavery or in "freedom." From the point of the master class, Negro education worked well, and the black community continues to be starved of educational funds. In 1968, the state of Georgia appropriated \$83,000,000.00 for higher education, of which the Negroes' share is \$5,000,000.00. We might question, therefore, to what extent Bullock's invisible hand helped or hindered the blacks.

A major problem in this work is Bullock's own sociological notions which he imposes on the material. A sociologist by training and profession, he tells us that he took from Giovanni Vico the belief that history is "spiraling upward toward some divine goal." Bullock is a guarded optimist about the future of race relations in America, and he believes that an integrated society is possible. He ends his book with some critical insights into the "Black Power" movement,

which bear reading. Bullock, unlike the advocates of "Black Power," believes that America can be saved. But this, like his belief in a divine goal, remains to be seen.

Spelman College

MELVIN DRIMMER

THE ANTINOMIAN CONTROVERSY, 1636-1638: A DOCUMENTARY HISTORY. Edited, with introduction and notes, by *David D. Hall*. (Middletown, Conn.: Wesleyan University Press. 1968. Pp. viii, 447. \$17.50.)

THIS book does two important things. First, it makes readily available once more the documents on the Antinomian controversy edited seventy-five years ago by Charles Francis Adams and published in a very limited edition. And, second, it includes a number of items never before published that have remained in manuscript since the 1630's. Of these latter, the most substantial is John Cotton's "Rejoynder" to the New England ministers who had commented on his response to the sixteen questions they had put to him in December 1636 regarding the relationship between justification and sanctification. It must be acknowledged that this additional material is for the specialist who has developed a taste for Puritan theological polemics. But at this particular juncture, when the question of preparation for salvation has been examined perceptively by Professor Norman Pettit in his recent monograph entitled *The Heart Prepared* (1966), there are probably more scholars intellectually prepared to appreciate the nuances of this theological discussion than would have been the case earlier. Others will doubtless find it excessively hard going and may be excused if they do not faithfully read every word. For the informed scholar who is, nevertheless, not a specialist in the permutations of the reformed doctrines of grace, the transcripts reproduced here of the examination of Mrs. Hutchinson at the General Court in November 1637 and her trial by the Boston church in March 1638 remain as vivid and revealing as ever.

The editing and presentation of the documents appear to be of high quality, and they ensure that the volume will be the standard text for these materials for a long time.

Harvard Divinity School

CONRAD WRIGHT

INTELLECTUAL ORIGINS OF AMERICAN RADICALISM. By *Staughton Lynd*. (New York: Pantheon Books. 1968. Pp. vii, 184. \$4.95.)

At least since the 1930's American radicals have been searching American history for a usable past. Though Mr. Lynd is critical of the presentist historiography of the "Old Left," he is himself looking for ideological ancestors. Though his book is concerned throughout with influences, he regards "influence-hunting" as "always dubious." He deals mainly with the radicalism of the eighteenth century, but confesses in his introduction that he is more interested in that of the twentieth. His little book gains from his passionate involvement; it suffers from uneven scholarship and ambiguity of purpose.

Lynd's main concern is to argue that the American radical tradition originates not in any variety of relativism or determinism, but in the doctrines of freedom

of conscience, higher law, and natural rights. Its characteristic goal is a free, fraternal, decentralized, good society. The tradition that culminated in abolitionism was "based on the more radical readings of the Declaration of Independence, which traced its intellectual ancestry more to Paine than to Locke." (The ambiguous pronouns here are significant.) Beyond Paine, the sources of this tradition lie in the radical English Dissent of the late eighteenth century, which reaches back over the heads of Locke and of Trenchard and Gordon to the original Commonwealthmen. (Here Lynd, though he gives due credit to other scholars, makes some original suggestions.) Through Paine and Godwin, the dissenting tradition is passed on to early nineteenth-century critics of property rights such as Skidmore, and through the Quakers and others to Garrison. The later course of the radical tradition is only briefly sketched. Swallowed up by nationalism and militarism in the Civil War, it has to be reconstructed later by libertarian socialists, and still later by New Left believers in free and communal life. The process is dialectical, involving successive coalitions transformed by events, but the libertarian goals are consistent.

It is impossible in a brief review adequately to criticize Lynd's complex genealogies of ideas. Sometimes relations are real, but their importance is overstated, as, for instance, that between the Declaration and Dissent. Sometimes similarities are exaggerated, as between Thoreau and Marx. At times, for instance in his treatment of the old question of Rousseau and the American eighteenth century, Lynd seems to hesitate whether to claim influence or settle for similarity.

It seems to me arguable, even convincing, that the libertarian and essentially religious strain in American radicalism has indeed been the most powerful and consistent. There is certainly something in common between seventeenth-century English radicalism and abolitionism, and some of the values involved in both can be related to those causes for which Lynd is passionately concerned today. Indeed, Lynd is most convincing when his sympathies are most fully engaged, as in dealing with Dissenters and abolitionists, and least convincing when he tries to build bridges to the more hard-boiled kinds of radicalism. He is not, as yet, the Parrington of the New Left. Rather, his book is likely to interest future historians much as the radical histories of Algie Simons and Granville Hicks interest historians now. These contain more and less fertile suggestions and are most valuable as documents of their authors' own times.

University of California, Berkeley

HENRY F. MAY

LIBERTY AND AUTHORITY: EARLY AMERICAN POLITICAL IDEOLOGY, 1689-1763. By *Lawrence H. Leder*. (Chicago: Quadrangle Books. 1968. Pp. 167. \$5.50.)

ALTHOUGH Professor Leder, in this concise and clearly written book, has sought to avoid "the traditional approach" to early American political thought, his method, his sources, and generally the topics he has chosen to treat appear essentially no different from those of previous historians. The book contains eight chapters. It begins with a somewhat exaggerated account of the prevalence of freedom of the press in eighteenth-century America, which, by the 1760's, says Leder, was "absolute in nature." Then follow a half-dozen chapters

discussing in a conventional manner the colonists' views of the origin of government, the relation of church and state, the nature of the British and colonial constitutions, ideas of rights and liberties, and the character of the Empire. Scattered throughout are numerous concessions to "the pragmatic nature" of the American people, "even at this early stage of their history," and many references to the colonists' "Lockean ideas" as explanations for their beliefs, many of which, like that of the Whig contract between rulers and ruled, were actually not Locke's at all. Out of this analysis Leder hoped to provide "a key to understanding why local colonials found it necessary to become rebellious Americans in the short span of thirteen years." But then in his brief summary chapter, entitled "The Ideological Discontinuity," Leder seems to take it all away, for he concludes "that Americans by 1763 were nearer the Mayflower Compact in their thought than the events of 1776" and that their eighteenth-century ideology, being "not revolutionary," cannot explain the Revolution after all. Hence it follows that the Declaration of Independence and the appeal to self-evident truths had to represent a totally new kind of thought "which essentially repudiated concepts that had been developed and elaborated upon for three-quarters of a century."

It is a startling conclusion, not only because it does not really grow out of Leder's analysis, but because it does not come to terms with the latest findings about the nature and sources of America's revolutionary ideology. Leder's central problem is that, for all his desire "to establish the broadest kind of base for some conclusions" about early American political thought, his base is too narrow, too parochial, too isolated from the wider world of eighteenth-century Anglo-American constitutionalism. (None of the works of J. W. Gough, W. B. Gwyn, Peter Laslett, J. G. A. Pocock, J. R. Pole, or C. C. Weston are cited in the notes, and there is no bibliography.) The result is that Leder misinterprets the meaning of several conceptions of political theory, particularly the distinction between power and liberty or rulers and ruled, and misses the incredible subtlety and complexity of the English constitutional tradition, which allowed both the colonists and crown officials to appeal to disparate strains of the same heritage even at the moment of revolution. Only an appreciation of this complicated heritage can explain how most Americans in 1776, even with their invocation of natural rights, could justifiably believe they were revolting not against the English constitution but on behalf of it.

University of Michigan

GORDON S. WOOD

BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCHES OF THOSE WHO ATTENDED HARVARD COLLEGE IN THE CLASSES 1756-1760, WITH BIBLIOGRAPHICAL AND OTHER NOTES. By *Clifford K. Shipton*. [Sibley's Harvard Graduates, Volume XIV.] (Boston: Massachusetts Historical Society. 1968. Pp. 720. \$17.50.)

PUBLICATION of successive volumes of Shipton's "Sibley's Harvard Graduates" is a boon that historians have long enjoyed, each volume whetting their anticipation of the next. The irresistible inclination of early American historians to focus on the American Revolution lends further interest to Dr. Shipton's

biographical sketches of men at Harvard College in the 1750's and 1760's who became participants in the revolutionary events of the 1770's and 1780's. Volume XIV covers 166 men in five classes and 25 who, receiving honorary degrees later, were enrolled in one or another of these classes. The sketches vary in length from a few lines on the obscure graduate to fifteen pages or more on the distinguished or notorious, as gauged by criteria that the editor has developed from long experience and deepening historical knowledge.

Although I have not "computerized" them, it appears certain that in the mid-eighteenth century the largest number of Harvard students, like their forebears, were attracted to the ministry. Far fewer were the physicians and lawyers, while the position of schoolmaster was usually a steppingstone to a more lucrative livelihood. Among nonprofessionals one finds numerous wholesale and retail merchants, a distiller, and a yeoman, but one learns most about the politicians and the officeholders, local, state, and federal, whatever their primary source of income. It is worth noting that these students, with few exceptions, were natives of New England and continued to reside there.

Most abundant, however, is the information on their revolutionary activities, political and military; the situations of uncertain loyalties, as, for example, the timid Whig John Lowell, the tardy loyalist John Wingate Weeks, and the pathetic William Clark, who was converted from Dissenter to SPG missionary, tried as a tory, banished, his estate confiscated, eking out an existence in England, Nova Scotia, and Massachusetts until his death in 1815; and the disruption of normal living, which opened new opportunities for some men and played havoc with the careers of others. Such was the turbulent state of affairs confronting these educated men in their thirties. Perhaps because of the polemic nature of the sources the author treats this period of their lives in more detail than their postrevolutionary years.

Although these five classes of Harvard produced no men of first rank or fame, they include such names as General John Sullivan, Dr. Joseph Warren, Daniel Leonard ("Massachusettensis"), Samuel H. Parsons of the Ohio Company, and Edmund Fanning, *bête noire* of the Regulators, who have won space in the history textbooks. In his research, however, the historian turns to Shipton's volumes more eagerly for information on the less well known, the men of only local repute who may be traced through few or no other publication. Whatever their relative historical importance, he has portrayed something of the character of each one, often within severe limitations of the sources, in many instances with an apt phrase (the Reverend Simeon Howard, "gentle heretic") or a quotation from the records (James Lovell's "strange lurch for obscure irony"). For Shipton is a past master of the biographical sketch—informative, interpretive, and always enjoyable reading.

Institute of Early American History and Culture

LESTER J. CAPPON

THE SUSQUEHANNAH COMPANY PAPERS. Volume V, 1772-1774; Volume VI, 1774-1775. Edited by *Robert J. Taylor*. [Sheldon Reynolds Memorial Publications.] (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press for Wyoming Historical and Geological Society. 1968. Pp. lii, 419; xii, 453. \$25.00 the set.)

THESE two volumes continue the notable project of publishing the papers of the Susquehannah Company, which was initiated in a most ambitious undertaking on the part of the local Wyoming Historical and Geological Society in Wilkes-Barre, Pennsylvania, during 1930 and 1931, with Julian P. Boyd as editor. The four volumes that resulted were reissued by Cornell University Press in 1962. Each volume contains an introduction by the editor. The four volumes covered the period from 1750 to 1772; the continuation of the series brings the record through 1775. The new editor for the series, Robert J. Taylor, is an associate professor of history at Tufts University.

This entire project is unique in that it was one of the earlier efforts at publishing a large quantity of source material in a continuing series and in that it dealt with what many would consider largely local history. Actually, of course, there are significant elements of national history in these local events, and the series does much to justify the importance of turning attention to local history to illuminate further national history.

The Susquehannah Company was essentially a land company. Connecticut, as a government, did not initially do more than charter the enterprise. The work is also valuable as an indication of the very early thrust of settlement westward from the Atlantic seaboard. Formation of this company was a bold move and created a great excitement on the part of Connecticut people who entered with enthusiasm upon a project to claim land and settle new towns in a new western territory. It was much more ambitious than the earlier Ohio Company project in Virginia, which also sought western land at the expense of Quaker Pennsylvania.

Much of the material in these two volumes is taken up with official proceedings of councils of the two colonial governments and with the correspondence engendered by what the Penns rather naturally looked upon as an "invasion" of Pennsylvania. The colonial diplomacy involved is most interesting and significant to the historian of the period. It should interest even the general reader. The problems of colonization are recorded in petitions and proceedings that involved the Connecticut people who had taken the bold step of settling in a new country, as it were. Notices of general meetings and what took place at these meetings show local democratic institutions in process of growth. In a town meeting at Kingston, for example, on June 24, 1773, a moderator was chosen for the day, the problem of boundaries between it and Plymouth was considered, a constable and "Grandjuirmen" were elected. A town meeting in Wilkes-Barre was concerned with a plan for "Better Regulation" for the town, and so on throughout the two volumes.

The editing appears to be excellent and quite up to the standards set by Boyd. One cannot leave this review without expressing admiration for the enterprise and vision of a local, or at best a regional, historical society in picking up and continuing so ambitious a project. Cornell University Press has provided an excellent, readable format for the material. The total work is a valuable contribution to our knowledge of land company operations as well as those of colonial government. It provides significant insight into the frontier settlement process in this country at an early date.

THE PRIVATE CITY: PHILADELPHIA IN THREE PERIODS OF ITS GROWTH. By *Sam Bass Warner, Jr.* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press. 1968. Pp. xii, 236. \$5.95.)

BELIEVING that "twentieth century urban America presents a picture of endlessly repeated failures," Professor Warner finds the major cause of this weakness in the historic tradition of "privatism." To establish his thesis, he makes an intensive study of three widely spaced periods in the development of one representative metropolis, Philadelphia. Except in his second chapter on the revolutionary period, where he notes how the war applied some limits to the tradition, he endeavors throughout the book to demonstrate the increasingly constrictive effect of private goals on the economic and spatial development of the city.

The tradition, he argues, produced success where "privatism and community could be brought into harmony," notably in industrial expansion, but proved unfruitful "where privatism," as practiced by the Philadelphians, "doomed them to failure," especially in civic fields. With a skillful use of carefully researched detail, Warner relates the transformation from a handicraft to a factory system of production to the pervasive quest for private gain and shows how that basic objective restricted the city's response to such community needs as education, health, and welfare, and curbed its expenditures for the amenities of life. But to prove his thesis that Philadelphia's failures can generally be attributed to privatism, Warner should produce a control study of one of the cities of England, Sweden, or Holland which he says escaped this blighting tradition. Having seen some of the slums of Manchester, Glasgow, Amsterdam, and even Stockholm, I am a bit skeptical of such a simplistic explanation.

But if Warner's thesis remains unproven, his book is packed with suggestive historical detail on the city of Philadelphia, much of which is revealing for American cities generally. Skilled in the collection and use of elusive data, he has produced a score of statistical tables that portray the shifting patterns of density—ethnic, occupational, and residential clustering—in his three time periods. These tables, generally designed to prove the enduring effect of the profit-seeking subdivision of the land, also serve to define the changing social structure of the metropolis. An excellent chapter on "Riots and the Restoration of Public Order" in the 1830's and 1840's reveals the presence of ethnic and other cleavages that, although muted at Philadelphia in the prosperous 1920's, appear to merit at least equal emphasis with privatism as sources for the city's ills.

Rochester Public Library

BLAKE McKELVEY

THE TRIUMPH OF NATIONALISM: STATE SOVEREIGNTY, THE FOUNDING FATHERS, AND THE MAKING OF THE CONSTITUTION. By *William P. Murphy.* (Chicago: Quadrangle Books. 1967. Pp. viii, 434. \$10.00.)

Mr. Murphy was born in Memphis, took an LL.B. from Virginia and a J.S.D. from Yale, and taught constitutional law at the University of Mississippi for eight years. There he stressed the superiority of national over state government and supported the Supreme Court in its decision on school segregation. He

stood almost alone against intensive attacks by those favoring states' rights, and finally resigned. This book, an outgrowth of his Yale dissertation, his teaching, and his experience, was written in the hope that it might influence some of those who continue to believe in the sovereignty of the states.

The first three chapters survey briefly the political situation under the Articles of Confederation, emphasizing that the states were then sovereign. Murphy presents the well-known nationalist critique of the "critical period," which, fundamentally, he accepts, while noting that a different view existed then and now. He next cites the political ideas of the delegates to the federal convention in so far as they relate to the issue of national versus federal government. Murphy discards as unimportant and irrelevant the economic, social, and cultural background of the founding fathers. A third section describes the history of the convention. He concludes that most of the delegates favored a strong central government in which sovereignty was transferred from the states to the national authority and that the Constitution established just such a government. A final series of chapters on the ratification process presents evidence that the Anti-federalists disliked the Constitution partly because it represented nationalist rather than federal ideas, while the Federalists, far from denying the accusation, insisted that a national government was desirable. The doctrine of state sovereignty, Murphy concludes, has no basis in the Constitution as originally established.

Whatever the book's impact may be upon states' righters or students of constitutional law, its value for historians is doubtful. It is based principally upon secondary sources, sometimes not well chosen, and upon a limited number of familiar primary collections. It contains only matters of common knowledge to specialists; it is marred by small errors that, while they do not affect the major argument, do deprive the book of reliability for scholarly use; it lacks footnotes; and it closes with a very poor index. Murphy omits such material as conflicts seriously with his thesis (he observes correctly that historians do the same thing), and, since his thesis is narrow, the book's scope is limited. Insufficient attention is paid to the men who interpreted the Constitution as embodying a mixed government, partly national, partly federal. Still, the book furnishes an intelligent and useful compilation of data supporting an interpretation with which many historians will agree, and it may serve as supplementary reading in advanced courses.

State University of New York, Stony Brook

JACKSON TURNER MAIN

OSWEGO: FROM BUCKSKIN TO BUSTLES. By *Charles M. Snyder*. [Empire State Historical Publications Series, Number 56.] (Port Washington, N.Y.: Ira J. Friedman. 1968. Pp. xiii, 286. \$7.50.)

PROFESSOR Snyder, chairman of the department of history at the State University College at Oswego, New York, has written a carefully researched history of that city through the 1890's. His work should be standard for years.

The permanent settlement of Oswego began in 1796, the year the British withdrew their tiny garrison in pursuance of the Jay Treaty, or in 1797. Snyder rather naturally treats the events before that time (the expeditions of

Champlain and St. Leger, for instance), exciting as they were, only briefly, because they left no impress upon the future city. Located on Lake Ontario where the waters of the Finger Lakes flow in via the Oswego River, the site soon became a center for the shipment of salt from the Syracuse area to points west. After a canal (1829) linked the place to the Erie system, trade boomed. By the 1830's the systematic exploitation of the great water power available made Oswego an important milling town.

Oswego businessmen hoped in vain, however, for a canal for large vessels past Niagara that would open the entire trade of the upper Great Lakes to them. Their project of a Midland Railroad to the eastern seaboard was partly carried out, but failed to help much. The end of Canadian reciprocity in 1866 hurt, as did the McKinley tariff, which ended the barley trade. Over the years, the railroad age left Oswego with a declining economy.

Snyder is weak on organization, especially as to the settlement period. The writing and the proofreading have also been slighted. One criticism may be made as to detail: it was Marcy, the Secretary of State, who won the great concessions for this country in the Reciprocity Treaty, not Lord Elgin. (See my *The Victor and the Spoils, a Life of William L. Marcy*.) Snyder is at his best on the business side. His sketches of Gerrit Smith, that leading citizen *in absentia*; of Sheldon, the Progressive educator; and of Dr. Mary Walker, the feminist (on whom he had earlier done a book), are also good, while D. C. Littlejohn, the political chieftain, emerges rather well from amidst the compressed political history.

Kalamazoo College.

IVOR D. SPENCER

THE BATTLE FOR THE PRESIDENCY. By *Sidney Warren*. (Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott Company. 1968. Pp. viii, 426. \$7.95.)

HERE is a running description, taken largely from good secondary sources, of ten presidential campaigns: 1800, 1828, 1840, 1860, 1896, 1912, 1932, 1952, 1960, and 1964. It is demonstrated that the quadrennial contest so developed that the one of 1840 proved to be "a prototype of all future presidential contests" with respect to appeals to the emotions of the electorate, emphasis on personality, and "employment of gimmickry and ballyhoo." To these devices subsequent campaigns soon added the use of symbolic themes and slogans as substitutes for a discussion of the issues.

Any historian familiar with the private campaign papers of American politicians is sure to agree that we have had continuity in campaign practice. For example, in reading Warren's description of the tactics of Lincoln's pushers, I thought of identical devices used for Benjamin Harrison. These "refinements" included raiding other states' delegations, promising plums that their candidate sagely forbade them to promise, stressing unity in the delegation from their candidate's own state, insisting that the initial leading contender (in 1860 and 1888, Seward and John Sherman) had put his views too clearly on the record to secure the election, and employing claquees effectively. These devices are not neglected in Warren's catalogue.

He apparently is aiming more at the general reader than at the professional

historian, who may be slightly annoyed at some short cuts. A weird note system keeps all notations off the textual page and limits their number considerably. Only an occasional observation by the author gets space on the bottom of a page. Brevity dictates imprecision in some important statements and elides numerous significant dates. Broadly generalized observations include a few errors of fact, such as the dimensions of Pierce's popular vote. The nature of the material doubtless dictated continual use of the adjective "frenetic." But these are forgivable faults in such a book. Its lively overview will prove a godsend to overhoused instructors of large classes in survey courses. They can use its plenitude of luscious anecdote to enliven their lectures and waken somnolent "students."

Inadvertent humor is not lacking. We read that Douglas approached Ottawa for a debate with Lincoln "in a resplendent carriage driven [*sic*] by four superb horses" and that Harding (bless his amiable soul) was "guileless."

The author lacks space to enlarge upon the potential hazards for the United States in continuing to cater to the lowest common denominator under universal suffrage. But he closes his narration of "the garden variety of demagoguery" with a warning that the days are past when the United States can "indulge in the luxury of mediocrity without suffering undue damage." The damage from 1964 and perhaps 1968 is not estimated. Here we have American campaigning yesterday, today—and tomorrow?

University of Pennsylvania

JEANNETTE P. NICHOLS

HEALTH-SEEKERS IN THE SOUTHWEST, 1817-1900. By *Billy M. Jones*.

(Norman: University of Oklahoma Press. 1967. Pp. xiii, 254. \$5.95.)

MINERS, cowboys, ranchers, and other colorful frontier types have received more than their share of attention in popular western legend and lore, and perhaps in historical literature as well. Other pioneers, highly significant but less glamorous, have failed to attract much interest. Professor Jones has undertaken the task of rescuing from undeserved obscurity the "health-seekers," and he has written a convincing, well-documented volume describing their contributions in settling and developing the Southwest territories and states, especially during the period 1870-1900. Although perhaps not the stuff of which *Bonanza* and *Gunsmoke* are made, the health seekers' saga is by no means lacking in elements of courage and drama.

Reports of explorers, traders, and trappers praising the healthy climate of the western plains, deserts, and mountains provided the basis for the health legend by the 1840's. The inadequacies of nineteenth-century medical knowledge and practice prompted physicians to recommend to patients, when all else failed, an extended western journey or a change of residence. Successful recoveries, not failures, received the publicity, and the western health legend grew and spread. In the post-Civil War era, what had been a mere trickle became a steadily increasing stream of immigrants, with the tubercular victims of the rising eastern industrial centers swelling the ranks of the Mississippi Valley fever *émigrés*. By the 1880's business, railroad, and community promoters were advertising and commercializing the booming health traffic.

By 1900 a reaction set in. The germ theory was gradually working a

revolution in medicine and public health. With the realization that tuberculosis was a communicable disease, western sentiment toward the health seeker changed from welcome to hostility. The health frontier was finished, but it had strongly influenced population movement into Colorado, southern California, and to a lesser extent Texas, New Mexico, and Arizona. According to Jones's calculations, health seekers constituted 20 to 25 per cent of the total immigration to the Southwest in the nineteenth century and numbered approximately 750,000 in the years 1870-1900. The search for health, in the author's judgment, "was a factor second only to the desire for land in attracting permanent settlers to the Southwest."

Jones's work, grounded in primary sources, ably illustrates that medical and public health history, far from being a side issue, often can illuminate other important aspects of social history.

Louisiana State University

JO ANN CARRIGAN

ESSAYS IN ILLINOIS HISTORY IN HONOR OF GLENN HURON SEYMOUR. Edited by *Donald F. Tingley*. (Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press for Eastern Illinois University. 1968. Pp. ix, 167. \$5.00.)

THIS slender volume honors a fellow and friend upon his retirement from the history faculty of Eastern Illinois University. It also commemorates 150 years of statehood for Illinois. These two unrelated facts provide the justification for the publication of a collection of essays that have in common only the fact that they concern aspects of Illinois history. In the preface Dr. Tingley points to a major objective of the volume: providing a selective analysis of the history of the state. In chronological scope, the seven essays cover much of the history of Illinois from statehood to the present, but the greater emphasis is placed upon the most recent period of state history, which, as Tingley points out, is the period about which least is known.

In his introductory essay the editor describes a neglected aspect of frontier history: the fact that it was basically anti-intellectual. In the thirty-year period covered in his survey, he demonstrates the combination of factors that produced this antagonism. He concludes that the reaction of the poor against the rich, the Methodist against the Calvinist Congregationalist, and the southerner against the Yankee was important.

The second essay, entitled "Lincoln's Particular Friend," is an excursion into the vast field of Lincoln lore, in which Professor Lavern M. Hamand describes the activities of Ward Hill Lamon, a shadowy figure often detected in the background of the Lincoln administration as a bodyguard for the President. A third essay, by Professor Neil Thorburn, emphasizes the interest of Governor John P. Altgeld, a self-made man, in fostering higher education in Illinois at the close of the nineteenth century. The next essay, by Professor John D. Buenker, describes the influence of the urban immigrant lawmakers in the progressive movement of the early twentieth century. It is followed by Professor John Keiser's study of the activities of John H. Walker, an Illinois labor leader who became the archrival of John L. Lewis in the United Mine Workers Union.

Dr. Robert E. Hennings contributes an excursion into the life of that

self-described "Old Curmudgeon," Harold Ickes. His failure to gain the presidential nomination for Hiram Johnson of California in 1924 probably is partial explanation for his later career as a political maverick. The final essay, by Professor David J. Maurer, deals with the Great Depression of the 1930's. Maurer portrays the melancholy of those days and shows, in the mirror of Illinois, the ways in which the CWA, FERA, WPA, and other emergency programs were developed to provide relief.

The essays are interesting and valuable not only for students of Illinois history but for the general historian as well. It is hoped that the volume will have sufficient distribution so that students generally may become aware of them.

University of Minnesota, Duluth

ARTHUR J. LARSEN

GEORGE RIPLEY: TRANSCENDENTALIST AND UTOPIAN SOCIALIST. By *Charles Crowe*. (Athens: University of Georgia Press. 1967. Pp. x, 316. \$7.95.)

GEORGE Ripley is worth a biography. A cousin and almost exact contemporary of Ralph Waldo Emerson, he followed a comparable though divergent path: Harvard College, Harvard Divinity School, ordination as a Unitarian minister, growing involvement in transcendentalism and in reform doctrines, several busy years of practical utopianism at Brook Farm and as editor of the Fourierist *Harbinger*, modulation into a final, successful, and respected career as writer-reviewer for the New York *Tribune*. His was a long, varied, articulate, high-minded life.

Charles Crowe's sober, competent study adds much to our knowledge of Ripley's world. His chapter on the controversy between Ripley and Andrews Norton, the one representing an aspiration toward a democratized, spiritualized Christianity, the other a determination to stand fast on an already liberalized Unitarian faith, provides a whole spectrum of attitudes. As Crowe points out, their quarrel spread far beyond the initial disagreement over the significance of miracles; it embraced the relative claims of German idealism and English empiricism, of intuition and formal reasoning, of individualism and scholarly authority. Crowe's account of Ripley's heroic endeavors at Brook Farm and on behalf of the Fourierist movement, based on his previous research, is particularly full and interesting. Ripley, however, remains a somewhat puzzling figure. He never quite comes alive. This is not entirely Crowe's fault. Information on Ripley's youth and undergraduate years is scanty. A childless man, apparently not always in agreement with his wife Sophia Dana, he seems not to have left behind an abundance of personal comment. Nor is it easy, even with fuller evidence available, to combine intellectual and personal biography. And Ripley, though gifted, fell short of genius; many of his observations now have a flaccid quality. In some ways his conduct was more admirable—more energetic, more warmhearted—than that of Emerson, but Emerson's words now seem more vital, more profound.

Nevertheless, Crowe's treatment is not always adroit. He writes clumsily, with unnecessary repetitions (the same quotation appears twice on pages 129 and 130). Despite ample bibliographical guidance, his footnotes are sometimes

peculiarly unrevealing. The reader is not made to grasp the transitions in Ripley's development: how a priggish and not very popular young man blossomed into leadership; why and how he sagged back into conventionality; what he lived on; what his relations were with his two wives (Was the second really too ill to attend his funeral?). Perhaps some pieces in the jigsaw are simply missing; if so, they remain as gaps in this intelligent yet heavy biography.

University of Sussex

MARCUS CUNLIFFE

THE IRONY OF EARLY SCHOOL REFORM: EDUCATIONAL INNOVATION IN MID-NINETEENTH CENTURY MASSACHUSETTS. By Michael B. Katz. (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press. 1968. Pp. xii, 325. \$6.95.)

MICHAEL Katz apparently hates to miss a good debate. In this work he responds to three matters currently controverted among American historians: the uses of the past with respect to currently pressing issues, the relationship of older humanistic historiography to that utilizing the statistical methods of the "new social scientists," and the relative merits of "consensus" as opposed to "conflict" hypotheses in explaining the American experience.

His universe is that of educational innovation in mid-nineteenth-century Massachusetts. He analyzes patterns of social class support and opposition to such innovations as public high schools, the new "soft-line" pedagogy of Horace Mann and Cyrus Pierce, and the new reform schools designed as alternatives to older punitive institutions. The basic thesis is that, with respect to all three, a prestigious, industrially oriented middle class pushed these reforms onto a largely immigrant, agricultural, and industrial working class despite the reluctance of the latter to support them politically or to embrace them freely once they were established.

As I understand Katz's argument, there was a two-dimensional irony in these events. The first, alluded to above, is that the very people whom these innovations were theoretically designed to serve rejected them. There were good reasons for this rejection; the innovations yielded opportunity for advancement to middle-class youngsters, while simultaneously inhibiting the protest behavior of lower-class youth.

The reform movement had a second ironic, or at least ambivalent, quality. These innovations were designed to enhance industrial and urban development while simultaneously shaping character traits made dysfunctional by that development. Katz's argument on this point is untidy to me, although it is an important point. Using other materials and referring to other institutions, Fred Somkin has recently made the same point in his *Unquiet Eagle*.

Katz utilizes traditional humanistic techniques as well as newer techniques of textual and statistical analysis, and he uses all of them persuasively. On the consensus-conflict issue he is a conflict man. On the "presentist" issue he clearly argues that in current debates about the relevance of public education for the urban masses we should at least disabuse ourselves of the image of fallen angels. We have never, he argues, had a system of urban education per-

ceived by urban, lower-class children and parents as being valuable to them in the struggle for status and prosperity.

I find Katz's book absolutely first-rate, and I heartily recommend it to all American social and intellectual historians. Those who specialize in this era (1820-1860) or in the history of American education will, it seems to me, be almost obligated to consider it. If Katz's arguments are accepted, considerable revision of standard interpretations is indicated.

University of Wisconsin

MERLE L. BORROWMAN

PRZYCZYNY WOJNY SECESYJNEJ W AMERYCE [The Causes of the War of Secession in America]. By *Leon Korusiewicz*. [Instytut Historii Polskiej Akademii Nauk.] (Warsaw: Państwowe Wydawnictwo Naukowe. 1967. Pp. 515. Zł. 44.)

UNTIL 1967 Polish historians had written almost nothing on the causes of the American Civil War. Only a few scholarly articles, plus a translation of Charles and Mary Beard's *Rise of American Civilization*, had appeared. Now Leon Korusiewicz's book fills an important void.

Though a product of the State Academic Publishers, the study is by no means a Marxian socioeconomic exegesis. It is divided into three well-balanced sections. The first adequately analyzes background material: the characteristics of America and of its various sections, of the Old South, and of slavery. Part II, constituting about half of the book, narrates political events from the Texas issue and the expansion of slavery to the outbreak of the Civil War. The third section detachedly analyzes the course of historiographical writing.

The study is a sound introduction. It appeals to the interested layman and assumes his unfamiliarity with American history. Korusiewicz, accepting multiple causality, presents a many-angled approach. He realizes the impossibility of definitive interpretations; indeed, "the historian cannot be totally certain of his judgments for he does not have accurate gauges of human motives." Socio-economic factors receive considerable but not excessive attention; slavery in its myriad contexts appears the most significant factor leading to the outbreak of war. Popular stereotypes, such as those of the monolithic South, of cavaliers and of Yankees, are carefully analyzed in the light of recent research. Written in clear, unadorned prose, with swift-flowing narrative sections, the study is based on many of the latest secondary works and on some published source materials.

The author presents few startling or original interpretations. Some matters receive rather simplistic treatment: "The Character of the People," for example, in three pages describes the bourgeois ideals of hard work, thrift, success, and so on, as the essence of the American character. Important studies by Elkins, Swanburg, and Boorstin, apparently not consulted, might have added new dimensions to several sections.

Polish readers now have an excellent survey of an unquestionably great event that might help to explain contemporary American affairs. It is hoped that the book will be widely read.

State University College, Brockport, New York

JOHN F. KUTOLOWSKI

JOE LANE OF OREGON: MACHINE POLITICS AND THE SECTIONAL CRISIS, 1849-1861. By *James E. Hendrickson*. [Yale Western Americana Series, Number 17.] (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press. 1967. Pp. xiii, 274. \$6.50.)

Nothing is more forgettable in political history than Vice-Presidents, unless, of course, it is unsuccessful vice-presidential candidates. Joseph Lane belongs to the latter group. North Carolina-born, he early achieved a measure of political recognition in Indiana, where he might have remained had he not gone off to the Mexican War. His impetuous actions in battle captured public attention, and Polk, in need of a governor for the Oregon Territory, offered the post to Lane. Although he claimed it was Polk's solicitations rather than his own desires that led him to accept the post, it seems that Lane had been pressing for the appointment even before he left Mexico. It was a chance, as the author notes, to settle "where the patronage was and where the opportunities lay." For the next twelve years, Lane energetically exploited every opportunity Oregon provided.

In 1850 the Whigs finally removed him from the governorship, but Lane remained, and within the year he was elected territorial delegate to Congress. He had by then managed to pick up some choice farming and mining properties. In 1852 he was briefly considered as a presidential candidate, but, when this boomlet broke, he easily shifted his support to Pierce. His reward was restoration as territorial governor. He meant to stay, for this time he transported twenty-nine members of his family to the territory. His subsequent re-election as territorial delegate put him in a position to press for Oregon's statehood. When it was finally achieved in 1859, Lane was elevated to the Senate. A firm proponent of "Southern rights," he helped to block Douglas' nomination at Charleston, an act of partisanship that may have precluded his being settled on as a compromise candidate. When the Democrats reconvened at Baltimore, Lane withdrew as an opponent of Douglas. At a rump convention of the seceding delegates he received his reward: nomination as John C. Breckinridge's running mate. His defeat for national office in 1860 was complemented by loss of his Senate seat. He concluded "that nothing was left to the South but 'resistance or dishonor.'" In Oregon, where he returned, his name was anathema; his political career was over.

Hendrickson has done a workmanlike job of putting Lane into the context of his environment. The author has made no effort to invest this essentially minor political figure with larger purpose. One senses in Hendrickson's treatment of early Oregon politics something of the trivialities that must have prevailed in frontier politics. The parochial flavor of Oregon's concerns was matched by the parochial terms within which Lane operated. Representative of a backwater constituency, he was increasingly out of tune with his times. On the eve of a revolutionary upheaval, he correctly estimated that it "means war bloody terrible war." As for Lincoln and the Republicans, his judgment was less prescient. Of them he wrote, Lincoln "is no account. He is a miserable creature, and will be a mere tool in the hands of a miserable corrupt sectional party that will destroy and break the Country." Years later, long in retirement, he remained a Democrat

of the states' rights school, who accepted the results of the war, well aware that he had no future.

Columbia University

JAMES P. SHENTON

THE WANING OF THE OLD SOUTH CIVILIZATION, 1860-1880's. By *Clement Eaton*. [Mercer University Lamar Memorial Lectures, Number 10.] (Athens: University of Georgia Press. 1968. Pp. xii, 195. \$4.75.)

THE stated purpose of this volume is "to explore the currents of social and cultural life" in the Old South as they flowed and waned through the Civil War and the twenty years that followed. The quest begins with the creation of two historical mosaics. Bits gathered from diaries, travelers' accounts, contemporary writings, and documents are pieced together to portray the ways and values of "the Southern Folk" and of the "Southern Planter Aristocracy" as they existed in 1860. Neither picture alters the generally accepted interpretations.

The plain rural element, ranging from yeoman farmers to "poor whites," are shown to have been deeply religious, much given to violence, and as a rule decidedly race conscious. They relied on home remedies, found their own amusements, dressed in homespuns, and seldom secured more than a smattering of education. Alexander H. Stephens, "son of a poor slaveless farmer," illustrates in his homely ways and rise to fame both the characteristics and the fluidity of this segment of southern society.

The planter aristocracy, comparatively small in numbers, lived on the better lands, built spacious houses, had their libraries, their horses, and their slaves. Some travelers described them as "chivalrous, high-minded, warm and generous with friends, but malignant and bitter as enemies." Others found them haughty, intolerant of dissent, and lacking in respect for discipline. Modern scholars have largely destroyed the idea that the aristocrat dominated southern politics in the ante bellum period and have shown that he had yielded to "those ambitious men who came up from the ranks."

This Old South "did not create a high culture in literature or the fine arts." Only in the person of Charles Gayarré, the Creole historian of Louisiana, did the section produce a scholar who could be compared with such northern historians as Bancroft and Prescott. Even he owed more to the French traditions that lingered in his Louisiana than to the cotton aristocracy. The hard fact was that "the literary man, the artist, and the teacher were not appreciated" in this Old South.

The coming of the Civil War did not greatly alter this situation. Most southerners expected a short war and, with independence, the flowering of a literature such as Ireland had experienced after obtaining its independence. It never came. After a brief period of gaiety and excitement, in which the theater and the publishing business flourished, war needs took over, and even the patriotic burst of song and verse that came at the beginning died down. Only the poems of Henry Timrod had permanent merit.

In defeat the southern people were too occupied with material and social

problems to do more than accept what was necessary and to retain what they could of the old. The result was a reluctant acceptance of military and political control, no feeling of guilt because of slavery, and a firm belief that defeat had come because the North had used immigrant and Negro troops. The old aristocracy suffered most as slavery and the plantation systems yielded, but the values of the lesser folk in the rural and small communities changed little.

The actual "wiping of the Old South civilization" came only as the urban-industrial revolution invaded the section. Then the "old-line Whigs" gained control, the cult of "the Lost Cause weakened, and Northern sentiment permitted southerners to deal with the Negro as they might wish." Then the "New South" emerged.

This volume fails to make clear its stated purpose largely because of the desire to crowd the narrative with raw source material; a book of only 171 pages requires 14 single-spaced pages of footnotes. Interpretation loses out to a display of patient and exhaustive research.

University of Chicago

AVERY CRAVEN

CELTS, CATHOLICS & COPPERHEADS: IRELAND VIEWS THE AMERICAN CIVIL WAR. By *Joseph M. Hernon, Jr.* ([Columbus:] Ohio State University Press, 1968. Pp. viii, 150. \$6.25.)

THE study of public opinion must be the most protean of all historical subjects, and perhaps the best way of making the subject yield is still for a "man skilled in all ways of contending" to get a good grip and simply hold on. In this work Joseph M. Hernon, Jr., does just that, and the result is not only a prophetic dip into the future but an illuminating and provocative look at the past.

Would you believe that most public opinion in Ireland, Nationalist as well as West British, favored the Confederacy? Would you believe that the great moral issue of slavery mattered little to the Irish? Would you believe that the sacred cause of the Union mattered even less? Those of us who were nurtured on the noble and patriotic Irish-American myth certainly would not, and might even break your head if you had the temerity to insist on saying so. Did not thousands of Irishmen die, and hundreds of thousands serve, in defense of the Union? Did not the English favor the Confederacy? (Everyone knows that an Irishman naturally and always stands on the opposite side in relation to an Englishman.) Was not the great O'Connell himself the most rigorous and uncompromising of abolitionists? Had not the Irish peasant found his dignity as well as a happy haven in the freedom and equality of the great American Republic?

After Hernon's systematic revision, alas, there is little left of our cherished Irish-American myth. Not only were there thousands of Irish lives given in defense of the Union, but there were also thousands sacrificed in the attempt to establish the Confederacy. This American bloodbath caused a general revulsion of feeling in Ireland, where the cost was counted in casualties rather than in ground gained. Furthermore, many Irish were very much aware that England's difficulty was not necessarily Ireland's opportunity. They understood that, if war

should break out with the United States, they would be the ones who would bear a disproportionate share in the paying and dying for that war. Then, too, there was no necessary empathy, let alone sympathy, between Irish serf and southern slave, and without the great "Liberator" to assert that there was, those Irish leaders who inherited his mantle preferred to stick to opportunity rather than to principle. Finally, most Irishmen found themselves in a "Union" from which they were determined to secede, and the Confederate analogy was too patent to be overborne by either rational or even moral considerations.

For these reasons and more, then, public opinion in Ireland favored the Confederate cause. Only a small band of Irish radicals stood in the light of John Bright on the side of the Union and against slavery. And it is here that Hernon is most interesting and original. He argues that, during the American Civil War, the radicals, Irish and English, found that in upholding the democratic federal republic they were preserving that kind of political and moral instrument that would extend individual freedom, ensure human dignity, and eventually help regenerate all mankind. In the American catharsis, Hernon suggests, is to be found the genesis of what was to become in another generation in England the radical fixation on the "Imperial Idea." In a word, the "Manifest Destiny" of a federal American empire would soon find its counterpart in the "Greater Britain" of Sir Charles Dilke, and the imperial vision of Joseph Chamberlain. If Hernon is right, therefore, and I suspect that he is, he has provided us not only with valuable insight into the nature of that apparent contradiction in terms—a democratic imperialist—but he has also usefully complicated the moral dimension of imperialism for everyone who is not yet utterly cynical about the uses of power.

University of Chicago

EMMET LARKIN

MONEY AND AMERICAN SOCIETY, 1865-1880. By *Walter T. K. Nugent*. (New York: Free Press. 1968. Pp. xv, 336.)

THIS book appears to be a considerably expanded version of Nugent's *The Money Question during Reconstruction* (1967). The title of the earlier work was in my opinion unsatisfactory, and this one is equally so. Since Nugent makes a praiseworthy and generally successful attempt to deal with the complexities of the money issue in Europe and the United States during these years, it would have been more accurate to title this work "Money and Western Society, 1865-1880." It is indeed in elucidating the interactions between monetary philosophies such as gold monometallism and international bimetallism on the one hand and nationalistic rivalries on the other that this book makes its chief contribution.

Except for the concept of rhetoric that he employs, Nugent has little to say that is new about the money question in the United States prior to 1873. These chapters are well researched and generally well written, but the treatment of the years 1865-1873 is essentially a good synthesis rather than an attempt to break new ground. In dealing with the silver question and particularly with the "Crime of '73," however, Nugent says much that is useful and important. He shows beyond much doubt that important personages such as Sherman, Boutwell,

and Linderman were anxious to demonetize silver because they were well aware of what the switch to gold by several European countries, combined with the great discoveries in the American West, would do to its price. The significant parts of this story were presented by Nugent in his earlier work, and the substance of it was first set forth in a paper and article by Allen Weinstein, but the treatment of it in this work is the fullest yet. The conventional textbook appraisal of the "Crime of '73" will definitely have to be revised.

Nugent takes pains to exonerate Sherman, Boutwell, and others who were instrumental in demonetizing silver of any personal selfishness in the matter since, as he says, "If any turpitude was involved, there is no evidence of it." He argues that they were not interested in protecting the creditor class but rather the public interest which required the protection of public credit. On the other hand, he points out that in France high government officials "as good as admitted . . . that their chief aim in demonetizing silver was to protect creditors. . . ." In this case are we to assume that the American officials and politicians were more moral than the French? Such quibbles are less than useless. The fact is that the chief actors in both countries were faithful representatives of the creditor class. Whether they personally owned bonds or not is irrelevant. In their own minds the interests of creditors and the public interest were virtually indistinguishable.

This book sets forth the thesis that the year 1873 marked a watershed in the evolution of attitudes toward the money question. In the 1865-1873 period Nugent finds the acceptance of a rhetoric of consensus emphasizing "Civilization, law, a set of economic principles, the belief that society was harmonious, and that producers were good people. . . ." The economic cataclysm of 1873, however, brought in its train a shift from the "rhetoric of social harmony" to the "rhetoric of social combat." Unfortunately it is not possible to do justice either to Nugent's view of the matter or my own in a short review. No doubt there was a diminishing rhetorical consensus in the years 1873-1880. I think, however, that Nugent overestimates the degree of consensus that prevailed prior to 1873 and the amount of its diminution thereafter. In the long view one of the most remarkable facts of late nineteenth-century American history may well be that citizens chose to analyze, moralize, and polemicize about social ills in terms of the form, volume, and functions of money. European Marxists always found this obsession with money absurd. It can only be explained in terms of the continuing American devotion to the concept of social mobility and recognition that access to money and credit had since colonial times been the way that the avenue to material success had been kept open. In this sense the argument over greenbacks and free silver in the late nineteenth century was part and parcel of a distinctly American tradition. It is as legitimate, I think, to underline the continuity of the tradition in the post-Civil War decades as to emphasize, as Nugent does, the diminution of the rhetoric of consensus.

Nugent has raised many issues such as this, which require fuller discussion. This book demonstrates fully the progress that has been made in recent years toward a better understanding of the subtleties of the money question in post-Civil War America.

George Washington University

ROBERT P. SHARKEY

JOHN MILTON GREGORY AND THE UNIVERSITY OF ILLINOIS.

By *Harry A. Kersey, Jr.* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press. 1968. Pp. ix, 252. \$7.95.)

THIS sketchy biography surveys the educational leadership of John Milton Gregory (1822-1898), principally as first "Regent" of the Illinois Industrial University (now the University of Illinois) from 1867 to 1880. In earlier years, here inadequately analyzed, Gregory had been a Baptist minister, teacher, editor of an educational journal, Michigan's superintendent of public instruction from 1859 to 1864, and president of the Baptist college at Kalamazoo. Kersey appraises him as "not one of the seminal thinkers" of nineteenth-century educational reform, "more a publicist than a philosopher, an administrator rather than an originator." Here, obviously, is the opportunity for an illuminating comparative study, which the author has not really grasped. Gregory's efforts in Illinois, as Kersey suggests, rank him as a leading pioneer of land-grant education. Launching his administration amidst suspicion of his clerical antecedents and considerable public opposition, he labored from the first to establish a strong and comprehensive university, thus directly challenging the anti-intellectual utilitarianism prominent in Illinois since an "industrial university" had first been projected in the 1850's. While his tenure was never completely harmonious, Gregory appears to have dominated his constituencies effectively, building a faculty (Kersey fails to describe his recruiting), winning respect as a publicist, and, with crucial exceptions, maintaining influence over undergraduates, to whom he granted extensive powers of self-government.

Presumably Gregory's Illinois policies derived from his Michigan experiences; Kersey so implies, but avoids sustained comparison. The Kalamazoo presidency is dismissed, and Gregory's contributions to the Michigan Agricultural College in 1859 are cursorily described. Nor has the author clearly depicted the sources of Gregory's ideas or his relationships with fellow educators. The impact of Eliphalet Nott, Gregory's mentor at Union College, is suggested, but it is based on inadequate sources; little is said of John D. Pierce, his innovating predecessor in the Michigan superintendency, or of Henry P. Tappan, grandly prophetic first president of the University of Michigan, who was forced from office in 1863, or of Erastus O. Haven, Tappan's successor, who was evidently an intimate friend. In Illinois, Gregory's changing associations with Jonathan B. Turner, leading lobbyist for "industrial universities," are only mentioned. Kersey's interpretation of Gregory's rhetoric is unsophisticated, and he fails to explain his own dependence on limited sources. Gregory's career is more perceptively treated in *The University of Illinois, 1867-1894* (1968), by Winton Solberg, Kersey's adviser, but Solberg's insights have contributed surprisingly little to his student.

University of Denver

THEODORE R. CRANE

THE CATTLE TOWNS. By *Robert R. Dykstra*. (New York: Alfred A. Knopf. 1968. Pp. x, 386, x. \$8.95.)

THE dust jacket of this altogether excellent book explains that it is "a social history of the Kansas cattle trading centers: Abilene, Ellsworth, Wichita, Dodge

City, and Caldwell [from] 1867 to 1885." The "social history" of a cattle town usually means accounts of cowboys on a spree or of gun fights in Dodge City. While such events are covered in this volume, "social history" in this instance really means that it is a sophisticated comparative study of the building and eventual structure of five urban communities and of the social and decision-making processes involved.

The author's indebtedness to Richard C. Wade, Lewis Atherton, and Allan G. Bogue (to whom the book is dedicated) is obvious. His dependence on social science methodology to get at voting behavior, to measure public opinion, and to ascertain the ethnic, age, and sex characteristics of the burgeoning population of these towns is also apparent. It is clear, nevertheless, from the first pages of this readable and persuasive book that Dykstra is a master in his own right. One can easily classify *The Cattle Towns* as simultaneously an example of successful local, urban, cattle, and business history. Even so, Dykstra's major purpose is to test, first, assumptions and generalizations made by historians concerning town building and urban history and, second, to determine the validity of the conclusions reached by Professors Elkins and McKittrick in their essay "A Meaning for Turner's Frontier" about the relation of frontier conditions to the democratic process.

After providing a brisk account of the long-drive cattle trade, and of the origins of the five towns, Dykstra mounts the evidence for his thesis that town building was a much more complex rational (and irrational) and sophisticated process than is usually portrayed. They were developed by many "commerce-oriented," urban-minded entrepreneurs who saw the cattle trade as "the medium" by which they could achieve "the rare prize of city status." Dykstra's revealing career profile studies of bankers, grocers, clothiers, book-makers, hotel, saloon, and dance hall owners, and editors show just how complex were their actions and responses to the problems at hand. He pretty effectively questions simplistic views of the cattle trade, relegates the railroad to a more passive status, and, as was the case in Gene M. Gressley's recent *Bankers and Cattlemen*, makes the cowboy take a back seat in the narrative.

The author's second thesis is that these communities grew and progressed not because of the collective action of their basically homogeneous and consensus-minded citizens, but because the towns competed with each other while the citizens of a single town were split into rival political and economic factions and were divided by real issues. "The experience of the Kansas cattle towns strongly suggests [that] social conflict" was "normal, it was inevitable, and it was a format for community decision-making and thus for change—or 'progress,' if you will." His chapter on "The Politics of Factionalism" makes familiar reading to territorial and frontier historians, but his painstaking analysis of voting behavior, reform movements, and the changes in the "sex-age" composition of the towns adds a valuable new dimension to the account.

Dykstra concludes that in the case of the Kansas cattle centers, neither the theory of urban growth through consensus nor the Elkins-McKittrick "isolated environment" thesis is applicable. While Dykstra is never dogmatic, his strong stand will undoubtedly provoke disagreement. His own faith that a study of decision making will show us vividly the corporate personality of "common

folk" will probably produce still more objections. Still Dykstra's study represents one of the most refreshing and rewarding approaches to be applied to western history topics in many years for he is asking basic questions about social process and the nature of urban society and what methods we must employ to get at as "total" a social history as possible.

What few criticisms I have concern omissions: Concepts of the legal mind and process, as opposed to the maintenance of physical peace by means of sheriffs and ordinances, are ignored. Further, Dykstra limits the concept of "reformers" (those who put social quality above economic success) so that the drive for schools, churches, and "culture" or the dream of a better life is largely missing. The words "school," "religion," "education," "churches," or "minister" do not appear in the index. I am not at all sure that a discussion of reform, prohibition, ethnic origins, and the homogeneous characteristics of a citizenry can be discussed without fuller mention of such factors.

These criticisms should not cloud the fact that this is an excellent study that demonstrates what can be done if new interdisciplinary methods of research and analysis are applied to local records, which constitute the mass of sources from which western history is drawn. It is equally important that, through his "format of social conflict," Dykstra has begun to put Frederick Jackson Turner's seemingly contradictory frontier traits of materialism, rugged individualism, democracy, and cooperation into a social context that explains how they could exist simultaneously. Maps and pictures of the five towns and their leading citizens add to the attractiveness of this fine book.

Yale University

HOWARD R. LAMAR

THE COURT-MARTIAL OF GENERAL GEORGE ARMSTRONG CUSTER. By *Lawrence A. Frost*. (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press. 1968. Pp. xv, 280. \$5.95.)

THE author of this volume has two specialties: podiatry and "Custeriana." The book will interest historians of the American West as well as Custer enthusiasts. It includes a meticulously detailed and well-written narrative of military operations on the plains of Kansas and southern Nebraska during the spring and summer of 1867. These military activities preceded the court-martial trial that occurred at Fort Leavenworth in September and October on the charge that Custer had deserted his command to visit his wife at Fort Riley.

The content confirms the traditional view that Major General Winfield S. Hancock provoked an Indian uprising by marching belligerently upon the Cheyenne village at Pawnee Fork on the Arkansas River and by burning the lodges. Then, because succeeding military operations against the Plains tribes failed, Custer served as a convenient scapegoat. His military reputation, however, was redeemed with the outbreak of more Indian hostilities in 1868 because Major General Philip H. Sheridan needed the dashing field commander to cope with Black Kettle on the Washita.

The reader should consult Chapter 11 of William H. Leckie's *The Military Conquest of the Southern Plains* in conjunction with this volume. Leckie provides both background and a synopsis that make Dr. Frost's book more

meaningful. An example of needed background concerns the motivation that brought bands of Sioux southward to join forces with the Cheyenne, Arapaho, and Kiowas. Leckie's chapter brings Frost's book sharply into focus.

More serious than the need for more introductory material is the anomalous nature of the volume. Nine short chapters of interesting narrative are followed by an edited record of the court-martial proceedings that fills 150 pages. This record is broken in two parts as chapters entitled "Court-Martial" and "Court-Martial Continued." Three more short chapters with lengthy quotations complete the book. Publication of the trial record is in itself a contribution, but the author, turned editor, failed to assess the evidence. It would have been better to continue the narrative through the period of the court-martial and conclude with an appraisal of Custer as a field officer at this stage of his career. In that case the trial record might have been presented in the form of an appendix.

The book is well documented, includes two maps showing the route of Custer's march and the locations of forts, contains several photographs and sketches, and has an index.

St. Olaf College

HENRY E. FRITZ

WYOMING: A POLITICAL HISTORY, 1868-1896. By *Lewis L. Gould*. [Yale Western Americana Series, Number 20.] (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press. 1968. Pp. xiii, 298. \$10.00.)

If the political history of a sparsely settled territory and infant state seems like a dreary and unimportant subject, such a notion will soon have to be discarded by readers of this book. The author's ability to present a narrative that holds the interest through a wealth of detail that illuminates without clogging the mind of the reader is to be greatly admired. His success can be explained partly by his decision to focus his narrative upon the outstanding personalities of the time and place and partly by thorough mastery of his subject.

The personal interest lies in the rivalry of two successful political leaders, Francis E. Warren and Joseph M. Carey, who arrived in Wyoming in 1868 and 1869, respectively. Senator Warren emerges more clearly, for his carefully preserved papers form the backbone of the book. The almost total absence of any Carey papers is a severe handicap to the author, which he has been able to overcome to some extent by combing the newspapers for Carey material. Both men were Republicans, but Warren built a political machine while Senator Carey seems to have survived on a more individualistic basis. Warren skillfully tapped the federal government for all possible aid to the development of Wyoming and his own personal advancement, which he regarded as the same thing. By demonstrating the process by which this was done, the author undermines the popular notion of western individualism.

Warren also flirted seriously with free silver, yet he was able to maintain himself in the Republican party. Carey upheld the gold standard with only temporary damage to his vote-getting powers. Both men had important land and cattle interests, and both maintained good relations with the railroad, so that the author has not demonstrated that a lesser political influence was exercised by these powerful interests to the extent that he sometimes indicates.

Rather, he has demonstrated that personal rivalry existed within these interests and within the Republican party.

Nothing new is added to our understanding of the advent and course of the Johnson County War, but the account of the legal aftermath of that conflict is the best that has been presented. More studies of this caliber are needed for other western states. This excellent history should point the way.

Colorado College

HARVEY L. CARTER

THE TRIAL OF THE ASSASSIN GITEAU: PSYCHIATRY AND LAW
IN THE GILDED AGE. By *Charles E. Rosenberg*. (Chicago: University of
Chicago Press. 1968. Pp. xvii, 289. \$5.95.)

PROFESSOR Rosenberg's account of the assassination of James A. Garfield and of the trial of his murderer, Charles J. Guiteau, has, of course, great topical interest, but it is not a book tossed off quickly by patching together old newspaper clippings and trial records in order to capitalize on the current fascination with acts of political violence. It is, rather, a serious scholarly analysis of Guiteau's trial, of his psychic condition, and of the state of psychiatry in the 1880's. It is also a book full of tragic irony.

That Guiteau was insane by modern definitions is beyond argument. Not only did he claim that he acted on divine inspiration, but while he was in jail he wrote a letter to Chester A. Arthur pointing out that his action had been a "God send" to the new President. "I presume you appreciate it," he added. "It raises you from \$8,000 to \$50,000 a year." It is also probably true, as Rosenberg points out, that if Guiteau had murdered some ordinary citizen he would not have been executed. Yet his trial was conducted fairly. His erratic and provocative behavior was treated with extraordinary tolerance by the court. From a legal point of view, his conviction was entirely reasonable given the prevailing dogma, the so-called M'Naghten rule, which held that if a person knew what the consequences of an act would be and that it was against the law, he was not insane.

Still more ironic from today's perspective was the psychiatric controversy that the case inspired: in the courtroom, in the press, and in medical publications. Rosenberg shows that the expert witnesses for the defense were the forward-looking and best-trained psychiatrists of the period. Their general view of insanity, which involved a "broadening of diagnostic categories in mental illness" and a stress on determinism at the expense of free will in understanding behavior, was thoroughly in line with modern opinion. Yet they reached these conclusions by arguments that modern psychology rejects: they stressed heredity. Guiteau, they claimed, was not responsible for his actions because he was a "hereditary degenerate" with a congenital lack of moral perception. The conservative medical doctors who judged him sane, on the other hand, took a moralistic position that modern medicine rejects. They interpreted criminal responsibility very strictly—kleptomania, for example, they passed off as merely a gross form of thievery and selfishness. Insanity, furthermore, was to them a physical disease inevitably associated with brain damage. In the absence of physical symptoms of disease, it could not exist. Yet in adopting a dynamic

interpretation of mental illness and rejecting the hereditary explanation, they were far closer to modern opinion than the liberals.

Rosenberg's discussion of the complex theories he describes is always clear. The very nature of the subject precludes any very definitive judgments, for, as he points out, neither the legal nor the medical profession has even today resolved the conflicts between determinism and individual responsibility, between society's need for protection and a deranged person's rights, in any universally satisfactory ways. Yet this is an excellent as well as a fascinating book, important for an understanding both of the history of mental illness and of late-nineteenth-century American society.

Columbia University

JOHN A. GARRATY

THE EASTERN ESTABLISHMENT AND THE WESTERN EXPERIENCE: THE WEST OF FREDERIC REMINGTON, THEODORE ROOSEVELT, AND OWEN WISTER. By *G. Edward White*. [Yale Publications in American Studies, Number 14. Published under the direction of the American Studies Program.] (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press. 1968. Pp. 238. \$6.75.)

THE history of the American frontier and the intellectual history of America in the 1890's and early 1900's are set in new perspective in this superb portrayal of the western legacy given this nation by Frederic Remington, Theodore Roosevelt, and Owen Wister. If we look for an explanation of the American character that has given us such a reverence for shooting, hunting, and the masculine "strong men" of our "wild west," this is the book to consult. The unique western experience of each of these men was transferred to a wide American public through Wister's novels, Remington's writings, drawings, and paintings, and Roosevelt's autobiographical accounts of his living the raw life of cowboy-hunter in the West. After setting his scene describing the easterner's changing view of the West as it gradually assumed a regional identity, the author concentrates on his three main characters. He devotes several chapters to analyses of the adolescence of each man and his search for an occupational role in society. All three were born in the decade after the Civil War when the wilderness concept of Parkman, Cooper, and Irving was fading before the advance of the railroad and the emergence of the cowboy. In their adolescence each man turned away from his eastern heritage for a frontier experience. Later, each man became a kind of publicity agent in narrating his experience praising western life. Yet, at the same time, each man in later life identified with the wealthy eastern establishment as a top representative in his profession. Finally, these men came to represent a kind of noble, patriotic image of "Americanism." They fully admired each other, praising themselves for pride in Americans and Americanism. Of the three, Roosevelt, according to the evidence offered in this convincing book, never really outgrew his adolescence in his sophomoric philosophizing about "true Americanism" and the frontier, which he identified with the pursuit and killing of wild animals: "the chase" cultivates "that vigorous manliness for lack of which in a nation, as in an individual, the possession of no other qualities can possibly atone." Indeed, Roosevelt's belligerence, aggressive-

ness, and naïve romanticism are dissected and exposed for critical examination. Remington and Wister were probably less vehement in their notions of patriotism and American frontier virility, but all three agreed on essentials. That Roosevelt became the "moral leader of all the people" in the early 1900's is perhaps a commentary on the adolescence of America that relished a "Roughrider" approach to American foreign relations.

The author's bibliographical essay on references demonstrates that he has consulted a wealth of original materials, printed and manuscript. These are supplemented by a large mass of secondary material. The Yale Press and the author are to be complimented on this attractive book; it makes an important contribution to the understanding of the development of American society.

University of California, Santa Barbara

WILBUR R. JACOBS

AMERICAN IMPERIALISM: A SPECULATIVE ESSAY. By *Ernest R. May*. (New York: Atheneum. 1968. Pp. ix, 239. \$5.95.)

In his book *Imperial Democracy*, Ernest May showed that the United States acquired an overseas empire in 1898 in a burst of popular enthusiasm. In his new book he seeks the sources of this popularity and the reason why imperialism ceased to engage public support after 1900. May defines imperialism narrowly; it means only the acquisition of territory. In that way he side-steps, as he readily admits, the broader definition of the term, which the "Open Door" school of diplomatic historians employs.

The book begins by identifying four current explanations for the rise of popular imperialism in the 1890's: Merk's (manifest destiny), Pratt's (social Darwinism), Hofstadter's (psychic crisis), and La Feber's (markets). To these explanations, on the basis of his own research, May adds a fifth: "the impact on America of English and European examples" of expansion.

May's new explanation is not as novel as his method of arriving at it. The first three chapters are devoted to an analysis of how public opinion is shaped, drawn from a study of modern public opinion research and concepts. From his analysis May concludes, among other things, that there is a foreign policy public that is considerably smaller than the general public and that this smaller public, in turn, is influenced and informed by a handful of knowing informants or opinion leaders. May then identifies, from a study of the press in Boston, New York, Chicago, and Indianapolis, the score or so of opinion leaders in these four cities. By closely examining the public and private writings of these leaders, he ascertains the influences acting on them and, through them, on public opinion.

Although May is cautious and tentative in setting forth his conclusions, it is evident that social Darwinism and the so-called psychic crisis were not very influential in moving the opinion makers to support imperialism. They did, however, discuss, if they were not clearly influenced by, the debates over colonies, which took place in Europe, particularly in England (May's own contribution to the question of causation). They were also affected by the need for markets argument (La Feber) and obviously influenced by their knowledge of past expansion by the United States (Merk). May, however, also turns

up the fact that a majority of his public opinion leaders did *not* clearly favor the acquisition of colonies in 1898. This finding apparently presented him with something of a difficulty until he went back to 1869-1871 to look into the attitudes of public opinion leaders toward the annexation of Santo Domingo. He found that at that time almost all opinion setters opposed the move. At the other end of his time scale, his study revealed that after 1901 opinion leaders were again almost unanimous in opposing further annexations. And, sure enough, after 1901 no more territory was acquired. He concludes that the popular support for imperialism in the late 1890's was the result of a division of opinion among the traditional leaders on foreign affairs, a division that permitted less responsible and knowing counsel—an imperialistic one—to prevail. By 1901, though, the prolonged Philippine insurrection and the Boer War convinced both the public and the heretofore divided elite that they should unite once again against territorial expansion, and so the "Great Aberration" came to an end. "A high level of public interest in any question may be due no more to the importance of the question than to the presence of discord and confusion among men to whom interested citizens look for guidance," May observes.

To me, May's method is the most imaginative device for arriving at the influences affecting public opinion that any historian who must work without benefit of public opinion polls has yet originated. Yet it suffers still from the defects of all previous efforts. How is one to show conclusively that there is a direct connection between a series of ideas or events and the opinions held by individuals, much less masses of people, when the persons involved do not reveal, privately or publicly, how they arrived at their opinions? At times, it is true, May produces evidence from members of his elite, which clearly traces the connections between their opinions and the alleged causes, but at other times his subjects are as silent on the causal connections as the anonymous public. Indeed, in some places May himself falls back upon supposition and coincidence for proof, as when he concludes without any direct evidence that the Boer War and the Philippine insurrection turned men against imperialism. But, because no one has gotten as close as May has to the isolation of causal explanations for public opinion, his effort, though here inconclusive, is certainly worthy of further examination and testing.

Stanford University

CARL N. DEGLER

SENATOR JOSIAH WILLIAM BAILEY OF NORTH CAROLINA: A POLITICAL BIOGRAPHY. By *John Robert Moore*. (Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press, 1968. Pp. vi, 255. \$8.25.)

THIS is a critical and sympathetic account of a man who was a power in North Carolina from the 1890's and in national politics from the late 1920's until his death in 1946. Moore clearly and coherently describes the major phases of Bailey's public life: his editorship of the Baptist *Biblical Recorder*; his fight in the late 1890's for state aid to primary and secondary education; his public fight for prohibition through local option and his private use of alcohol in moderation; his relations with other North Carolina politicians, including Furnifold M. Simmons,

O. Max Gardner, Robert Rice Reynolds, Cameron Morrison, and Josephus Daniels; his ambivalence toward both Franklin D. Roosevelt and the New Deal; and his political tactics as a party leader and a United States senator.

On these, Moore's touch is sure, his judgments sound, and his contributions welcome. General readers will find especially interesting the many New Deal measures that Bailey, an alleged conservative Democrat, supported and voted for between 1933 and 1939, along with his wholehearted support for Roosevelt's foreign and military policies from 1939 to 1945, despite his frequently expressed fear of the centralization of power in the federal executive. Should some aberrant scholar wish to rehabilitate American conservatism in the 1930's from its present state of denigration, he can begin with Chapters ix and x of Professor Moore's book. Students of southern politics will find, in the sections on North Carolina, a partial corrective to V. O. Key's interpretation of the character of machine rule in the state.

On other counts, the book is less satisfying. With several exceptions, the sources and development of Bailey's ideas about politics and economics are not incorporated into the narrative. In the preface Bailey is a Wilsonian liberal, in the early chapters a Progressive, in the 1920's a party liberalizer, and during the New Deal a conservative. The confusion thus produced is not dispelled until the concluding sections of the book; even then Moore's summary is not wholly convincing. Bailey's attitudes toward Negroes could have been more systematically treated, although on balance he seems to have been a benevolent paternalist when he could and a political trimmer when he had to be. Moore's conclusions would have been sharper and more relevant if he had compared them with the findings of James T. Patterson's *Congressional Conservatism and the New Deal*.

Still, this is a useful contribution to the history of southern politics and to the much-neglected history of the United States Congress in the 1930's and 1940's.

University of Illinois, Champaign

THOMAS A. KRUEGER

THE HOUSE ON COLLEGE AVENUE: THE COMPTONS AT WOOSTER, 1891-1913. By *James R. Blackwood*. (Cambridge, Mass.: M.I.T. Press, Massachusetts Institute of Technology. 1968. Pp. xxv, 265. \$15.00.)

The House on College Avenue reviews the life of a dean and his family at a small, denominational college in Ohio during the years 1891 to 1913. The dean, Elias Compton, struggled to raise four lively youngsters, drawing occasional inspiration from publications in the up-and-coming field of child psychology. His three boys were destined to have distinguished careers: Arthur H. Compton, Nobel Prize winner; Karl T. Compton, president of Massachusetts Institute of Technology; and Wilson Compton, president of Washington State.

In his preface the author frankly acknowledges that he has presented in this volume not history but the raw materials for history. We have here a tapestry woven of reminiscence: mellow, nostalgic, evocative of the vanished era of the small-town middle western college at the turn of the century. Blackwood

finds mainly positive qualities in this environment. One is left with the impression that the denominational college community of Wooster, Ohio, afforded a favorable setting for child rearing. Then there was the special circumstance of the Compton household, a warm, loving family group living in genteel professorial semipoverty. The liveliness of the home on College Avenue was balanced by just enough Calvinistic seriousness so that everything that was done was evaluated in terms of its service function. The result of these happy influences? Three eminent men.

The book implies that somehow or other the positive values of life in a small, denominational college town rubbed off on Elias Compton's three sons and his daughter (she eventually married a Presbyterian missionary in India). In addition, Compton's methods of child rearing are noted as being an important factor. How valid is the latter suggestion? Blackwood admits that in the case of young Arthur Compton's budding astronomical interests "the parents were more inclined to put on the brakes than to drive him faster. They feared an unbalanced development." As a matter of fact, the Compton children seem to have grown up in much the same fashion as their playmates from the same social background. Their life was not markedly intellectual. The book reports considerable involvement in rabbit hunting, glider sailing, and school athletics. To be sure, it is also noted that the Comptons made a special effort to ensure that good reading materials would always be readily available to their children.

While Blackwood is only venturing to provide us with the raw materials of social and intellectual history, it is still regrettable that in some ways these raw materials are incomplete. We are not told enough to be able to understand the rationale of a mind such as that of the father, Elias Compton. We are not informed about the attitudes that prevailed at the College of Wooster during these years with respect to the study and teaching of the natural sciences. Did this old-time denominational institution assimilate Darwinism and naturalism, ignore ideas such as these, or make an effort to refute them? Data of this kind would help to reveal the early intellectual environment of individuals who were in later years to become noted scientists.

Blackwood's well-written, impressionistic volume is intended, however, to be a personal tribute to the Comptons of College Avenue, not a definitive contribution to American intellectual history. On its own modest terms, it is eminently successful.

Fairleigh Dickinson University, Teaneck, New Jersey

WILLIS RUDY

BOSTONIANS AND BULLION: THE JOURNAL OF ROBERT LIVERMORE, 1892-1915. Edited by *Gene M. Gressley*. (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1968. Pp. xxix, 193. \$6.95.)

THE American mining engineer has been one of the most articulate observers of the western scene. In general, he has been perceptive, literate, and endowed with a strong sense of history and his own role in its making. Robert Livermore was no exception, and, while no John Hays Hammond or Herbert Hoover in the profession, he has, in this volume of reminiscences, given an able account both

of the life and work of the engineer and of the environment in which he was set.

Livermore was an "average" engineer. Of a good Boston family (his father was vice-president of the Calumet and Hecla Copper Company), he early tried his hand at sea and as a cowboy, but completed his education at Harvard and MIT and began his technical career in Colorado in 1903. Imaginative and fond of outdoor life, he gives some fine descriptions of cowpunching in Montana, hunting and fishing in the Rockies, and life in the wide-open mining towns that he knew so well. His nomadic existence took him to most western states, as well as Canada and Mexico, and, like that of other mining engineers, it was one of constant adaptation and contrast. One job found him installing his bride in a one-room log cabin high on the Taylor Fork of the Gunnison to cook for four hungry men; the next found him part of the "gay crowd of eastern emigres" at Telluride, playing polo and following the social lead of that amazing *bon vivant*, Bulkeley Wells. One moment Livermore could be sleeping in a haystack in southeastern Utah; the next might find him moving in full dress in elite Boston or New York society circles. If he displayed little sympathy for striking miners during the 1903-1904 labor upheavals at Telluride and joined various "Citizens' Alliances" to combat them (once shooting himself in the foot in the process), a decade later, while manager of a mine in the Cobalt district, he fought with equal vigor against one of his own directors.

Gressley's introduction and his epilogue give nice balance to the whole and put Livermore correctly in his setting. The five outline maps are too sketchy to be effective, but sixteen photographs add distinction to the volume. Livermore himself writes graphic, chatty prose. His life was often prosaic, and his accomplishments were not great. It is unfortunate that he minimizes his mining work, yet, despite this, his account will go down with those of Hammond, T. A. Rickard, and Edward McCarthy as one of the standard engineer's views of the West.

University of Illinois, Champaign

CLARK C. SPENCE

THE INTELLECTUAL AS URBAN REFORMER: BRAND WHITLOCK AND THE PROGRESSIVE MOVEMENT. By *Jack Tager*. (Cleveland: Press of Case Western Reserve University. 1968. Pp. 198. \$6.50.)

POLITICS & PROGRESS: THE RISE OF URBAN PROGRESSIVISM IN BALTIMORE, 1895 TO 1911. By *James B. Crooks*. (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press. 1968. Pp. x, 259. \$8.50.)

EACH of these books, in a different way, contributes to our knowledge and understanding of the progressive movement. The first is the intellectual and political odyssey of a leader; it avoids the details of municipal and legislative battles and concentrates on Whitlock's ideas and personality as they unfold through his career and his writings. The second examines in detail the development of the progressive program in Baltimore, issue by issue, campaign by campaign. It makes rather heavy going for the reader at times, but rewards him with a careful case history of progressivism in a leading American city.

Tager's well-written volume shows Whitlock motivated by a search for

individual freedom—in the first instance, from his own rural Methodist background. He found this freedom in the city, first in Chicago, where he was profoundly influenced by Altgeld, and later in Toledo, where he made history as the disciple and successor of Mayor "Golden Rule" Jones. He had a vision of the "free city" as being democratically and humanely governed and giving each man the chance to develop his personality to the fullest. He felt that specific reforms would be meaningless without a reform in the civic spirit itself; hence, while Whitlock the politician worked for the whole range of urban progressive measures, Whitlock the author attempted to change public opinion through his didactic novels.

Whitlock was a complex character. His picture of himself as the gentleman in politics, reluctantly assuming the burdens of government, was belied by his eager and successful bids for public office. Although hailed as a reform mayor, he detested the term "reformer," which to him meant the narrow-minded fanatic who would regulate his neighbors' private lives. His attitude toward economic reform was eclectic; historians have labeled him a single taxer, but Tager argues convincingly that he had at most only a general sympathy for the views of Henry George.

Perhaps this very absence of a firmly grounded politico-economic philosophy helps explain Whitlock's sad last years. He saw postwar America gripped by the spirit of prohibition and political reaction, stifling individual freedom at home and unwilling to assume its rightful role in the world. His old hope for the free democratic man melted away; he turned his back on America to conclude his life as an elitist expatriate.

Crooks's study of Baltimore starts with the defeat of the Gorman-Raisin machine in 1895 and ends rather arbitrarily in 1911. How does the Baltimore experience compare with that of other cities? The familiar issues are all there: boss rule, corporate domination of politics, the struggle for political democracy, efforts to regulate corporations—especially utilities—and to improve the lot of the less fortunate. But no leader dominates the Baltimore story as do Pingree in Detroit, Johnson in Cleveland, Jones and Whitlock in Toledo, Fagan and Record in Jersey City. Although some individuals were active throughout, Baltimore leadership was changing as the center of reform shifted from one organization and party to another. Like city progressives everywhere, the Baltimore reformers had to look to the state, and there was a constant interaction between the two levels of government. Some border state Maryland progressives, like those farther south, saw Negro disfranchisement as progressive reform, but many did not, and Maryland resisted all attempts to disfranchise its Negro citizens.

Crooks's profile of the Baltimore progressive—the young, well-educated, upper-class business or professional man of old American stock—agrees in the main with that drawn by George Mowry. But he also shows that as time went on the city machine itself and the urban masses it represented awakened to an interest in social and economic reform, thus lending support to the thesis of Joseph Huthmacher.

TWELVE AGAINST EMPIRE: THE ANTI-IMPERIALISTS, 1898-1900. By Robert L. Beisner. (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company. 1968. Pp. xvi, 310. \$6.95.)

THOUGH often attracted to lost causes, historians have largely neglected the anti-imperialist movement of 1898-1900. Unlike the Spanish-American War and the quest for empire, anti-imperialism has not seemed generally to raise significant historical questions that would guide larger explorations of American society. Even the bold efforts of William A. Williams and John Rollins to place the anti-imperialists within the consensus on American economic expansion abroad and to interpret them as advocates and sometimes as architects of informal empires have not provoked much interest in anti-imperialism.

In the past few years, however, there have been a few theses on the movement, including a well-written doctoral dissertation by Robert Beisner, which received the Allan Nevins Prize. A thoughtful, intellectual history of a dozen prominent anti-imperialists, his study has been revised for publication and ambitiously presented as "a key to an understanding of the spirit of the . . . movement . . . [and its] emotional and intellectual wellsprings." Concentrating upon "ideas, sentiments and prejudices" and shunning congressional maneuvers and political tactics, he has focused upon men drawn from the two groups that "spearheaded" the movement: the mugwumps, E. L. Godkin, Charles Eliot Norton, Edward Atkinson, Charles Francis Adams, Jr., Carl Schurz, and William James; and the dissident Republicans, Andrew Carnegie, George F. Hoar, Benjamin Harrison, George S. Boutwell, John Sherman, and Thomas Brackett Reed. Because labor leaders like Samuel Gompers and reformers like Jane Addams had only minor roles in the crusade against territorial annexation, Beisner has excluded them. And, what is more questionable, he has also excluded William Jennings Bryan, Richard Pettigrew, Eugene Hale, Moorfield Storey, Mark Twain, and the many Democrats who constituted most of the opposition in the Senate to the Treaty of Paris. Admitting that the omission of Bryan and these Democrats is "somewhat arbitrary," Beisner lamely explains that, aside from their speeches in Congress and in campaigns, they contributed little strength to the anti-imperialist movement. Yet his inclusion of Harrison, who wrote occasional private letters against annexation of the Philippines but did not publicly oppose the policy until mid-December of 1900, raises some serious doubts about Beisner's criteria.

Despite the common bond of anti-imperialism between the dozen men, some were nevertheless deeply interested in economic expansion. Beisner concludes, however, that most were unconcerned about the economic implications of colonialism and, contrary to Williams and Rollins, that the few who were concerned, like Atkinson, Schurz, and Carnegie, did not make the establishment of an informal empire a pre-eminent value in their opposition to colonialism. (It is possible to rescue much of the Williams-Rollins analysis by emphasizing that the belief of some of these anti-imperialists in the advantages of trade without territory freed them to stress moral and political reasons for their opposition to annexation.) Disagreeing in their economic analysis, the anti-imperialists also divided on the war, split on the annexation of Hawaii, and

could make common cause only in their opposition to holding the Philippines. Even then their reasons often differed, though they were traditionalists who cast their arguments in conservative frameworks and expressed greater concern about the welfare of their own country than about the condition of future colonials. What is more questionable, Beisner finds an even broader consensus: they suspected mass democracy and preferred government by an elite of the educated and wellborn, and they were deeply troubled by industrialization and the extension of American economic interests abroad. Unfortunately this interpretation distorts the thought of Carnegie and misunderstands those anti-imperialists who, by Beisner's earlier admission, sought overseas economic expansion.

In addition to these errors, this volume may be criticized for not exploring more fully three important dimensions of anti-imperialist thought: attitudes toward Negroes and Indians, attitudes toward international law and order and their influence on the responses to the Philippine insurrection, and early reactions to the war with Spain. Despite these shortcomings, this study should be valued as a gracefully written and well-researched analysis of the frequently convoluted anti-imperialism of a dozen men who, aside from Czar Reed, were in 1898-1900 far from the center of political power and sometimes beyond its fringes.

Stanford University

BARTON J. BERNSTEIN

THE CONSERVATIVE REFORMERS: GERMAN-AMERICAN CATHOLICS AND THE SOCIAL ORDER. By *Philip Gleason*. (Notre Dame, Ind.: University of Notre Dame Press. 1968. Pp. x, 272. \$8.95.)

FOCUSED on the developments within the *Central-Verein*, this book develops a persuasive explanation of why German Catholics, though predominately rural and *petit-bourgeois*, developed in the early twentieth century a surprisingly strong interest in the social question. Professor Gleason sees this development as a step in the process of Americanization. By 1900, he argues, the second generation had come to dominate German-American Catholic life, and a shift of interest and concern was psychologically important to the new leadership. Furthermore, the *Central-Verein* had outlived its usefulness as a coordinator of the many mutual insurance schemes with which it had been preoccupied in its earlier years. And interest in the social question allowed German Catholics in America to point with pride to the much-praised concerns of Catholics in Germany; this kind of identification was ideologically useful in the continuing contest with Irish-American Catholics. Besides, interest in the social question allowed German-American Catholics to criticize an American scene with which they did not wish to identify completely. The fact that Americans were themselves indulging in paroxysms of progressive excitement legitimized Catholic criticism. In Milton Gordon's terminology, the new departure presented the German Catholics with an appropriate way of resisting "structural" assimilation at the same time that they advanced their "cultural" assimilation.

By Gleason's showing, the *Central-Verein* did not develop a very prepotent reform program. For one thing, it was too comprehensive in its indictment of evils in America: the secularism of society, the public schools, the materialism of

the middle classes, and the separation of church and state, as well as the un-Christianity of big business. The *Verein's* leaders broke quite early with the more Americanized Father Peter Dietz, who wanted to concentrate on problems of wages and unionization. The *Verein*, seeking a fundamental alternative to American culture, usually advocated a kind of corporatism or solidarism. While such notions paralleled developments in German romantic thought, they had little resonance in progressive America. And, after the alienating impact of World War I, the *Verein's* social program seems to have degenerated into a somewhat bitter utopianism.

Though Gleason does not prove that the *Central-Verein* was important to the general history of the United States, he has made an outstanding contribution to our understanding of how an immigrant group moved through the complex process of assimilation. The book is a little short in describing deeds and personalities, but the defect is more than offset by Gleason's analytical versatility. He has studied his sociology well and has made a valuable contribution to American historiography.

Hunter College

ROBERT D. CROSS

LABOR POLITICS AMERICAN STYLE: THE CALIFORNIA STATE FEDERATION OF LABOR. By *Philip Taft*. [Wertheim Publications in Industrial Relations.] (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press. 1968. Pp. viii, 288. \$7.00.)

A MAJOR chronicler of American labor has produced a new work. But, though it has the usual trappings of scholarship, it is clearly one of Professor Taft's lesser efforts. The book is a case study of the AFL in politics, using the California State Federation as an example. Taft traces the activities, organizations, and personalities of the federation from its beginnings in 1901 to the AFL-CIO merger in 1958.

Among many reasons for writing history, three seem most important: to record, to describe the human condition by analyzing patterns of past human behavior, and to tell an interesting story. If these—together or separately—are the criteria for good history, this volume does not rate well.

The book does bring together material not assembled before, thus achieving at least some worth as record. But it reads like official history, recording primarily what the victors of internal fighting within the federation wanted recorded, rather than all participants. It is a broad overview that touches on all points equally lightly, never emphasizing those episodes that were crucial to the development of the federation.

What is more significant, Taft fails to analyze, and a case study should be an analytic device. He includes a conventional first chapter that usually states generalizations and a last one to summarize and validate them, but he refuses to generalize. What impact have state federations had on American politics? How did the California federation compare with other labor groups? We are not told. Why did the AFL adopt the federation as response to political needs? Taft simply states that there was no alternative. Why not? Even as the history

of a lobbying organization the book fails; it does not describe the process of labor exercising its influence; it never so much as alludes to the rich literature on lobbying and political influence.

Finally, the book is dull. Somehow the author has turned an exciting half century (including anti-Oriental campaigns and a general strike, the McNamara bombing and the Mooney case, and Harry Bridges) into a plodding ledger of one thing after another.

Arlington, Virginia

R. L. FRIEDHEIM

AN UNCERTAIN FRIENDSHIP: THEODORE ROOSEVELT AND JAPAN, 1906-1909. By *Charles E. Neu*. (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1967. Pp. x, 347. \$6.95.)

THIS lucid, smooth-flowing monograph parallels and, to a modest extent, complements Raymond Esthus' *Theodore Roosevelt and Japan*, which was published about the time it went to press. Neu spans a little less than three years as compared to Esthus' almost five years, and so he examines some episodes more extensively and more deeply. Yet the coverage is quite uneven, presumably because of a decision to summarize matters treated by Esthus in earlier articles.

Neu is more sensitive than Esthus to the impact of public opinion and domestic politics upon Roosevelt's diplomacy, and he intertwines the three with considerable skill. He also analyzes the naval construction program and the debate over Pacific fortifications and naval bases in greater detail than Esthus or anyone else has done. Indeed, the strength of the book is the richness of this section. Otherwise, it is largely a restatement of familiar material. With the exception of the Root-Takahira exchange—Neu argues that Root and Roosevelt interpreted it similarly, but treats the episode too cursorily to prove his point—his conclusions do not differ markedly from Esthus'.

Despite a stricture in the preface against Beale and others for heaping excessive "praise" on TR, Neu's own appraisal, and especially his exposition, is measuredly favorable to Roosevelt. In "the context of his era," he concludes, TR's conduct of diplomacy was "shrewd, skillful, and responsible." Specifically, Neu holds that Roosevelt consistently recognized that the United States' stake in China and Manchuria was slight; that he was more committed to fostering cordial relations with Japan than to maintaining the Russo-Japanese balance of power; and that he feared that the American or Japanese people were more apt than their leaders to precipitate war. In common with many recent scholars, Neu also exonerates Roosevelt from responsibility for the eventual breakdown of Japanese-American relations. TR's policy, he contends, "was a largely successful policy based upon realities at home and in the Far East." Because Taft, Knox, and certain State Department officials were unwilling or unable to perceive the military and political limitations behind it, they reversed it; in so doing, they set in motion some, at least, of the forces that were to culminate in disaster. Neu's most suggestive criticism of TR is that his penchant for secrecy prevented him from impressing his realistic conception of the limited nature of the United

States' interest in the Far East upon the public at large. This important insight is, unfortunately, not developed.

University of Virginia

WILLIAM H. HARBAUGH

THE LEO FRANK CASE. By *Leonard Dinnerstein*. (New York: Columbia University Press. 1968. Pp. xiii, 248. \$6.95.)

On April 26, 1913, Mary Phagan, at the age of thirteen, was murdered in Atlanta, Georgia. On April 29 Leo Frank, her employer in a small factory, was arrested, and on August 26 he was convicted of first-degree murder. Appellate proceedings culminated, on April 19, 1915, in a decision by the US Supreme Court, seven to two, denying a writ of habeas corpus. The majority noted that "the allegations of disorder [at the trial] were found by both of the State courts to be groundless except in a few particulars as to which the courts ruled that they were irregularities not harmful in fact to defendant and therefore insufficient in law to avoid the verdict"; the minority view, that of Holmes and Hughes, held "the presumption overwhelming that the jury responded to the passions of the mob." On June 21, 1915, Governor John M. Slaton of Georgia commuted the death sentence to that of life imprisonment.

On July 17, 1915, a fellow convict cut Frank's throat; several days elapsed before it was clear that the victim would live. On August 16, 1915, a party of twenty-five men took Frank from the state prison farm and executed him by hanging.

Professor Dinnerstein's study offers a running commentary on these events in their relation to the general southern and local Georgian endemic xenophobia in 1913-1915; anti-Semitism and the response of organized Jewish self-defense; trial by sensational newspaper coverage; and "case building" by the police, inept legal defense, and judicial cowardice.

The author states that "the original stenographic transcript of the trial does not seem to be in existence any more." The available "Brief of Evidence," used on appeal, does not include the questions asked by counsel at the trial. Dinnerstein fills in as well as he can by massive use of newspaper accounts, but, unfortunately, these are the same sources that serve to demonstrate the stupidity, malice, and hysteria of the scene. As has been true of so many lynchings, both in and out of the courtroom, one cannot arrive at much of an opinion on the question of guilt, however certain it is that no justice was done.

The Leo Frank Case offers a number of perceptive matchings: On August 22, 1913, Frank was found guilty of the murder of Mary Phagan; four weeks later the B'nai B'rith established the Anti-Defamation League. On June 21, 1915, Frank's death sentence was commuted by the governor; a few days later "one hundred and fifty men who called themselves the Knights of Mary Phagan . . . met secretly near her grave, and pledged to avenge the little girl's death"; "in the autumn of 1915 [about a month after the lynching] thirty-three of the Knights of Mary Phagan met on a mountain top just outside Atlanta and brought the [modern Ku Klux] Klan into being."

Washington, D. C.

LOUIS JOUGHIN

THE PEACE PROPHETS: AMERICAN PACIFIST THOUGHT, 1919-1941.

By *John K. Nelson*. [The James Sprunt Studies in History and Political Science, Volume XLIX.] (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 1967. Pp. viii, 153. \$4.50.)

IN a deservedly praised essay Samuel Eliot Morison once advised students of history to avoid writing "dull, solid, valuable monographs," but the present monograph surely should not suffer from the Morisonian stigma for it is sprightly, solid, and valuable. Its author has kept his focus rather narrow, on pacifist thought as exhibited primarily in four periodicals of the interwar era: *The Christian Century*, *The World Tomorrow*, *The Nation*, and *The New Republic*. Where necessary, he has drawn from other printed literature. The result is a clear view of the "peace prophets"—the spokesmen for pacifism—between the two world wars.

The author shows the almost bewildering movement of pacifist thought in the interwar period. He does not claim for it a consistency during the swirl of twenty years of peace, prosperity, depression, and war. He points out that the pacifists usually were not dreamers, but sought to strike at the roots of war. To some of the pacifists the doctrines of peace came easily, in a sort of package, and later these persons could lay down their package. For others pacifism was a natural belief, and they could keep it in adversity. This excellent analysis of the interwar periodicals of peace deserves close attention by students of American history, and also by individuals concerned with present campus causes.

Indiana University

ROBERT H. FERRELL

REPUBLICAN FOREIGN POLICY, 1921-1933. By *L. Ethan Ellis*. (New Brunswick, N.J.: Rutgers University Press. 1968. Pp. ix, 404. \$10.00.)

PROFESSOR Ellis has written a thoughtful and stimulating chronicle of the metamorphosis of Republican foreign policy from 1921 to 1933. He includes chapters analyzing the domestic scene, the chief policy makers, problems confronted in relations with Europe, Latin America, and the Far East, and the response to Japanese aggression in Manchuria. Particularly important in the book is his account of the disarmament question, which consumes over one hundred pages.

His major thesis is that the period was one of transition from the traditional American posture of aloofness in world affairs to a new, more active era that arrived later; thus it was an age of "fits and starts" on the road to more dynamic participation. Given America's heritage and its preoccupation with domestic concerns, which precluded favorable public response to little but the *status quo*, policy makers in the twenties would have found it very difficult to chart an imaginative positive course had they been so inclined. Even so, the era was not one of isolationism but rather of "involvement without commitment," where much more cooperation and much less "arrant self-containment" existed than is commonly acknowledged. Ellis cites the Washington Conference, the other disarmament conferences, politics in Latin America and the Far East, and the Kellogg Pact as evidence of this involvement.

By way of comment, two points might be made. He may be correct in his characterization of the period, but without indulging too deeply in semantics, it seems reasonable to suggest that perhaps the term involvement is used loosely and that, consonant with its world status, the US cooperated only to a very limited degree. Indeed, one could posit that the examples cited represent negativism, or a desire to withdraw rather than participate, in world affairs. Secondly, the author's assertion that if, in the interest of understanding, the historian places himself in the shoes of the decision makers of the twenties and early thirties, he will be much more charitable toward those much-maligned gentlemen is plainly very commendable. Still, it seems axiomatic that foresight comprises in part the stuff that statesmanship is made of, and decisions of true statesmen must stand the test of time.

Notwithstanding these comments, the book makes a significant contribution to the literature of twentieth-century US foreign policy. Though the work reveals little new information, it constitutes excellent synthesis and scholarly analysis and is cogently and graciously written.

University of Oklahoma

RUSSELL D. BUHITE

POVERTY AND POLITICS: THE RISE AND DECLINE OF THE FARM SECURITY ADMINISTRATION. By *Sidney Baldwin*. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 1968. Pp. xvi, 438. \$10.00.)

THERE are advantages and disadvantages to political scientists writing history if this work is any indication. Sidney Baldwin has applied the particular *expertise* of the political scientist to the analysis and dissection of the Farm Security Administration with such occasional brilliance and insight as few historians can hope to attain, but his frequent ramblings into political theory and concept definitions can be, for a historian, pedantic and boring. A historian might tell himself smugly that he would never confuse Shays' Rebellion with the Whisky Rebellion or put a "t" on the end of William Jennings Bryan's name, as Baldwin does, but historians will have to admire his penetrating analysis of the philosophy and goals of the FSA.

The book begins with a dispensable chapter on administrative concepts and a review of rural poverty in America. The author then gets quickly to the main subject: the New Deal and rural poverty. Briefly, because others have written in these areas, Baldwin describes the early attempts by New Deal agencies to deal with farm tenancy and poor farmers. He then takes up the story of brain truster Rexford G. Tugwell and his dreams of social and land reform, which materialized in 1935 as the Resettlement Administration. Baldwin's history of the RA will probably prove to be the most useful one of this agency to date, although more remains to be written.

Out of the RA, the President's Committee on Farm Tenancy, the activities of Will Alexander and Frank Tannenbaum, and the work of Senator John Bankhead and Representative Marvin Jones, came the Bankhead-Jones Farm Tenant Act of 1937. This act provided for farm "security" (a popular word with New Dealers at this time) by means of loans to tenant farmers to buy their own farms with payments extending as long as forty years. According to

Baldwin, this was a watered-down version of what was originally proposed, and the basic outline of the FSA program was left to executive prerogative.

The liberal reformers who headed the FSA, Alexander and others, were not content with a limited farm purchase program. Under their leadership, the FSA moved into the following areas: loans to farmers in need, debt adjustment and assistance to tenants in negotiating with landlords, farm and home planning, encouragement of farm cooperatives, operation of camps and other aids to transient farm labor, resettlement of submarginal farmers, and rural rehabilitation.

Baldwin concentrates more on the philosophy and infrastructure of the FSA, the comings and goings of administrators, and the changes in methods and goals. He gives less attention to the workings of the FSA programs at the grass roots. One reason for this approach is his sources. It is difficult to imagine a history of the FSA written without extensive use of the records of the agency now in the National Archives, but Baldwin has done it, and, it must be added, done it well. He has used many printed government documents, the records of administrators Alexander and C. B. Baldwin and others, and a long and truly impressive list of interviews with key people, but his citations from the National Archives are very few. One suspects that had Baldwin combed the field reports, case studies, and letters from farmers and agents to be found in the Archives, his picture of the operation of the FSA in the field would have been more complete.

Baldwin describes the "golden years" of the FSA (1937-1942) and then the war years during which the FSA struggled for survival with what he calls a "siege mentality." He ends with the story of how the FSA was laid to rest by its enemies, first by withdrawal of appropriations and finally by positive action by Congress. Baldwin ascribes the death of the FSA to "new political winds blowing in wartime America" and says that when the New Deal was killed, the FSA as a symbol of the New Deal had to die with it.

Poverty and Politics is a significant history of an important New Deal agency. Those who want to understand the New Deal would do well to start with a detailed understanding of certain New Deal agencies, among them the Resettlement and Farm Security Administrations. Sidney Baldwin, perhaps with less technical skill but with keener insight into administration than most historians, has given us such a detailed study.

Southern Illinois University

DAVID E. CONRAD

THE ROAD FROM ISOLATION: THE CAMPAIGN OF THE AMERICAN COMMITTEE FOR NON-PARTICIPATION IN JAPANESE AGGRESSION, 1938-1941. By *Donald J. Friedman*. [Harvard East Asian Monographs, Number 25.] ([Cambridge, Mass.:] East Asian Research Center, Harvard University; distrib. by Harvard University Press, Cambridge, Mass. 1968. Pp. ix, 122. \$3.00.)

THIS is an able study of an important American foreign policy pressure group before Pearl Harbor. With initiative stemming particularly from former missionaries to China and with able leadership provided by Harry B. Price in New

York, the American Committee for Non-Participation in Japanese Aggression conducted a quietly effective crusade from 1938 to 1941 to stop the flow of munitions and war materials from the United States to Japan. Among prominent leaders of the organization were individuals so varied as Henry L. Stimson, Walter H. Judd, William Allen White, Roger S. Greene, and Admiral Harry Yarnell.

Prepared initially as a senior honors thesis at Harvard, this book is limited in its primary research largely to the records of the committee and to interviews and correspondence with its former leaders. The author did not examine any of the many private and official manuscript collections now open that might have further illuminated the committee's impact on government policies. The book is well organized, clearly written, and balanced in its interpretations. The author describes the committee's origins, leadership, methods, support, opposition, and eventual demise after its goal was accomplished following the adoption of the National Defense Act of 1940. Friedman demonstrates laudable restraint in his evaluation of the effects of the committee's efforts. He grapples thoughtfully with the relevance and limitations of the isolationist-internationalist controversy for a study of United States policies toward East Asia, a subject that scholars need to pursue further. His analysis of the committee's grass-roots support is a bit skimpy, but that may have been partly because of the loose-knit character of the organization, and to the fact that, essentially, a handful of people ran it.

This is an important little book. It is to the author's credit that it helpfully raises questions that invite additional research on public opinion and decision making on American Far Eastern policies before Pearl Harbor.

University of Maryland

WAYNE S. COLE

ROOSEVELT AND WILLKIE. By *Warren Moscow*. (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, 1968. Pp. xi, 210. \$6.95.)

WARREN MOSCOW, a former political reporter for the *New York Times*, believes the 1940 presidential campaign "stands out as a star attraction in a century of such elections" and has written this thin volume in that spirit. In what might aptly have been entitled "The Making of the President, 1940," Moscow devotes all but his final ten pages to the campaign and almost two-thirds of the entire study to events preceding the nominations. Advocating the theory that "factors that lead up to the nomination of the rival candidates . . . pretty well settle the election before a single speech is made by the candidates," the author is nonetheless highly critical of Willkie's campaign. Although he never suggests that the candidate snatched defeat from the jaws of victory, he criticizes Willkie for numerous errors in judgment that precluded any working of an electoral miracle. It is, however, the first two-thirds of the book that is most interesting, and, in my judgment, the best popular account of Willkie's build-up and preconvention strategy.

It is largely the product of Moscow's "own gathering rather than the product of research in other writings," although the author did consult some few published works "to refresh my memory." Relying upon his memory, the *New York Times*, and the Farley, Rosenman, and Sherwood studies, he presents

no new revelations on the Roosevelt campaign. The Willkie portions involved memory, Barnard's biography, and interviews with a dozen Willkie associates. The result clarifies such disputed points as the role of the Edison Electric Institute in furnishing cadres for local Willkie clubs, but it is basically a standard treatment.

The failure to include an index is a gross omission, and an occasional footnote would have been reassuring on some points. Moscow's decision not to research the written record—his complete bibliography consists of the items cited above—is of lesser moment. He was seated among the Michigan delegation when it assured Willkie the nomination and during the Democratic convention personally uncovered "the voice from the sewer" as it bellowed its Roosevelt advocacy through the convention's amplifier system. For these and other reasons, the author is himself a primary source.

Should Moscow's publishers issue an indexed paperback edition, *Roosevelt and Willkie* would make excellent collateral reading for twentieth-century United States survey courses.

University of Vermont

SAMUEL B. HAND

REPORTS OF GENERAL MACARTHUR. Volume I, THE CAMPAIGNS OF MACARTHUR IN THE PACIFIC; Volume I Supplement, MACARTHUR IN JAPAN: THE OCCUPATION: MILITARY PHASE. Prepared by his General Staff. Volume II, Parts I and II, JAPANESE OPERATIONS IN THE SOUTHWEST PACIFIC AREA. Compiled from Japanese Demobilization Bureau Records. ([Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office. 1966.] Pp. xv, 490; xii, 312; xiii, 363; xii, 365-803. \$10.00; \$5.25; \$9.00; \$10.00.)

THE issue of *The Reporter* for October 14, 1952, carried an article by Jerome Forrest and Clarke H. Kawakami entitled "General MacArthur and His Vanishing War History." In a postscript to that article *The Reporter* wondered whether the MacArthur history would ever see the light of day. Here it is, in four folio-sized volumes, containing more than sixteen hundred pages and more than four hundred superb illustrations.

These volumes are a significant contribution to the historiography of World War II in the Pacific. Most of the hundreds of other volumes on that subject would have been better if this work had been available to their authors, and anyone who now writes about the Japanese side of World War II operations would be reckless to ignore this source.

In 1949 these volumes were aptly characterized to me by members of the MacArthur history staff as "MacArthur's War Against Japan" and vice versa. Volume I and its supplement contain useful information if one bypasses the laudation. In the preface to his *Reminiscences*, MacArthur said, "The greatest difficulty confronting me was that of recounting my share in the many vital events involved without giving my acts an unwarranted prominence." The editors of the present work do not appear to have worried about this, even though the paean is quite unnecessary. As of now his place in history, detailed by intimates and by himself, would seem to be unassailable. The day may come

when someone will write the story of MacArthur without fear of avoiding a hyperbole or two—perhaps even venturing an occasional litotes—but that will probably not affect his reputation.

Volume II is the best source of detailed information on the Japanese side of the war that will ever appear in English. It was prepared without the benefit of complete official Japanese war records, but it is derived from accounts by and interrogations of senior Japanese officers and augmented by wartime intelligence reports. Since Japan's official war records have now been returned, they are no longer readily available to researchers; the present accounts will have to serve as a basic source for Japanese details. The two parts of this volume are painstakingly edited with a skill that can be appreciated only, perhaps, by a person who has worked with the vagaries and complexities of rendering Japanese into English. The story is literate and coherent; the documentation is meticulous and complete; hyperbole is kept to a minimum (yes, it enters even here). The single greatest shame in this volume is a failure to credit the man responsible for its brilliant editing. The deft pen of Kawakami—one of the most careful users of our language I know—is apparent in almost every paragraph and footnote, and yet his name is absent. In explanation of this lacuna, I can suggest only that the credit writers were displeased by the revealing article in *The Reporter*. Yet Forrest, coauthor of that article, was a principal editor for Volume I and is appropriately listed in the credits.

There are many details about these volumes to which a critical reviewer might take exception. Why, for example, cite florid wartime press releases from MacArthur on the subject of Japanese battle losses when more accurate information was available from the Japanese side? One wonders why an account of the Japanese invasion of the Philippines should justify a footnote comment that MacArthur's G-2 "became involved in this landing attack in the sector of 71st Division. When all [other?] United States officers had become casualties, he took command of the 1st Philippine Constabulary, defending Agloloma Point and reestablished the position by a sharp counterattack." One wonders why only until realizing that the "he" is editor in chief of these volumes.

These are valuable and important books. Because they are, all users should read carefully the foreword by United States Army Chief of Staff General Harold K. Johnson. Read carefully, too, the preface by MacArthur and compare it with the purported quotation from that preface on the last text page of each volume. There are inconsistencies here.

One other great shame concerning this work is the frightful delay in its publication. The material of these volumes was in the hands of Department of the Army historians as early as 1953. At least one army historian exploited the material for use in his own official writing, yet it took thirteen years for publication. The full story of how these volumes eventually appeared would be of considerable interest.

Let us be grateful, therefore, for this publication and appreciate that it contains much valuable and important information. It should be used discriminately and, preferably, *after* reading "General MacArthur and His Vanishing War History."

FOREIGN RELATIONS OF THE UNITED STATES: DIPLOMATIC PAPERS, 1945. Volume III, EUROPEAN ADVISORY COMMISSION; AUSTRIA; GERMANY. [Department of State Publication 8364.] (Washington, D. C.: Government Printing Office. 1968. Pp. vi, 1624. \$5.25.)

THIS volume relates less to the beginning of the cold war than to the ending of a hot one. The assumption of Four-Power collaboration for singular treatment of German questions persisted in the EAC negotiations on the surrender and post-surrender instruments, in the formulation of directives to American occupation authorities, and in Allied Control Council deliberations. Contrary tendencies are evident, to be sure. East-West tensions are illustrated in communications of Churchill, Harriman, Kennan, Murphy, and Grew. The fading dismemberment thesis was revived by the French. Agreement on economic decentralization and the army's inclination to "smash and run" encouraged unilateral, piecemeal approaches. But the prevailing idea, represented here by Winant, was unitary treatment to ensure Allied harmony as a cornerstone of world peace. Furthermore, the comprehensive and detailed inter-Allied agreements negotiated before the end of the war carried a powerful momentum of their own. As General Clay found, de-Nazification, reparations, and maintenance of a minimum standard of living, as well as order and efficiency, required national treatment. The Soviets were ugly at times, as in the Bern incident, and, with the French, often exasperating, but the balance that year in Central Europe lay with cooperation, common solutions, and surprisingly productive bargaining. With respect to Austria, early fears of a Soviet take-over proved exaggerated. By the end of the year an Austrian government had been established, and the United States was adequately accommodated at Vienna.

The timidity of the State Department, the autonomy of the military, and the vacillation of an enfeebled President are well documented. Problems of coordination between EAC representatives and various military headquarters and between departments in Washington resulted in drift, delay, and confusion. Policy-making machinery was so cumbersome, wrote one official, that the government's power to speak was "almost paralyzed."

The volumes of 1944 and 1945 papers, as well as the Yalta and Potsdam series, have to be used extensively in conjunction with this volume, but the task is greatly facilitated by thorough cross references. Annotation is excellent, and the topical arrangement is sensible. The volume does not pretend to exhaust the subjects dealt with, but the selection provides a well-knit and indispensable framework of documentation for the complex and diverse questions relating to the end of Nazi power. The text is not letter-perfect: lines are missing at the top of page 325, and the last complete paragraph on page 142 requires editorial treatment.

University of Illinois, Urbana

WALDO H. HEINRICH, JR.

LIBEL AND ACADEMIC FREEDOM: A LAWSUIT AGAINST POLITICAL EXTREMISTS. By *Arnold M. Rose*. Foreword by *Paul A. Freund*. (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press. 1968. Pp. ix, 287. \$7.95.)

THIS book is at once intelligent and distorted in its point of view. In it, Arnold Rose, distinguished sociologist at the University of Minnesota, tells of his libel suit

against one Gerda Koch, a spokesman for certain "right-wing extremists," who, after his election to the Minnesota legislature in December 1962, denounced Rose as a "Communist collaborator" and "Communist fronter." The principal basis for the attack on Rose was his earlier cooperation with the Swedish economist Gunnar Myrdal in the writing of *An American Dilemma*, the now-celebrated study of the Negro in America.

In a seriocomic trial that revealed a vast amount about the "paranoid mentality" of the lunatic Right, Rose won his libel suit, only to have the Minnesota Supreme Court reverse the decision on the basis of the United States Supreme Court's opinions in *New York Times v. Sullivan* (1964), and in the companion cases of *Curtis Publishing Co. v. Butts* and *Associated Press v. Walker* (1967). In these cases, the Supreme Court nationalized the law of libel, bringing it under the aegis of the First Amendment, and imposed severe limitations upon the right of officeholders and "public personages" to sue their detractors for defamation.

On the basis of his own experience, Rose was moved by these decisions to vast indignation and resentment. In his opinion, they have left the field of political criticism open to irresponsible extremists and vicious Right-wing radicals, who, he believes, are out to destroy the American constitutional system and who are now free to defame whomever they wish without fear of reprisal. As a consequence, Rose says, the Court "has opened a hornet's nest of future political crises and moral cleavages throughout the nation," in which "only the most unscrupulous politicians and irresponsible people generally can ultimately benefit."

While there is some merit in Rose's criticism, it has little philosophic or historical insight. It fails completely to take into account the long struggle in the state courts to balance the private right to protection against defamation with the all-important right of free political criticism. Nor does it reckon with the growing judicial consensus of the last seventy years that the right to criticize political personages must be protected even at the expense of some damage to private reputation. In fact, the Court in the *Times*, *Butts*, and *Walker* decisions did little more than constitutionalize this widely established legal consensus. Rose does not see this; nor does he understand the larger dilemma for a free society implicit in his own unfortunate tangle with libel law.

Wayne State University

ALFRED H. KELLY

L'ÉTABLISSEMENT DE LA PREMIÈRE PROVINCE ECCLÉSIASTIQUE
AU CANADA, 1783-1844. By *Lucien Lemieux*. [Histoire religieuse du
Canada.] (Montreal: Fides. 1968. Pp. xxvii, 559. \$10.00.)

IN this book, Lucien Lemieux makes it very clear that the development of the Roman Catholic diocese of Quebec to metropolitan status cannot be told as a simple story of ecclesiastical prosperity and expansion. It is a complicated story because after the conquest the Roman Catholics in Canada, the majority of whom were French-speaking, owed allegiance to two empires: a secular empire centered in London and a spiritual empire centered in Rome. Had the jurisdictions of Church and state in the colony been strictly separated, the problems of divided loyalty would not have arisen. But, as Lemieux demonstrates, neither Church nor state wanted separation since each wished to turn to its own purposes the

power and prestige of the other. The logical alternative—full recognition of the Church as the established church—was forestalled by the Elizabethan Act of Supremacy and the claims of the Church of England. The result, consequently, was an uneasy entente in which the Roman Catholic Church was accorded some degree of recognition and support by the imperial government; the hierarchy, in exchange, used its influence in civil affairs on the side of the *status quo*.

The alliance showed signs of strain whenever the question of the position and powers of the episcopacy was raised. As the Church expanded, therefore, and as new sees became necessary, periodic and prolonged negotiations took place in London and Rome, the point of which was to determine whether and how new bishops should be chosen, and, once selected, what should be their status in the colony. Lemieux takes a close look at these negotiations as the major theme of his book, and most of his attention is given over to a description and analysis of the voluminous correspondence that resulted from them. Looking over the evidence he presents, one finds it clear that the initiative for expansion of the episcopate came from the colony itself. The bishops, particularly the French Canadians, worked, in the interests of uniformity and unanimity, to establish a national Roman Catholic Church in British North America, which, while divided into separate sees, would be united through the metropolitan leadership of the archbishop of Quebec. Rather than actively pursuing plans of their own, officials in both London and Rome seem simply to have reacted to the frequent overtures for change emanating from the colonial hierarchy.

In pursuing his theme to its moderately successful conclusion—formation of the ecclesiastical province of Quebec in the 1840's—Lemieux has produced a highly detailed study. Indeed, if one had a criticism to make, it would be that the author shows a marked preference for intensive exposition when, in many instances, a briefer summary would improve the quality of the text. Perhaps a shorter book, more sharply focused, with an appendix composed of some of the relevant documents, particularly those from archives in Rome, would have been better. But this is a small point, and to dwell on it would not do justice to the work. The state of religious history in Canada is such that any book meeting even the minimum scholarly and artistic standards deserves grateful acknowledgment, and it is important to stress that Lemieux, with multilingual research in Canada and Europe, has easily surpassed the minimum.

McMaster University

H. E. TURNER

MÉXICO Y ESTADOS UNIDOS EN EL CONFLICTO PETROLERO (1917-1942). By Lorenzo Meyer. ([México, D. F.:] Colegio de México. 1968. Pp. 273.)

THIS useful addition to the literature on twentieth-century Mexican-United States diplomatic relations is a scholarly work, worthy of consideration by all students of the subject. The author has used several basic sources, including records of the US Department of State through 1933 and those of the *Secretaría de Relaciones Exteriores de México* up to the early years of the administration of President P. E. Calles. For material on later years he has read widely in secondary

sources, notably the papers of Josephus Daniels, Daniels' own book, *Shirt-Sleeve Diplomat*, and E. David Cronon's *Josephus Daniels in Mexico*. In addition, an interesting array of Mexican sources is cited.

It is regrettable that Dr. Meyer was not given access to the US Department of State archives through the period 1933-1942, access that has been granted to scholars in this country. The issue of expropriation is settled, and it would be interesting to see how students from other countries would view the performance of the administration of Franklin D. Roosevelt with the benefit of fuller knowledge.

On the technical side it is deplorable that the book was published without an index and without a bibliography. On page 220, for example, a possibly interesting reference to a book by one Armando María y Campos is blocked by an *op. cit.*; short of a bibliography, who will search through the preceding 219 pages for the title if he has not made his own listing en route?

El Colegio de México, with its unique access to local sources, can make an even more valuable contribution to knowledge in future volumes if, in what may become a series by its *Centro de Estudios Interamericanos*, it will ask its authors to assist other scholars by bibliographical and index references. The book is well edited and proofread, with the odd exception that Sumner Welles's last name is uniformly misspelled. A list of acronyms (*siglas*) would also be desirable.

Substantively there is interesting material, for example, on the domestic politics of "el grupo sonoreño" and the transition to Cárdenas in 1934, as well as on diplomatic maneuverings.

Interpretation of the policy of the United States during the period of the Good Neighbor policy is given in rather mechanistic terms as a consequence, first, of the Great Depression and, second, of the constraints on the United States and Great Britain resulting from the outbreak of World War II in 1939.

Such an interpretation, at least with respect to the United States, gives little comfort to a North American scholar who had felt that some measure of humane sympathy had indeed gradually mitigated, between 1938 and 1942, the originally legalistic postures of Sumner Welles, Cordell Hull, and even Franklin D. Roosevelt, when Lázaro Cárdenas surprised them on March 18, 1938, with the expropriation of the properties of Standard and other oil companies.

Social Science Research Council

BRYCE WOOD

SPANISH PERU, 1532-1560: A COLONIAL SOCIETY. By *James Lockhart*. (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press. 1968. Pp. xii, 285. \$10.00.)

THIS excellent monograph focuses on Spanish urban society in Peru: "who the settlers were and what they did," as the author puts two of the classic questions posed by historians.

Professor Lockhart carefully brings the reader to accept his general conclusion that in Peru "all the main population centers, all the main economic and social trends, had taken shape by 1545 or 1550, and in many cases much earlier, in the course of a spontaneous, undirected development concurrent with the conquest and civil war."

In fact, the author's research and analysis center on Lima, with less data for

Cuzco and Arequipa, and still less for a few other urban centers. But within the manageable range of the archival sources and the organizational structure that he wisely delimited, Lockhart makes an impressive contribution to knowledge of the Spanish Empire in America.

He demonstrates the truth of the opinion held by some of us that Spanish Peru did not spring full-blown from the head of the great Viceroy Toledo (1569-1581). Before Toledo, in the 1530's, 1540's, and 1550's, there were perhaps as many as ten thousand Spaniards in Peru, supported by an auxiliary population, mainly black, of about the same size. Lockhart examines the evolving social and economic patterns of the colonists in this rich and remote land in chapters on *encomenderos* and major-domos, noblemen, professionals, merchants, artisans, sailors and foreigners, transients, Spanish women and the second generation, Negroes, and Indians.

The author draws his primary evidence mainly from the notarial archives of Peru and from the Archive of the Indies in Seville. He has a keen eye for the relevant data buried in the murky depths of the notaries' formulas, his footnotes are uncluttered models, and to these virtues he adds a forthright and engaging style. The book is well edited and printed; the index is useful if not exhaustive.

Spanish Peru, 1532-1560, is a major work by a young scholar who has helped to lay the basis for needed research in a relatively neglected area and, beyond Peru, for comparative studies of Spanish imperial history.

University of Texas, Austin

THOMAS F. MCGANN

SAN JUAN BAUTISTA: GATEWAY TO SPANISH TEXAS. By *Robert S. Weddle*. (Austin: University of Texas Press. 1968. Pp. xiv, 469. \$8.50.)

THIS is a history of the Mission San Juan Bautista del Rio Grande, at the present town of Guerrero in the Mexican state of Coahuila, thirty-five miles southeast of Eagle Pass, Texas. Founded in 1699, it was long the frontier outpost of the Spanish Empire on the Texas frontier. From it were launched the expeditions to challenge the French who were moving westward from Louisiana and to found mission settlements in Texas. It was also from this mission that Spain sought to check the Indian menace in the late eighteenth century. In addition, it was a center of activity during Mexico's War of Independence, during the Texas rebellion, and the Mexican-American War. Thus, this study of the mission is really a history of the Texas frontier.

The author has made extensive use of the vast archival holdings at the University of Texas as well as other pertinent primary sources. His use of secondary materials is equally exhaustive and even includes doctoral dissertations and master's theses that are often neglected. This book should be the definitive work on the San Juan Bautista Mission for many years.

Unfortunately, the author could have improved this worthwhile contribution to the field by providing adequate maps; as many of the sites mentioned no longer exist, the reader needs a better guide than the single map provided. Perhaps a more serious failing is the emphasis Mr. Weddle places on his material. He is so sympathetic to his sources that he accepts the judgment of

the friars uncritically. Statements such as the following are frequent: "The Indians living in the missions were not ready for self-government . . . ; if they were left to themselves, they would consume everything in a few days, then return to their nomadic life in the *montes*." Instead of accepting the claim that "For three years he reaped an abundant harvest of souls," the author should have at least concerned himself with the deficiencies of the mission system and why the natives never accepted more than a thin veneer of Hispanic civilization and an even thinner layer of Christianity.

This book is in the tradition of Herbert Eugene Bolton in the quality of its research and writing, but, as one authority put it: "Today's historian must do more than trace the route of monks until they fall off cliffs."

California State College, Fullerton

WARREN A. BECK

CROWN AND CLERGY IN COLONIAL MEXICO, 1759-1821: THE CRISIS OF ECCLESIASTICAL PRIVILEGE. By N. M. Farriss. [University of London Historical Studies, Number 21.] ([London:] University of London, Athlone Press; distrib. by Oxford University Press, New York. 1968. Pp. xii, 288. \$10.10.)

THIS fine study of the exercise of royal control over the clergy in colonial Mexico greatly illuminates a controversial and important subject. Pointing out that the traditional policy of the Habsburg kings of Spain had been one based on the belief that Church and state were equal and mutually dependent partners, the author carefully analyzes the new policies of Charles III and his regalist ministers who were determined to expand royal power and promote the economic development of Spain and its Empire. In their view the privileges and wealth of the Church were a major stumbling block to the achievement of their goal, and they accordingly set to work to prune down ecclesiastical powers.

Part One of the volume discusses the uses made of certain indirect controls over the clergy already available to the Bourbons such as the prerogatives derived from the *patronato real*, the *vicariato real* or regalist doctrine that the Spanish kings had the function of God's vicar-general in the American church, and such devices as the *proceso informativo* or secret summary inquiry. The author concludes this section of her work by discussing the crown's attempts to control the ecclesiastical judiciary by royal review of ecclesiastical cases and the use of the *recurso de fuerza* or method by which redress could be found in secular tribunals for alleged injustice in diocesan courts. The second and third parts of the book discuss the means used by Charles III and his ministers to reduce the powers of the Church courts and to narrow the scope of the ecclesiastical *fuero* or privilege of being tried in such courts.

Revealing a mastery of the intricacies of Spanish legal history, the author shows how the new legislation achieved its objectives on paper, but failed in practice to bring about the desired reforms. Furthermore, the Madrid government, by its efforts to curb the privileges of the clergy, paved the way for the major insurgent role that the Mexican clergy played in the war for independence. When in 1820 the royal government finally abolished clerical immunity in criminal cases,

it roused against itself not only the lesser clergy and the masses of the people but also the upper hierarchy, who tilted the scales in favor of independence to preserve the privileges taken from them by Madrid. The author sees the Church-state struggles of independent Mexico as a logical consequence of the measures taken by the Caroline ecclesiastical reformers at the close of the colonial period.

The book is clearly written and solidly based on primary sources from archives in England, Spain, and Mexico. The author uses her materials astutely and dispassionately; her work will be invaluable both for students of colonial New Spain and of nineteenth- and twentieth-century Mexico.

University of Virginia

C. A. HUTCHINSON

THE HIDALGO REVOLT: PRELUDE TO MEXICAN INDEPENDENCE. By *Hugh M. Hamill, Jr.* (Gainesville: University of Florida Press. 1966. Pp. xi, 284. \$7.50.)

THE bicentennial of Hidalgo's birth in 1953-1954 produced no substantial work on the controversial curate of Dolores and led Hugh Hamill into an attempt, in his doctoral work, to rectify the deficiency. The first fruit was his dissertation, completed in 1955. Subsequently, with further research, discussion, and evaluation, he modified that version and has now produced what appears to be the finest treatment of Hidalgo and his revolt in more than half a century. His work consists of four parts of unequal length: a discussion of New Spain of 1810, of its social, economic, intellectual, and political background; the ambitions, frustrations, and hopes of Mexican *criollos*; an excellent thirty-five-page biography of Hidalgo; and a thorough treatment of the revolt itself. Though each part could be read separately by specialist and layman with great profit, the author has linked them admirably, and the account moves smoothly from start to finish.

Hamill's bibliography is not exhaustive, consisting only of what he has actually used. It is, nevertheless, of exceptionally high quality and very extensive, reflecting much archival effort and thorough investigation of primary and secondary sources. He states that he was unable to use either Spanish or regional archives in the Bajío of Mexico, and so the work cannot be called definitive. Yet the nature of the materials used and the judicious manner in which they were used, as well as the careful judgments expressed from the available evidence, give the work all of the appearance of definitiveness that later additions and changed interpretations should not diminish easily. For our generation, at least, it may well be the standard treatment of this movement and its leader. Readers well acquainted with New Spain and the Western world of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries will find no major surprises in Hamill's volume, yet they should read it for the thorough balance, the fine attention to detail, the straightforward grappling with every conceivable point of controversy, and, above all, for its solid documentation. General readers might find the complexities of Hidalgo's early scholarly interest in theology boring; this is one area where the author's lively writing and concern for his readers are unable to lighten the load. There is enough compensation, however, in the multitude of intimate touches about Hidalgo's career to make it likely that Hamill will be widely quoted for years by students and general readers. His scholarly colleagues are indebted to him for

putting all of this together so well that they, too, will borrow liberally of his abundance.

San Diego City College

EUGENE K. CHAMBERLIN

BERNARDO O'HIGGINS. By *Jay Kinsbruner*. [Twayne's Rulers and Statesmen of the World Series, Number 8.] (New York: Twayne Publishers. 1968. Pp. 183. \$4.95.)

UNLIKE Bolívar and San Martín, Spanish American emancipators who disliked political administration, Bernardo O'Higgins used his military victories over Spain to gain and consolidate power. The leader of Chile's armies in the wars for independence, he held the post of supreme director and headed the republic's government between 1817 and 1823. Although a key figure in Chilean history, O'Higgins had received relatively little attention from North American historians until Professor Kinsbruner's book appeared.

In less than 150 pages of text, Kinsbruner presents a clear and well-written biography. After acknowledging his intellectual debt to Diego Barros Arana, who established a tradition in Chile of writing detailed political history, the author develops a narrative that emphasizes military, political, and diplomatic events. The strategy and tactics O'Higgins employed during his campaigns against the Spaniards receive particularly detailed attention. Turning to politics, Kinsbruner adroitly traces O'Higgins' rise to power as well as the constitutional and diplomatic maneuvers he employed once in office. His economic and social policies as well as his attitudes toward the Church receive less emphasis.

The supreme director fell from power, according to Kinsbruner, essentially because his dictatorial tendencies and his submission to Argentine foreign policy provoked most Chileans who were politicized. Throughout the book, in fact, the author suggests that O'Higgins was not his own man, but was a tool of San Martín, the government in Buenos Aires, and the Masonic movement. One might ask whether the Chilean elite had more fundamental reasons for deposing O'Higgins. The Supreme Director, as Kinsbruner mentions, prohibited the use of hereditary titles, decreed the abolishment of entails, and levied an income tax on all property owners. Furthermore, O'Higgins encouraged mass education and European immigration, policies that eventually would undermine the elite's monopoly of political power. Although he states that "by 1817 the landed aristocracy did not govern Chile exclusively," the author neither demonstrates this interesting assertion nor attempts to relate Chilean social structure to the political events of the independence period. Nevertheless, the book makes an important contribution in clarifying for English-language readers the labyrinthine events of Chilean politics during the period from 1810 to 1823.

University of Washington

CARL E. SOLBERG

GACETA DEL GOBIERNO DEL PERÚ: PERÍODO DE GOBIERNO DE SIMÓN BOLÍVAR. Volume I, 1823 (LIMA Y TRUJILLO); Volume II, 1824 (TRUJILLO Y LIMA); 1825, ENERO-JUNIO (LIMA); Volume III, 1825, JULIO-DICIEMBRE (LIMA); 1826, ENERO-MAYO (LIMA). Forewords by *Cristóbal L. Mendoza* and *Félix Denegri Luna*. Introduction by *Pedro Grases*. (Caracas: Fundación Eugenio Mendoza. 1967. Pp. cvi, 513; 547; 462.)

THIS facsimile edition of the *Gaceta del Gobierno del Perú* was published in honor of Venezuela's most famous son, Simón Bolívar, and in commemoration of the four-hundredth anniversary of the founding of Caracas. The purposes of publication, as stated by Eugenio Mendoza, are to facilitate the study of the personality of the Liberator and to provide a better understanding of an important period in the achievement of South American independence. According to Mendoza, "Bolívar has been much studied as a military man and politician, but not so much as a magistrate and an administrator. . . . In the *Gaceta*, his laws, decrees and resolutions interpret the Bolivarian concepts with relation to the various and multiple aspects to which a government ought to attend."

Until 1823 the conduct of military affairs had not allowed Bolívar sufficient peace and time for adequate expression of his ideas and plans in the field of public affairs of the nations under his control. Since the *Gaceta* was the official organ of his government in Peru between 1823 and 1826, this publication serves to make readily available additional authentic testimony of Bolívar's philosophy. Furthermore, as this journal contains numerous other items of interest, its significance for any study of the period is obvious.

As a result of careful research in various libraries and archives of Peru, Chile, Argentina, the United States, and Europe, these three volumes are believed to include virtually all regular and special issues of the *Gaceta* (usually published twice each week) from January 1, 1823, until May 10, 1826. Preceding issues from the initiation of the *Gaceta* on July 16, 1821, until the end of December 1822, corresponding to the period of the government of San Martín in Peru, were published in a facsimile edition in 1950 by the National University of La Plata in Argentina. The *Gaceta* terminated with the edition of May 10, 1826. It was succeeded by *El Peruano*, which began publication on May 13, 1826, and continues to the present day as the official journal of the government of Peru.

The lengthy prefaces by Cristóbal L. Mendoza and Félix Denegri Luna provide interesting commentary on significant issues of the *Gaceta* as well as on the earlier Peruvian press and other official Peruvian publications. An index enhances the usefulness of this valuable series.

National War College

WILLIAM COLUMBUS DAVIS

THE DYNAMIC OF MEXICAN NATIONALISM. By *Frederick C. Turner*. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 1968. Pp. xii, 350. \$8.50.)

NATIONALISM, as a product of the social revolution that began in 1910, is probably the strongest force in contemporary Mexican culture. Though this fact is generally recognized, there has been little systematic study of Mexican national-

ism. This book is an ambitious effort by a young scholar to fill the gap. In identifying an astonishing variety of elements that constitute or reflect nationalism, Turner argues that Mexico's experience has been unique. Nationalism has given its society a "particular cohesiveness and flexibility" that has encouraged potentially antagonistic groups to work harmoniously for political stability, social justice, and economic growth. While emphasizing the role of xenophobia and of the drive toward social equality in promoting nationalism, the book also deals with topics as diverse as military technology, the breakdown of currency after 1910, the philosophy of *lo mexicano*, school texts, and the Church. Moreover, one-third of the book is devoted to the century before 1910. Amid this variety, there are numerous interesting discussions: for example, on the significant role of women in the Revolution; on the use of revolutionary heroes in popular writings; and on films that depict patriotic themes.

In the main, however, Turner's wide-ranging approach is a defect rather than a strength. It results in methodological confusion, in superficial treatment of some topics, and in occasional unsubstantiated assertions. The author is a political scientist who is attempting the difficult feat of combining the methods of intellectual and cultural history with those of sociology. He often uses his many kinds of sources loosely and indiscriminately, as, for example, when he cites post-1910 Mexican writings as evidence that the *científicos* of the Díaz regime lacked a nationalistic outlook. On another occasion, his principal source for a discussion of worker participation in the early Revolution is an article from the *New York Times*. Turner says in the preface that personal interviews were important for his work, yet he refers specifically to only one or two such interviews. It would be more satisfying to the reader had the author pursued further the assertion, among others, that the "spirit of Latin Americanism" in contemporary philosophy enhances nationalism rather than competes with it; or that the breakdown of family loyalties during the violent years strengthened loyalty toward the national community; or that the destructiveness of the Revolution led to a general desire for unity. Turner is to be commended for an ambitious and significant undertaking, but the book would have been far better had he spent a few more years deepening his study and refining his methods.

University of Iowa

CHARLES A. HALE

THE MEXICAN REVOLUTION, 1910-1914: THE DIPLOMACY OF ANGLO-AMERICAN CONFLICT. By *Peter Calvert*. [Cambridge Latin American Studies, Number 3.] (New York: Cambridge University Press. 1968. Pp. x, 330. \$9.50.)

THIS excellent monographic study is precise, clear, gracefully written, and well documented. One cannot be too lavish in praising the scholarly attributes of Dr. Calvert. Specialists in the history of the Mexican Revolution will appreciate the book most, but students with a background in the subject will find it enriching. Scholars in the area of Anglo-American diplomatic history will also read this work with profit because it cites numerous early dispatches of Cecil Spring-Rice and Walter Hines Page and provides insights into the general American policy of Sir Edward Grey.

The study covers a short period, beginning with the foundering of the Díaz regime in 1910 and ending with the diplomatic isolation of Huerta in early 1914. It is not a Mexican history, but an aspect of United States-British relations in the setting of revolutionary Mexico. Calvert concludes generally that the British did not intentionally thwart United States policy in Mexico, but rather had a difficult time in accommodating to it. This will raise some questions, because Lord Cowdray, the British oil magnate, has been looked upon as the gray eminence in the Huerta regime. Calvert definitely downgrades Cowdray's influence. The author, instead, sees the problem as arising from the actions of individuals, often not well informed, who caused a misunderstanding when basic agreement existed all along. In presenting a history in which personalities play such an important part, Calvert paints word portraits of the diplomats involved that are most engaging: Henry Lane Wilson, Nelson O'Shaughnessy, John Lind, Thomas Hohler, Francis William Stronge, and Sir Lionel Carden. He is perceptive with reference to the American political scene at the time, although he relies heavily upon Arthur S. Link and John Morton Blum for his views concerning Woodrow Wilson.

While Calvert emphasizes the English viewpoint, he is too good a scholar to be biased. He takes a few genteel jabs, but is not as harsh on Wilson as American writers. As might be expected, however, he is more critical of Madero and less so of Huerta than American scholars. Some may complain that Calvert quotes from his sources excessively, but, since many of these principally British diplomatic dispatches are not available in this country, the practice may actually be helpful. All in all, it was a pleasure to read this informative study.

Pennsylvania State University

CHARLES D. AMERINGER

DER DEUTSCHE FASCHISMUS IN LATEINAMERIKA 1933-1943. [Veröffentlicht durch Wissenschaftliche Zeitschrift der Humboldt-Universität zu Berlin.] (Berlin: the Universität. 1966. Pp. 204.)

THIS review must be started with a few observations. It was printed in East Germany and is a collection of essays by East German scholars. While the Marxian bias is obvious in all of the essays, it does not detract from the good, scholarly research, and there is no doubt in my mind that this book represents a serious and needed contribution to recent Latin American history. It has seven essays, of which the first, by Friedrich Katz, who is identified as a full professor of modern history at Humboldt University in East Berlin, is entitled "Some Main Features of the Politics of German Imperialism in Latin America between 1898 and 1941"; it is decisively the most important part of this book. It presents an excellent and, I believe, truthful summary based on a wealth of sources, and it is, furthermore, beautifully organized and exhibits clarity and scholarship.

According to Katz, Imperial Germany's total policy toward Latin America was in five diverse directions: unilateral German advances with special emphasis on giving the German Navy bases in Latin America; encouraging European nations, especially Great Britain, to join Germany in increasing their influence in Latin America in order to stop the United States in its Latin American adventures; doing the opposite and persuading the United States to offer an alliance

with Germany whereby Germany would help the United States to contain Japan and England in return for a share of influence in Latin America; using traditional nineteenth-century economic imperialism; and encouraging Germans to emigrate to Latin America and permanently settle to become a powerful force to aid German penetration.

Each of these is explained with facts. Katz then details post-Imperial Germany's policy until 1941. He says that during the Hitler period only the fourth and fifth directions were used, to which was added active subversion that concentrated mainly on the ABC states. In all, I repeat, it is an illuminating study.

The other essays are of good quality but of narrow scope and do not coincide with the main outline of the leading article by Katz. Three deal with Nazi policies toward Argentina, Colombia, and Central America and the West Indies. The other two are about Nazi radio propaganda to Latin America, and, finally, there is a most interesting article about origins and activities of the German community of southern Brazil from 1835 to 1938.

We have here a commendable work that should be consulted, expanded, corrected, or refuted by other historians interested in recent Latin American history.

University of South Florida

CHARLES W. ARNADE

THE POLITICS OF EXILE: PARAGUAY'S FEBRERISTA PARTY. By

Paul H. Lewis. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 1968. Pp. xxv, 209. \$6.00.)

For some years now North American political scientists specializing in Latin American government have pointed out that the role of the political party in Latin America has been greatly neglected. It has been suggested that more attention be devoted to analyzing the inner processes and dynamics of Latin American political parties. The author of this volume has helped to correct the deficiency with this study of the Febrerista party of Paraguay. As the title of the book indicates, the primary concern has been to investigate the nature and methods of political parties operating in exile; the Febrerista party is the vehicle through which the author accomplishes his purpose.

Lewis has found that, in the broadest sense, exiled parties are not far different from other political parties. They have similar objectives and attempt to gain power through competing for the support of the people. There are, however, certain important differences that result from the illegal and clandestine status of the parties and their formal removal from the nation's political life. The internal organization of the parties, the tactics they employ to attain their objectives, the problems of leadership, and the role of ideology are all seriously affected by the abnormal conditions under which the parties are forced to operate. The heart of the book is the description and analysis of the internal workings of the Febrerista party. Of particular interest are the descriptions of the struggles for party leadership and the ideological disputes within the party. The reader cannot help but be impressed by the imaginative research that has gone into this work. Since much of the research had to be done through personal interviews, the author had contact with hundreds of party members and interviewed many of the party's leaders.

There are, unfortunately, parts of the work that are weak and seriously flawed. That portion of the book devoted to the geography and history of the country from independence to recent times reveals only superficial knowledge of those matters. Facts and dates are often wrong, and specialists in that history may well disagree with the author's interpretations. When Lewis is dealing with the analysis of the Febrerista party, he is on firmer ground, and his conclusions are more acceptable. In spite of the criticisms, the work does have merit; it contributes to our understanding of *febrerismo* and also to an understanding of the existing government of Paraguay.

Wright State University

L. ROBERT HUGHES

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Donald E. Worcester, Texas Christian University

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The ten-year *General Index* to the *American Historical Review* for the years 1955-1965 is now available. The price is ten dollars per copy, and orders should be addressed to the Business Office of the Association. A limited number of the earlier twenty-year *General Index* for the years 1935-1955 are still available through the Macmillan Company, 866 Third Avenue, New York, New York 10022, also at the price of ten dollars per copy.

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RECENT DEATHS

Helen Maggs Fede of Washington, D. C., died February 5, 1968.

Charles Howard McIlwain, President of the American Historical Association during the year 1935-1936, died June 1, at the age of ninety-seven. He graduated from Princeton in 1894, was admitted to the bar in Pennsylvania in 1897, and received his Ph.D. from Harvard in 1911. It took him some time to decide that he wanted to be a teacher, but after a brief experience at Miami University of Ohio, he was called to Princeton in 1905 as one of the remarkable group of young preceptors whom Woodrow Wilson was then recruiting. He went to Bowdoin in 1910 and moved to Harvard in 1911, where he taught as professor of history and government for thirty-five years. When Harvard reluctantly allowed him to retire at the age of seventy-five, his zest for teaching was still unabated, and he conducted graduate seminars at Princeton in 1948 and 1949.

There would not be space, nor is there need, to list all the honors that he received: the Pulitzer Prize in 1923, the *Festschrift* dedicated to him in 1936, the Eastman professorship of history at Oxford in 1944, the long array of honorary degrees. These honors could only partially reflect the universal esteem in which

he was held. As a scholar, he was unrivaled in the breadth of his knowledge and the freshness of his ideas. He led a whole generation of students of English constitutional history into new paths with his *High Court of Parliament*. He called attention to neglected aspects of the English relationship with the colonies in *The American Revolution: A Constitutional Interpretation*. He gave a new picture of the development of political theory in his *Growth of Political Thought in the West* and his *Constitutionalism: Ancient and Modern*. As a teacher, he had the rare ability to infuse his students with his own enthusiasm for constitutional history and political theory. There are many dull books and dull writers in these fields, but no books or writers ever seemed dull after McIlwain had explained their significance. As a man he was wise, patient, and kindly, quick to praise and slow to blame. Few members of our profession have been so greatly admired and so widely loved.

Ellen J. Bishop of Reading, Pennsylvania, died August 23.

Harry Elmer Barnes, a life member of the Association, was born near Auburn, New York, on June 15, 1889, and died at Malibu, California, on August 25, 1968. Graduating *summa cum laude* from Syracuse University in 1913, he studied history and sociology at Columbia, taking his Ph.D. in 1918. A professor of historical sociology at Clark and at Smith, he taught as a visitor or lectured at other universities and at the New School for Social Research. For many years he was the leading practitioner and promoter of the New History as it had been outlined at Columbia by James Harvey Robinson and others. Barnes's extensive historical writing vigorously exemplified the main contentions of the New History: that the study of the past should take into account the concepts, methods, and findings of the related social sciences and be relevant to the concrete social, economic, and political issues of the day. At the same time his historical writings also reflected, in the words of Ernest Sutherland Bates, "an omnivorous digestion of facts." His publications, in his own name and in collaboration with others, together with the many volumes he edited and a vast number of book reviews, made him one of the most prolific writers in the profession.

Barnes was also the most controversial historian and publicist of his time. He aroused the wrath of the conventionally religious by his defense of "science" when it conflicted with religion and the hostility of a large part of the bench and bar when, drawing on his studies in the history of penal institutions, he argued for the abolition of the jury system and its replacement by panels of experts in psychology, sociology, economics, and law. In challenging prevailing explanations of the origins of World War I (*Genesis of the World War* [1926]) he was a pioneer of "revisionism." He was also a leader in World War II "revisionism," particularly in attacking the generally accepted explanations of American involvement in the struggle. Notwithstanding the oversimplified and polemical character of his work in this field, he raised important questions and critical issues.

Barnes sustained his interest in historiography; *The History of Historical Writing* (1937; 1963) was well thought of by competent scholars. Perhaps his

most important contributions in his historical writing were the sweeping but factually informative syntheses of the economic and particularly the social and cultural development of Western civilization. As a writer of college texts and popular articles he was an outstanding champion of broadening the historian's frame of reference. His most enduring work in the history of ideas is *Social Thought from Lore to Science* which he coauthored with Howard Becker.

In undergraduate teaching Barnes favored the "shock" method as a means of making students examine their underlying presuppositions, a method that also characterized much of his work in adult education. No one could have been more generous in helping younger scholars and in making available to inquirers his impressively encyclopedic information. Carl Becker, thinking of Barnes's dedication to his values and to the causes in which he believed, best summed up his career in calling him "the learned Crusader."

Carolyn Vogland of Minneapolis, Minnesota, died August 30.

Violet Barbour, professor emeritus at Vassar College, died August 31, at the age of eighty-four. Her field of interest was England in the seventeenth century with emphasis on business and economic history and Anglo-Dutch relations. Her book, *Henry Bennett, Earl of Arlington*, was awarded the Herbert Baxter Adams Prize; *Capitalism in Amsterdam in the Seventeenth Century* is perhaps the best-known of her works.

William Bell Clark, Sr., of Brevard, North Carolina, died November 1, at the age of seventy-nine. He was the editor of the series *Naval Documents of the American Revolution*, the third volume of which appeared in 1968.

John T. Farrell, professor at Catholic University of America, died November 5, at the age of fifty-seven.

Weymouth Tyree Jordan, professor at Florida State University since 1949 and head of the department of history from 1954 to 1964, died November 22. An authority on the history of the Old South and on American agricultural history, he was the author of nine books and more than fifty articles.

Arthur K. Marmor, historian of the US Air Force and a member of the Warren Commission staff, died in December.

John R. Lohmann of Misenheimer, North Carolina, Lois B. Turner of Manhattan, Kansas, and John Cook Wyllie of Charlottesville, Virginia, former members of the Association, died recently.

COMMUNICATIONS

TO THE EDITOR OF THE AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW:

Professor Norman Palmer's generally kind review of my book, *The Swatantra Party and Indian Conservatism* (*AHR*, LXXIV [Oct. 1968], 261), concludes

by noting "One surprising omission," my failure to cite Jhangiani's *Jana Sangh and Swatantra*. He states: "This perhaps Freudian slip accounts for the absurd observation in the preface that 'nothing of any consequence has been written about the Swatantra Party.'"

I should point out that (as Palmer notes) Jhangiani's book was published in 1967, while my preface is dated December 1966 (which Palmer does not note). This would suffice to explain to a careful reader my "absurd observation in the preface." And while I did receive Jhangiani's book when I was correcting page proofs, two considerations prompted me to omit reference to it. First, many pages of bibliography would have required resetting. Second, certain of Jhangiani's pages on Swatantra are virtually identical to parts of an article on Swatantra that I had published earlier (1964), although the latter is nowhere cited in the former. Under the circumstances, I deemed it best to avoid reference to this title, although technically I had the chance to do so. Despite its rather cavalier approach to accepted canons of scholarship, Jhangiani's book may be read with profit; but Professor Palmer could have found a more felicitous way of calling it to the attention of your readers.

Dartmouth College

HOWARD ERDMAN

TO THE EDITOR OF THE AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW:

Professor Erdman's admission that he received Dr. Jhangiani's book when he was correcting page proofs strengthens my feeling that his failure to list it is indeed a "surprising omission." The reasons that he gives for this omission are almost equally surprising. Some resetting of the bibliography would surely have been justified in order to include the most important book on the Swatantra party prior to Professor Erdman's own volume. His charge that "certain of Jhangiani's pages on Swatantra are virtually identical to parts of an article . . . that I had published earlier" and his reference to Dr. Jhangiani's "rather cavalier approach to accepted canons of scholarship" are unworthy of him and an unjustified aspersion on a serious young Indian political scientist. My own careful comparison of Jhangiani's book and Erdman's article—made while I was in India, shortly after Erdman had sent a complaint to Jhangiani's principal, not to Jhangiani himself—indicated that the extent of duplication was minimal, to say the least, confined largely to a few words in a few sentences. I do not wish, however, to become involved in this pettiness.

Professor Erdman's statement that "nothing of any consequence has been written about the Swatantra Party" is, it seems to me, amply refuted by his own footnotes and bibliography. Surely, for example, he does not regard his doctoral dissertation and five of his articles, all of which he cites, as of no consequence. If he does, he is being almost as unfair to himself as he has been to Dr. Jhangiani.

University of Pennsylvania

NORMAN D. PALMER

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